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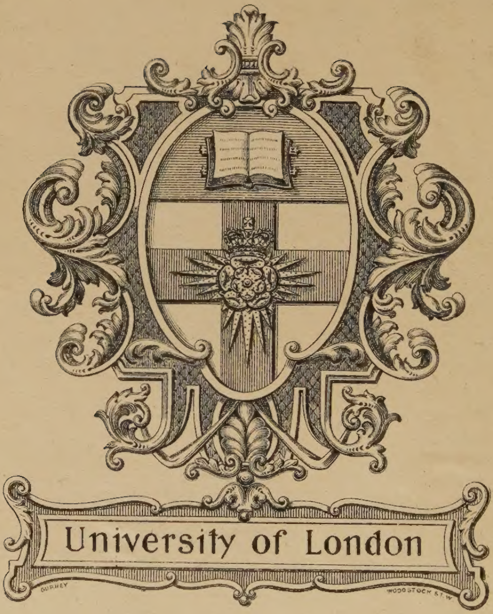
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HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY

DEBATES:

FORMING A CONTINUATION OF THE WORK ENTITLED
" THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE YEAR 1803."

New Series;

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE IV.

VOL. XXII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM
THE FOURTH DAY OF FEBRUARY,
TO
THE EIGHTH DAY OF MARCH, 1830.
[*FIRST VOLUME OF THE SESSION.*]

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1830.

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ROLL

OF THE

LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL,

IN THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE EIGHTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

His Royal Highness WILLIAM HENRY Duke of CLARENCE and of SAINT ANDREWS.

His Royal Highness ERNEST AUGUSTUS Duke of CUMBERLAND and of TEVIOTDALE.

His Royal Highness AUGUSTUS FRED. Duke of SUSSEX.

His Royal Highness ADOLPHUS FRED. Duke of CAMBRIDGE.

His Royal Highness WILLIAM FRED. Duke of GLOUCESTER and of EDINBURGH.

WILLIAM Archbishop of CANTERBURY.

JOHN SINGLETON Lord LYNDHURST, *Lord Chancellor.*

EDWARD Archbishop of YORK.

WILLIAM Archbishop of DUBLIN.

HENRY Earl BATHURST, *Lord President of the Council.*

JAMES Earl of ROSSLYN, *Lord Privy Seal.*

BERNARD EDWARD Duke of NORFOLK, *Earl Marshal of England.*

EDWARD ADOLPHUS Duke of SOMERSET.

CHARLES Duke of RICHMOND.

GEORGE HENRY Duke of GRAFTON.

HENRY CHARLES Duke of BEAUFORT.

WILLIAM AUBREY DE VERE Duke of ST. ALBANS.

GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK Duke of LEEDS.

JOHN Duke of BEDFORD.

WILLIAM SPENCER Duke of DEVONSHIRE.

GEORGE Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

JOHN HENRY Duke of RUTLAND.

ALEXANDER Duke of BRANDON. *(Duke of Hamilton and Brandon.)*

WILLIAM HENRY CAVENDISH Duke of PORTLAND.

WILLIAM Duke of MANCHESTER.

CHARLES Duke of DORSET.

HENRY Duke of NEWCASTLE.

HUGH Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND.

ARTHUR Duke of WELLINGTON.

RICHARD Duke of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS.

HENRY Marquess CONYNGHAM, *Lord Steward of the Household.*

CHARLES INGOLDESBY Marquess of WINCHESTER.

CHARLES Marquess of QUEENSBERRY. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

GEORGE Marquess of TWEEDDALE. *(Elected for Scotland.)*

HENRY Marquess of LANSDOWNE.

GEORGE GRANVILLE Marquess of STAFFORD.

GEORGE Marquess TOWNSHEND.

JAMES BROWNLOW WILLIAM Marquess of SALISBURY.

THOMAS Marquess of BATH.

JAMES Marquess of ABERCORN.

FRANCIS CHARLES Marquess of HERTFORD.

JOHN Marquess of BUTE.

WILLIAM Marquess of THOMOND. *(Lord Tadcaster.)* *(Elected for Ireland.)*

BROWNLOW Marquess of EXETER.

Spencer Joshua Alwine Marquess of the County of Northampton.

John Jeffreys Marquess Camden.

Henry William Marq. of Anglesey.

George Horatio Marquess of Cholmondeley.

Henry Marquess Conyngham. *(In another place as Lord Steward of the Household.) (Lord Minster.) (Elected for Ireland.)*

George Augustus Francis Marquess of Hastings.

Charles Marquess of Ailesbury.

Frederick William Marquess of Bristol.

William Harry Marquess of Cleveland.

James Graham *(Lord Chamberlain of the Household.) (Duke of Montrose.)*

John Earl of Shrewsbury.

Edward Earl of Derby.

Francis Theophilus Henry Earl of Huntingdon.

Robert Henry Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

Thomas Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.

William Basil Percy Earl of Denbigh.

John Earl of Westmoreland.

Albemarle Earl of Lindsey.

George Harry Earl of Stamford and Warrington.

George William Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.

George Earl of Chesterfield.

Charles Earl of Thanet.

John William Earl of Sandwich.

George Earl of Essex.

Robert Earl of Cardigan.

George Earl of Carlisle.

Walter Francis Earl of Doncaster. *(Duke of Buccleuch.)*

Cropley Ashley Earl of Shaftesbury.

———— Earl of Berkeley.

Montague Earl of Abingdon.

Other Archer Earl of Plymouth.

Richard Earl of Scarbrough.

William Henry Earl of Rochford.

William Charles Earl of Albemarle.

George William Earl of Coventry.

George Earl of Jersey.

John Earl Poulett.

William George Earl of Erroll. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

George Sholto Earl of Morton. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Alexander Earl of Home. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Thomas Earl of Elgin and Kincardine. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Archibald John Earl of Rosebery. (*Lord Rosebery.*) (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Edward Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.

Washington Earl Ferrers.

William Earl of Dartmouth.

Charles Augustus Earl of Tankerville.

Heneage Earl of Aylesford.

Peter Leopold Louis Francis Earl Cowper.

Phillip Henry Earl Stanhope.

Robert Earl of Harborough.

George Earl of Macclesfield.

George Earl of Pomfret.

James Earl Graham. *(In another place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household.)* (*Duke of Montrose.*)

John James Earl Waldegrave.

George Earl of Ashburnham.

Charles Earl of Harrington.

John Charles Earl of Portsmouth.

Henry Richard Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick.

George Robert Earl of Buckinghamshire.

William Earl Fitzwilliam.

George Earl of Egremont.

William Earl Harcourt.

Francis Earl of Guilford.

James Earl Cornwallis.

Philip Earl of Hardwicke.

Henry Stephen Earl of Ilchester.

George John Earl De La Warr.

William Earl of Radnor.

George John Earl Spencer.

John Earl of Chatham.

Henry Earl Bathurst. (*In another place as Lord President of the Council.*)

Arthur Earl of Hillsborough. (*Marquess of Downshire.*)

John Charles Earl of Clarendon,

HENRY Earl of ABERGAVENNY.
GEORGE Earl of NORWICH. (*Duke of Gordon.*)
CHARLES CHETWYND Earl TALBOT.
ROBERT Earl GROSVENOR.
JOHN Earl STRANGE. (*Duke of Athol.*)
RICHARD Earl of MOUNT EDGCUMBE.
HUGH Earl FORTESCUE.
EDWARD Earl of DIGBY.
ALGERNON Earl of BEVERLEY.
WILLIAM Earl of MANSFIELD.
HENRY GEORGE Earl of CARNARVON.
CHARLES CECIL COPE Earl of LIVERPOOL.
CHARLES HENRY Earl CADOGAN.
JAMES EDWARD Earl of MALMESBURY.
SOMERSET RICHARD Earl of CARRICK. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
FRANCIS WILLIAM Earl of CHARLEMONT. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
GEORGE Earl of KINGSTON. (*Lord Kingston.*) (*Elected for Ireland.*)
STEPHEN Earl of MOUNT CASHELL. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
THOMAS Earl of LONGFORD. (*Lord Silchester.*) (*Elected for Ireland.*)
JOHN Earl of MAYO. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
JOHN WILLOUGHBY Earl of ENNISKILLEN. (*Lord Grinstead.*) (*Elected for Ireland.*)
WILLIAM Earl of WICKLOW. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
RICHARD Earl of LUCAN. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
SOMERSET LOWRY Earl of BELMORE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
CHARLES HENRY Earl O'NEILL. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
FRANCIS Earl of BANDON. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
DUPRÉ Earl of CALEDON. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
JAMES Earl of ROSSLYN. (*In another place as Lord Privy Seal.*)
WILLIAM Earl of CRAVEN.
ARTHUR GEORGE Earl of ONSLOW.
CHARLES Earl of ROMNEY.
HENRY THOMAS Earl of CHICHESTER.
THOMAS Earl of WILTON.
EDMUND HENRY Earl of LIMERICK. (*Lord Foxford.*) (*Elected for Ireland.*)
RICHARD Earl of CLANCARTY. (*Visc. Clancarty.*) (*Elected for Ireland.*)
EDWARD Earl of POWIS.
WILLIAM Earl NELSON.
ARCHIBALD Earl of GOSFORD. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
LAWRENCE Earl of ROSSE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
CHARLES WILLIAM Earl of CHARLEVILLE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
CHARLES HERBERT Earl MANVERS.
HORATIO Earl of ORFORD.
CHARLES Earl GREY.
WILLIAM Earl of LONSDALE.
DUDLEY Earl of HARROWBY.
HENRY Earl of MULGRAVE.
HENRY Earl of HAREWOOD.
GILBERT Earl of MINTO.
WILLIAM Earl CATHCART.
JAMES WALTER Earl of VERULAM.
JOHN Earl BROWNLOW.
WILLIAM Earl of SAINT GERMANS.
JOHN Earl of MORLEY.
GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK HENRY Earl of BRADFORD.
JOHN REGINALD Earl BEAUCHAMP
RICHARD Earl of GLENGALL. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
JOHN Earl of ELDON.
EDWARD Earl of FALMOUTH.
RICHARD WILLIAM PENN Earl HOWE.
JOHN Earl SOMERS.
EDWARD CORNWALLIS Earl of STRADBROKE.
CHARLES WILLIAM Earl VANE. (*Marquess of Londonderry.*)
WILLIAM PITT Earl AMHERST.
JOHN WILLIAM Earl of DUDLEY. (*One of the Principal Secretaries of State.*)
JOHN FREDERICK Earl CAWDOR.

HENRY Viscount HEREFORD.
JOHN Viscount ARBUTHNOTT. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
JAMES ANDREW JOHN LAURENCE CHAS. Viscount STRATHALLAN. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
HENRY Viscount BOLINGBROKE.
GEORGE Viscount TORRINGTON.
AUGUSTUS FRED. Viscount LEINSTER (*Duke of Leinster.*)
WILLIAM Viscount COURTENAY.
HENRY Viscount MAYNARD.
JOHN THOMAS Viscount SYDNEY.

Henry Viscount Hood.
Robert Viscount Duncan.
Edward Jervis Viscount St. Vincent.
Robert Viscount Melville.
Henry Viscount Sidmouth.
Thomas William Viscount Anson.
Robert Edward Viscount Lorton. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
Francis Gerard Viscount Lake.
George Viscount Gordon. *(Earl of Aberdeen.)*
Granville Viscount Granville.
Edward Viscount Exmouth.
Charles Viscount Gort. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
John Hely Viscount Hutchinson. *(Earl of Donoughmore.)*
William Carr Viscount Beresford.
Richard Viscount Clancarty. *(In another place as Earl of Clancarty.)*
Stapleton Viscount Combermere.
Frederick John Viscount Goderich.

Charles James Bishop of London.
William Bishop of Durham.
Chas. Richard Bishop of Winchester.
Folliott Herbert Bp. of Worcester.
Henry William Bishop of Bangor.
George Isaac Bishop of Hereford.
Thomas Bishop of Salisbury.
Henry Bishop of Norwich.
John Bishop of St. Asaph.
Bowyer Edward Bishop of Ely.
Geo. Henry Bp. of Bath and Wells.
Henry Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry.
Herbert Bishop of Peterborough.
John Bishop of Lincoln.
William Bishop of Exeter.
Christopher Bishop of Gloucester.
Robert James Bishop of Chichester.
John Banks Bishop of St. David's.
Robert Bishop of Bristol.
Hugh Bishop of Carlisle.
George Bishop of Rochester.
John Bird Bishop of Chester.
Richard Bishop of Oxford.
Edward Bishop of Llandaff.
William Bishop of Raphoe.
John Bishop of Limerick, Ardfort and Aghadoe.
James Bishop of Dromore.
Thomas Lord Le Despencer.
Edward Lord De Clifford.
George John Lord Audley.
Peter Robert Lord Willoughby D'Eresby.
Thomas Lord Dacre.
Rob. Cotton St. John Lord Clinton.
William Lord Stourton.
Henry Lord Willoughby De Broke.
Kenneth Alexander Lord Howard of Effingham.
St. Andrew Beauchamp Lord St. John of Bletso.
Chas. Aug. Lord Howard de Walden.
William Francis Henry Lord Petre.
Gregory Will. Lord Saye and Sele.
James Everard Lord Arundell of Wardour.
John Lord Clifton. *(Earl of Darnley.)*
Joseph Thaddeus Lord Dormer.
Henry Francis Lord Teynham.
George William Lord Stafford.
George Anson Lord Byron.
Chas. Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.
George Granville Lord Gower.
Jas. Ochoncar Lord Forbes. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
Alexander George Lord Saltoun. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
Francis Lord Gray. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
Charles Lord Sinclair. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
John Lord Colville of Culross. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
William John Lord Napier. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
Robert Montgomery Lord Belhaven and Stenton. *(Elected for Scotland.)*
Edmund Lord Boyle. *(Earl of Cork and Orrery.)*
Thomas Robert Lord Hay. *(Earl of Kinnoul.)*
Henry Lord Middleton.
Peter Lord King.
Frederick John Lord Monson.
Henry Lord Montfort.
Frederick Lord Ponsonby. *(Earl of Besborough.)*
Lewis Richard Lord Sondes.
Thomas Philip Lord Grantham.

NATHANIEL Lord SCARSDALE.
GEORGE Lord BOSTON.
HENRY RICHARD Lord HOLLAND.
JOHN Lord LOVELL and HOLLAND. *(Earl of Egmont.)*
GEORGE CHARLES Lord VERNON.
THOMAS Lord DUCIE.
GEORGE WILLIAM Lord SUNDRIDGE and HAMILTON. *(Duke of Argyll.)*
EDWARD WILLIAM Lord HAWKE.
GEORGE Lord RIVERS.
THOMAS Lord FOLEY.
GEORGE TALBOT Lord DYNEVOR.
GEORGE Lord WALSINGHAM.
WILLIAM Lord BAGOT.
CHARLES Lord SOUTHAMPTON.
FLETCHER Lord GRANTLEY.
GEORGE Lord RODNEY.
GEORGE Lord CARTERET.
THOMAS NOEL Lord BERWICK.
JOHN Lord SHERBORNE.
HEN. JAMES MONTAGU Lord MONTAGU.
HENRY Lord TYRONE. *(Marquess of Waterford.)*
HENRY Lord CARLETON. *(Earl of Shannon.)*
EDWARD Lord SUFFIELD.
GUY Lord DORCHESTER.
GEORGE Lord KENYON.
RICHARD Lord BRAYBROOKE.
GEORGE AUGUSTUS Lord FISHERWICK. *(Marquess of Donegal.)*
ARCHIBALD Lord DOUGLAS of DOUGLAS.
HENRY HALL Lord GAGE.
WILLIAM WYNDHAM Lord GRENVILLE
EDWARD THOMAS Lord THURLOW.
GEORGE Lord AUCKLAND.
WILLIAM HENRY Lord LYTTELTON.
HENRY Lord MENDIP. *(Viscount Clifden.)*
HENRY JOHN Lord SELSEY.
LAWRENCE Lord DUNDAS.
CHAS. ANDERSON Lord YARBOROUGH.
FRANCIS Lord STUART of CASTLE STUART. *(Earl of Moray.)*
GEORGE Lord STEWART of GARLIES. *(Earl of Galloway.)*
JAMES GEORGE Lord SALTERSFORD. *(Earl of Courtown.)*
JOHN CHRISTOPHER Lord DAWNAY. *(Viscount Downe.)*
GEORGE Lord BRODRICK. *(Viscount Middleton.)*
GEORGE GOUGH Lord CALTHORPE.
FRANCIS Lord DE DUNSTANVILLE and BASSETT.
JOHN Lord ROLLE.
RICHARD Lord WELLESLEY. *(Marquess Wellesley.)*
ROBERT Lord CARRINGTON.
HENRY WILLIAM Lord BAYNING.
WILLIAM POWLETT Lord BOLTON.
JOHN Lord WODEHOUSE.
JOHN Lord NORTHWICK.
THOMAS ATHERTON Lord LILFORD.
THOMAS Lord RIBBLESDALE.
JOHN Ld. FITZGIBBON. *(Earl of Clare.)*
JOHN Lord CARBERY. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
JOHN Ld. FARNHAM. *(Elect. for Ireland.)*
JAMES Lord DUFFERIN and CLANEBOYE. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
HENRY Lord DUNALLEY. *(Elected for Ireland.)*
CHARLES Lord MOORE. *(Marquess of Drogheda.)*
JOHN Lord LOFTUS. *(Marquess of Ely.)*
JOHN Lord CARYSFORT. *(Earl of Carysfort.)*
WILLIAM Lord ALVANLEY.
GEORGE Lord ABERCROMBY.
ALLEYNE Lord ST. HELEN'S.
JOHN THOMAS Lord REDESDALE.
EDWARD Lord ELLENBOROUGH.
CHARLES GEORGE Lord ARDEN.
GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK CHAS. Lord SHEFFIELD. *(Earl of Sheffield.)*
CHARLES NOEL Lord BARHAM.
DAVID MONTAGU Lord ERSKINE.
HOWE PETER Lord MOUNT EAGLE. *(Marquess of Sligo.)*
ARCHIBALD Lord ARDROSSAN. *(Earl of Eglintoun.)*
JAMES Lord LAUDERDALE. *(Earl of Lauderdale.)*
GEORGE Lord GRANARD. *(Earl of Granard.)*
JOHN Lord CREWE.
JOHN Lord PONSONBY of IMOKILLY.
ARCHIBALD Lord AILSA. *(Earl of Cassillis.)*
JOHN Lord BREADALBANE. *(Earl of Breadalbane.)*

Alan Legge Lord Gardner.

Thomas Lord Manners.

James Lord Gambier.

John Lord Hopetoun and Niddry. *(Earl of Hopetoun.)*

Thomas Lord Lynedoch.

Rowland Lord Hill.

George Lord Dalhousie. *(Earl of Dalhousie.)*

George Lord Meldrum. *(Earl of Aboyne.)*

George Lord Ross. *(Earl of Glasgow.)*

John Willoughby Lord Grinstead. *(In another place as Earl of Enniskillen.)*

Edmund Henry Lord Foxford. *(In another place as Earl of Limerick.)*

William Lord Melbourne.

Francis Almerick Lord Churchill.

William George Lord Harris.

Algernon Lord Prudhoe.

Charles Lord Colchester.

John William Robert Lord Ker. *(Marquess of Lothian)*

Henry Lord Minster. *(In another place as Marquess Conyngham.)*

James Lord Ormonde. *(Marquess of Ormonde.)*

Francis Charteris Lord Wemyss. *(Earl of Wemyss and March.)*

Robert Lord Clanbrassil. *(Earl of Roden.)*

George Lord Kingston. *(In another place as Earl of Kingston.)*

Thomas Lord Silchester. *(In another place as Earl of Longford.)*

James Lord Glenlyon.

William Lord Maryborough.

Thomas Henry Lord Oriel.

William Lord Stowell.

Thomas Henry Lord Ravensworth.

Thomas Lord Delamere.

John George Lord Forester.

Nicholas Lord Bexley.

Robert Francis Lord Gifford.

Percy-Clinton-Sydney Lord Penshurst. *(Viscount Strangford.)*

William Lord Tadcaster. *(In another place as Marquess of Thomond.)*

Ulic John Lord Somerhill. *(Marquess of Clanricarde.)*

James Lord Wigan. *(Earl of Balcarres.)*

Thomas Lord Ranfurly. *(Viscount Northland.)*

Charles Lord Farnborough.

George Lord De Tabley.

James Archibald Lord Wharncliffe.

Charles Lord Feversham.

Charles Rose Lord Seaford.

John Singleton Lord Lyndhurst. *(In another place as Lord Chancellor.)*

James Lord Fife.

Charles Lord Tenterden.

William Conyngham Lord Plunket.

Thomas Lord Melros. *(Earl of Haddington.)*

Henry Lord Cowley.

Charles Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

William Lord Heytesbury.

Archibald John Lord Rosebery. *(In another place as Earl of Rosebery)*

Richard Lord Clanwilliam. *(Earl of Clanwilliam.)*

John George Lord Durham.

Edward Lord Skelmersdale.

Thomas Lord Wallace.

William Draper Lord Wynford.

Mem.—*According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

BEING THE

FOURTH SESSION OF THE EIGHTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AND THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF GEORGE IV.

APPOINTED TO MEET AT WESTMINSTER THE 4TH OF FEB. 1830,

IN THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

(Corrected to the First Day of Meeting.)

Abercromby, rt. hon. J.	*Calne*
Acland, sir Thos. D., bt.	*Devonshire*
A'Court, Edw. Henry	*Heytesbury*
Alcock, Thos.	*Newton, Lancashire*
Alexander, Henry	*Barnstaple*
Alexander, James	*Old Sarum*
Althorp, viscount	*Northamptonshire*
Anson, sir George	*Lichfield*
Anson, hon. George	*Yarmouth*
Antrobus, Gibbs Crawf.	*Plympton*
Apsley, lord	*Cirencester*
Arbuthnot, rt. hon. Chas.	*St. Ives*
Arbuthnot, hon. H.	*Kincardineshire*
Arcedeckne, Andrew	*Dunwich*
Archdall, Mervyn	*Fermanaghshire*
Arkwright, Richard	*Rye*
Ashburnham, hon. P.	*Beeralston*
Ashley, lord	*Woodstock*
Ashley-Cooper, hon. A. W.	*Dorchester*
Ashurst, William H.	*Oxfordshire*
Astell, William	*Bridgewater*
Astley, sir John D., bt.	*Wiltshire*
Atkins, John	*Arundel*
Attwood, Matt.	*Callington*
Baillie, John	*Hedon*
Baker, Edward	*Wilton*
Balfour, James	*Crail, &c.*
Bankes, George	*Corfe-Castle*
Bankes, Henry	*Dorsetshire*
Bankes, William John	*Marlborough*
Barclay, Charles	*Dundalk*
Barclay, David	*Penryn*
Baring, sir Thos., bt.	*Wycombe*
Baring, Alexander	*Callington*
Baring, Francis	*Portsmouth*
Baring, William B.	*Thetford*
Barne, Michael	*Dunwich*
Bastard, Edm. Pollexfen	*Devonshire*
Bastard, John	*Dartmouth*
Batley, Charles H.	*Beverley*
Beaumont, Thomas W.	*Stafford*
Beckett, rt. hon. sir J. bt.	*Haslemere*
Bective, earl of	*Meathshire*
Belfast, earl of	*Belfast*
Belgrave, visc.	*Chester*
Bell, Matthew	*Northumberland*
Benett, John	*Wiltshire*
Benson, Ralph	*Stafford*
Bentinck, lord George	*King's Lynn*
Beresford, sir J. P. bt.	*Northallerton*
Beresford, Marcus	*Berwick*
Bernal, Ralph	*Rochester*
Bernard, Thomas	*King's County*
Bingham, lord	*Mayo*
Birch, Joseph	*Nottingham*
Blackburne, John	*Lancashire*
Blair, James	*Minehead*
Blake, sir Francis, bt.	*Berwick*
Blandford, marquis	*Woodstock*
Bonham, Henry	*Rye*
Borradaile, R.	*Newcastle-under-Line*
Bourne, rt. hon. W. Sturg.	*Ashburton*
Bouverie, hon. Barth.	*Downton*
Bouverie, hon. Dunc. P.	*New Sarum*
Boyd, Walter	*Lymington*
Boyle, hon. John	*Corkshire*
Bradshaw, Rob. Haldane	*Brackley*
Bradshaw, James	*Brackley*
Brecknock, earl of	*Bath*
Bright, Henry	*Bristol*
Brogden, James	*Launceston*
Brougham, Henry	*Winchelsea*
Brougham, James	*Tregony*
Browne, James	*Mayo*
Brownlow, Charles	*Armaghshire*
Bruen, Henry	*Carlowshire*
Brydges, sir John	*Coleraine*
Buck, Lewis W.	*Exeter*
Buller, Charles	*West Looe*
Burdett, sir F., bt.	*Westminster*
Burrard, George	*Lymington*
Burrell, sir C. M., bt.	*New Shoreham*
Burrell, Walter	*Sussex*
Buxton, John Jacob	*Bedwyn*
Buxton, Thos. Fowell	*Weymouth*
Byng, George	*Middlesex*
Byron, Thomas	*Hertford*
Calcraft, rt. hon. John	*Wareham*

Callaghan, Gerard	*Cork*
Calthorpe, hon. Fred. G.	*Bramber*
Calthorpe, hon. Arthur	*Hindon*
Calvert, Charles	*Southwark*
Calvert, John	*Huntingdon*
Calvert, Nicolson	*Hertfordshire*
Campbell, John	*Dumbartonshire*
Campbell, Walter F.	*Argyleshire*
Campbell, Archibald	*Glasgow, &c.*
Canning, rt. hon. Str.	*Old Sarum*
Capel, John	*Queenborough*
Carew, Rob. Shapl.	*Wexfordshire*
Carmarthen, marquis	*Helleston*
Carrington, sir E. C.	*St. Mawes*
Carter, John	*Portsmouth*
Cartwright, Wm. R.	*Northamptonsh.*
Castlereagh, viscount	*Downshire*
Caulfield, hon. Henry	*Armaghshire*
Cave, Robert O.	*Leicester*
Cavendish, ld. G. A. H.	*Derbyshire*
Cavendish, Henry F. C.	*Derby*
Cavendish, Chas. C.	*Newton, Hants*
Cavendish, William	*Cambridge Univers.*
Cawthorne, John F.	*Lancaster*
Cecil, lord Thomas	*Stamford*
Chamberlayne, Wm.	*Southampton*
Chandos, marquis	*Bucks*
Chaplin, Charles	*Lincolnshire*
Chaplin, Thomas	*Stamford*
Chichester, sir A., bt.	*Carrickfergus*
Chichester, Arthur	*Milborne-Port*
Cholmeley, M. J.	*Grantham*
Cholmondeley, ld. H.	*Castle Rising*
Clements, viscount	*Leitrimshire*
Clarke, hon. Chas. H. B.	*Kilkennysh.*
Clerk, sir Geo., bt.	*Edinburghshire*
Clifton, lord	*Canterbury*
Clinton, C. J. F.	*Aldborough*
Clive, viscount	*Ludlow*
Clive, hon. Robert H.	*Ludlow*
Clive, Edw. B.	*Hereford*
Clive, Henry	*Montgomery*
Cockburn, rt. hon. sir G.	*Plymouth*
Cockerell, sir Chas., bt.	*Evesham*
Cocks, James	*Ryegate*
Coke, Thomas Wm.	*Norfolk*
Colborne, Nich. W. R.	*Horsham*
Cole, sir Christ.	*Glamorganshire*
Cole, hon. Arthur H.	*Enniskillen*
Collett, Ebenezer John	*Cashell*
Cooke, sir Henry F.	*Orford*
Cooper, Rob. Bransby	*Gloucester*
Cooper, Edward Synge	*Sligoshire*
Coote, sir Chas. H., bt.	*Queen's County*
Corbett, Panton	*Shrewsbury*
Corry, viscount	*Fermanaghshire*
Corry, hon. Hen. T. L.	*Tyroneshire*
Cotterell, sir J. G., bt.	*Herefordshire*
Courtenay, rt. hon. T. P.	*Totness*
Cradock, Sheldon	*Camelford*
Cripps, Joseph	*Cirencester*
Croker, rt. hon. J. W.	*Dublin Univers.*
Crompton, Samuel	*Derby*
Curteis, Edward Jer.	*Sussex*
Curzon, hon. Robert	*Clitherow*
Cust, hon. Edward	*Lestwithiel*
Cust, hon. Peregrine F.	*Clitherow*
Dalrymple, Adol. J.	*Haddington, &c.*
Daly, James	*Galwayshire*
Darlington, earl	*Totness*
Davenport, Davies	*Cheshire*
Davenport, Edw. D.	*Shaftesbury*
Davidson, Duncan	*Cromartyshire*
Davies, Thos. Henry	*Worcester*
Davis, Richard Hart	*Bristol*
Dawkins, Henry	*Boroughbridge*
Dawson, Alexander	*Louth*
Dawson, Geo. R.	*Londonderry County*
Dawson, James H. M.	*Clonmell*
Denison, Wm. Joseph	*Surrey*
Denison, John E.	*Hastings*
Dick, Quintin	*Orford*
Dick, Hugh	*Maldon*
Dickinson, William	*Somersetshire*
Doherty, John	*Kilkenny*
Domville, sir C., bt.	*Okehampton*
Dottin, Abel R.	*Southampton*
Douglas, Wm. R. K.	*Dumfries, &c.*
Douro, marquis	*Aldeburgh*
Dowdeswell, John Edm.	*Tewkesbury*
Downes, lord	*Queenborough*
Downie, Robert	*Inverkeithing, &c.*
Drake, Thomas T.	*Agmondesham*
Drake, William T.	*Agmondesham*
Drummond, Henry H.	*Stirlingshire*
Ducane, Peter	*Steyning*
Duff, hon. Alexander	*Elgin, &c.*
Dugdale, Dugd. Stratf.	*Warwickshire*
Duncannon, viscount	*Kilkennyshire*
Duncombe, Thomas S.	*Hertford*
Duncombe, hon. Wm.	*Yorkshire*
Dundas, rt. hon. Wm.	*Edinburgh*
Dundas, hon. sir R. L.	*Richmond*
Dundas, hon. G. H. L.	*Orkney*
Dundas, hon. Henry	*Rochester*
Dundas, hon. Thomas	*Richmond*
Dundas, Robert Adam	*Ipswich*
Dundas, Charles	*Berkshire*
East, sir Edward H. bt.	*Winchester*
Easthope, John	*St. Alban's*
Eastnor, viscount	*Hereford*
Ebrington, viscount	*Tavistock*
Eden, hon. Robert H.	*Fowey*
Egerton, Wilbraham	*Cheshire*
Eliot, lord	*Liskeard*
Ellis, hon. G. J. W. A.	*Ludgershall*
Ellis, hon. Augustus F.	*Seaford*
Ellison, Cuthb.	*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*

Encombe, viscount	*Truro*
Ennismore, viscount	*Kerryshire*
Estcourt, Thos. G. B.	*Oxford Univ.*
Estcourt, T. H. S. B.	*Marlborough*
Euston, earl	*Bury St. Edmunds*
Ewart, William	*Blechingley*
Fane, sir Henry	*Sandwich*
Fane, hon. Henry S.	*Lyme Regis*
Fane, John	*Oxfordshire*
Fane, John Thomas	*Lyme Regis*
Farquhar, sir Rob. T. bt.	*Hythe*
Farquhar, James	*Portarlington*
Fazakerley, John N.	*Lincoln*
Fellowes, Wm. Hen.	*Huntingdonshire*
Ferguson, sir Ronald C.	*Dysart, &c.*
Fergusson, Rob. C.	*Kirkcudbright*
Fetherston, sir G. R. bt.	*Longfordshire*
Fitzgerald, ld. Wm. C.	*Kildareshire*
Fitzgerald, rt. hon. Mau.	*Kerryshire*
Fitzgerald, rt. hon. W. V.	*Newport*
Fitzgerald, John	*Seaford*
Fitz-Gibbon, hon. Rd.	*Limerickshire*
Fitzroy, lord Charles	*Thetford*
Fleming, John	*Hampshire*
Foley, Edward T.	*Ludgershall*
Foley, John H. H.	*Droitwich*
Forbes, viscount	*Longfordshire*
Forbes, sir Chas., bt.	*Malmesbury*
Forbes, John	*Malmesbury*
Forester, hon. G. C. W.	*Wenlock*
Fortescue, hon. Geo. M.	*Hindon*
Foster, John Leslie	*Louth*
Frankland, Robert	*Thirsk*
Fremantle, sir Thos., bt.	*Buckingham*
French, Arthur	*Roscommonshire*
Fyler, Thomas B.	*Coventry*
Garlies, viscount	*Cockermouth*
Gascoyne, Isaac	*Liverpool*
Gilbert, Davies	*Bodmyn*
Gooch, sir Thomas S. bt.	*Suffolk*
Gordon, sir James W.	*Launceston*
Gordon, hon. Will.	*Aberdeenshire*
Gordon, John	*Weymouth*
Gordon, Robert	*Cricklade*
Goulburn, rt. hon. Henry	*Armagh*
Gower, lord F. L.	*Sutherlandshire*
Graham, marquis of	*Cambridge*
Graham, sir J. R. G.	*Cumberland*
Grant, sir Alex. Cray, bt.	*Aldborough*
Grant, rt. hon. C.	*Inverness-shire*
Grant, hon. Francis W.	*Elginshire*
Grant, Robert	*Fortrose, &c.*
Grattan, Henry	*Dublin*
Grattan, James	*Wicklowshire*
Greene, Thomas	*Lancaster*
Greville, hon. sir C. J.	*Warwick*
Grosvenor, hon. Robt.	*Chester*
Grosvenor, Thomas	*Stockbridge*
Guest, Josiah John	*Honiton*
Guise, sir B. W. bt.	*Gloucestershire*
Gurney, Hudson	*Newton, Hants*
Gye, Frederick	*Chippenham*
Halse, James	*St. Ives*
Handcock, Richard	*Athlone*
Hardinge, rt. hon. sir H.	*Durham City*
Hart, George Vaughan	*Donegalshire*
Harvey, sir Eliab	*Essex*
Harvey, Daniel W.	*Colchester*
Hastings, sir C. A. bt.	*Leicester*
Hay, lord John	*Haddingtonshire*
Hay, Adam	*Selkirk, &c.*
Heathcote, sir Gilbert, bt.	*Rutland*
Heathcote, sir W. bt.	*Hampshire*
Heathcote, Gilbert John	*Boston*
Heathcote, Richard E.	*Coventry*
Heneage, George F.	*Grimsby*
Heron, sir Robert, bt.	*Peterborough*
Herries, rt. hon. John C.	*Harwich*
Hill, lord Arthur	*Downshire*
Hill, rt. hon. sir G. F. bt.	*Londonderry*
Hill, sir Rowland, bt.	*Shropshire*
Hobhouse, John Cam.	*Westminster*
Hodgson, Frederic	*Barnstaple*
Hodson, James Alex.	*Wigan*
Holdsworth, Arthur H.	*Dartmouth*
Holmesdale, visc.	*East Grinstead*
Holmes, William	*Bishop's Castle*
Honeywood, William P.	*Kent*
Hope, hon. sir Alex.	*Linlithgowshire*
Hope, sir W. Johnstone	*Dumfries-shire*
Hope, Henry T.	*East Looe*
Horton, rt. hn. R. J. W.	*Newcast. Staff.*
Hotham, lord	*Leominster*
Houldsworth, Thomas	*Pontefract*
Howard, hon. Fulk G.	*Castle Rising*
Howard, Henry	*New Shoreham*
Howard, Ralph	*Wicklowshire*
Howick, viscount	*Winchelsea*
Hughes, William Lewis	*Wallingford*
Hulse, sir Charles, bt.	*West Looe*
Hume, Joseph	*Aberdeen, &c.*
Huskisson, rt. hon. Wm.	*Liverpool*
Hutchinson, John H.	*Cork*
Hutchinson, John H.	*Tipperary*
Ingilby, sir W. A., bt.	*Lincolnshire*
Inglis, sir R. H. bt.	*Oxford Univers.*
Innes, sir Hugh, bt.	*Kirkwall, &c.*
Irving, John	*Bramber*
Jephson, C. D. O.	*Mallow*
Jermyn, earl	*Bury St. Edmund's*
Jolliffe, Hylton	*Petersfield*
Jones, John	*Carmarthen*
Kavanagh, Thomas	*Carlowshire*
Keck, George A. L.	*Leicestershire*
Kekewich, Samuel T.	*Exeter*
Kemp, Thos. Read	*Lewes*
Kennedy, Thomas Francis	*Ayr, &c.*
Kerrison, sir Edward, bt.	*Eye*

Kilderbee, Spenser H.	*Aldeburgh*
King, sir John D., bt.	*Wycombe*
King, hon. Robert	*Corkshire*
King, hon. Robert	*Roscommonshire*
King, hon. Henry	*Sligo*
Knatchbull, sir Edw., bt.	*Kent*
Knight, Robert	*Wallingford*
Knox, hon. John Henry	*Newry*
Knox, hon. Thomas	*Dungannon*
Labouchere, Henry	*St. Michael's*
Lamb, hon. George	*Dungarvon*
Lambert, James S.	*Galwayshire*
Langston, James H.	*Oxford*
Lascelles, hon. W. S.	*East Looe*
Lascelles, hon. Henry	*Northallerton*
Latouche, Robert	*Kildareshire*
Lawley, Francis	*Warwickshire*
Leake, William	*St. Michael's*
Legge, hon. Arthur C.	*Banbury*
Legh, Thomas	*Newton, Lancashire*
Lennard, Thomas B.	*Maldon*
Lennox, lord John Geo.	*Chichester*
Lester, Benjamin Lester	*Poole*
Lethbridge, sir T. B., bt.	*Somersetshire*
Lewis, rt. hon. T. F.	*Radnorshire*
Leycester, Ralph	*Shaftesbury*
Liddell, hon. H. T.	*Northumberland*
Lindsay, hon. Hugh	*Forfar, &c.*
Lindsay, James	*Wigan*
Littleton, Edward John	*Staffordshire*
Lloyd, sir Edw. Price, bt.	*Flint*
Lloyd, Thomas	*Limerickshire*
Loch, James	*St. Germain's*
Lockhart, John Ingram	*Oxford*
Lockhart, William Elliot	*Selkirkshire*
Lombe, Edward	*Arundel*
Lott, Harry B.	*Honiton*
Lovaine, lord	*Beeralston*
Lowther, viscount	*Westmorland*
Lowther, sir John, bt.	*Cumberland*
Lowther, hon. Henry C.	*Westmorland*
Lowther, John Henry	*Wigton, &c.*
Lucy, George	*Fowey*
Lumley, John S.	*Nottinghamshire*
Lushington, rt. hon. S. R.	*Canterbury*
Lushington, Stephen	*Tregony*
Lushington, James L.	*Carlisle*
Luttrell, John Fownes	*Minehead*
Lygon, hon. Hen. B.	*Worcestershire*
Maberly, John	*Abingdon*
Maberly, William L.	*Northampton*
Macaulay, Colin	*Saltash*
Macdonald, sir James, bt.	*Calne*
Mackinnon, Charles,	*Ipswich*
Mackintosh, rt. hon. sir J.	*Knaresboro'*
Mackenzie, sir J. W. bt.	*Ross-shire*
Macleod, John N.	*Sudbury*
M'Naughten, Edm. A.	*Antrimshire*
Macqueen Thomas P.	*Bedfordshire*
Maitland, viscount	*Appleby*
Maitland, hon. Antony	*Berwickshire*
Maitland, Eben. F.	*Chippenham*
Malcolm, Neill	*Boston*
Mandeville, viscount	*Huntingdonshire*
Manners, lord C. S.	*Cambridgesh.*
Manners, lord Robert	*Leicestershire*
Manning, William	*Penryn*
Marjoribanks, Stewart	*Hythe*
Marryatt, Joseph	*Sandwich*
Marshall, John	*Yorkshire*
Marshall, William	*Petersfield*
Martin, sir Thomas B.	*Plymouth*
Martin, John	*Tewkesbury*
Maule, hon. William R.	*Forfarshire*
Maxwell, sir Wm. bt.	*Wigtonshire*
Maxwell, Henry	*Cavanshire*
Maxwell, John	*Renfrewshire*
Maxwell, John Waring	*Downpatrick*
Meynell, Henry	*Lisburne*
Milbank, Mark	*Camelford*
Mildmay, Paulet St. John	*Winchester*
Miles, Philip J.	*Corfe-Castle*
Milton, viscount	*Yorkshire*
Monck, John Berkeley	*Reading*
Montgomery, sir James, bt.	*Peebleshire*
Moore, George	*Dublin*
Morgan, sir C., bt.	*Monmouthshire*
Morgan, George Gould	*Brecon*
Morison, John	*Banfshire*
Morland, sir Scrope B., bt	*St. Mawes*
Morpeth, viscount	*Morpeth*
Mostyn, sir Thomas, bt.	*Flintshire*
Mountcharles, earl	*Donegalshire*
Mundy, Francis	*Derbyshire*
Mundy, George	*Boroughbridge*
Murray, rt. hon. sir Geo.	*Perthshire*
Newborough, lord	*Carnarvonshire*
Newport, rt. hon. sir J., bt.	*Waterford*
Nicholl, rt. hon. sir John	*Bedwyn*
Noel, sir Gerard N., bt.	*Rutland*
Normanby, viscount	*Malton*
North, John H.	*Milborne-Port*
Northcote, Henry S.	*Heytesbury*
Norton, George C.	*Guildford*
Nugent, lord	*Aylesbury*
Nugent, sir George, bt.	*Buckingham*
O'Brien, Lucius	*Clare*
O'Brien, William S.	*Ennis*
O'Connell, Daniel	*Clare*
O'Hara, James	*Galway*
O'Neil, hon. John R. B.	*Antrimshire*
O'Neill, Aug. J.	*Kingston-upon-Hull*
Onslow, Arthur	*Guildford*
Ord, William	*Morpeth*
Osborne, lord F. G.	*Cambridgeshire*
Owen, sir John, bt.	*Pembrokeshire*
Owen, Hugh O.	*Pembroke*
Oxmantown, lord	*King's County*

Paget, lord William	*Carnarvon*
Palk, sir Lawrence V., bt.	*Ashburton*
Pallmer, Charles N.	*Surrey*
Palmer, Charles F.	*Reading*
Palmer, Robert	*Berkshire*
Palmerston, visc.	*Cambr. Univers.*
Parnell, sir Henry, bt.	*Queen's County*
Peach, Nathaniel Will.	*Truro*
Peachy, William	*Taunton*
Pearse, John	*Devizes*
Peel, right hon. Robert	*Westbury*
Peel, Jonathan	*Norwich*
Peel, Lawrence	*Cockermouth*
Peel, William Yates	*Tamworth*
Pelham, John Cresset	*Shropshire*
Pendarvis, Edw. W. W.	*Cornwall*
Pennant, Geo. H. D.	*Romney*
Penruddock, John H.	*Wilton*
Perceval, Spencer	*Newport, I. of W.*
Petit, Louis H.	*Ripon*
Phillimore, Jos.	*Yarmouth, Hants*
Philipps, sir R. B., bt.	*Haverfordwest*
Philips, sir Geo. bt.	*Wootton-Bassett*
Philips, George Richard	*Steyning*
Phipps, hon. Edmund	*Scarborough*
Pigott, Geo. E. G. F.	*Kinross-shire*
Pitt, Joseph	*Cricklade*
Planta, Joseph	*Hastings*
Pollen, sir John W., bt.	*Andover*
Ponsonby, hon. F. C.	*Higham Ferrars*
Ponsonby, hon. George	*Youghall*
Ponsonby, hon. Will. F. S.	*Poole*
Portman, Edw. Berkeley	*Dorsetshire*
Powell, Alexander	*Downton*
Powell, W. Edward	*Cardiganshire*
Power, Richard	*Waterfordshire*
Powlett, lord W. I. F.	*Durham Coun.*
Poyntz, William Stephen	*Chichester*
Prendergast, Michael Geo.	*Gatton*
Price, Robert	*Herefordshire*
Price, Richard	*New Radnor*
Pringle, sir Wm. Henry	*Liskeard*
Prittie, hon. Francis A.	*Tipperary*
Protheroe, Edward	*Evesham*
Pryse, Pryse	*Cardigan*
Rae, sir William, bart.	*Harwich*
Raine, Jonathan	*Newport, Cornwall*
Ramsbottom, John	*Windsor*
Ramsden, John Charles	*Malton*
Rancliffe, lord	*Nottingham*
Rice, Thomas Spring	*Limerick*
Rickford, William	*Aylesbury*
Ridley, sir M. W., bt.	*Newcastle-up.-T.*
Robarts, Abraham W.	*Maidstone*
Roberts, Wilson A.	*Bewdley*
Robinson, sir George, bt.	*Northampton*
Robinson, George R.	*Worcester*
Rochfort, Gust.	*Westmeath County*
Rogers, Edward	*Bishop's Castle*
Rose, rt. hon. sir. Geo. H.	*Christchurch*
Rose, George P.	*Christchurch*
Ross, Charles	*St. Germain's*
Rowley, sir W., bart.	*Suffolk*
Rumbold, Charles E.	*Yarmouth*
Russell, lord John	*Bandon-bridge*
Russell, lord George W.	*Bedford*
Russell, lord William	*Tavistock*
Russell, John	*Kinsale*
Russell, Robert G.	*Thirsk*
Russell, William	*Durham County*
Ryder, right hon. Richard	*Tiverton*
St. Paul, sir H. D. Chol. bt.	*Bridport*
Sadler, Michael T.	*Newark*
Sanderson, Richard	*Colchester*
Sandon, viscount	*Tiverton*
Saunderson, Alex.	*Cavanshire*
Scarlett, sir James	*Peterborough*
Scott, sir William	*Carlisle*
Scott, hon. William	*Gatton*
Scott, hon. Wm. H. I.	*Newport, I. of W.*
Scott, Henry F.	*Roxburghshire*
Scott, Samuel	*Whitchurch*
Sebright, sir J. S., bart.	*Hertfordshire*
Sefton, earl of	*Droitwitch*
Seymour, Henry	*Taunton*
Seymour, Horace B.	*Bodmyn*
Shelley, sir John, bart.	*Lewes*
Shirley, Evelyn J.	*Monaghanshire*
Sibthorp, Charles	*Lincoln*
Sinclair, hon. James	*Caithness*
Slaney, Robert A.	*Shrewsbury*
Smith, hon. Rob. J.	*Buckinghamshire*
Smith, Abel	*Midhurst*
Smith, Christopher	*St. Alban's*
Smith, George	*Wendover*
Smith, John	*Midhurst*
Smith, Samuel	*Wendover*
Smith, Thos. Assheton	*Andover*
Smith, William	*Norwich*
Smith, Robert V.	*Tralee*
Somerset, lord G. C. H.	*Monmouthsh.*
Somerset, ld. Rob. E. H.	*Gloucestersh.*
Somerville, sir Marc. bt.	*Meathshire*
Sotheron, Frank	*Nottinghamshire*
Spence, George	*Ripon*
Spottiswoode, Andrew	*Saltash*
Stanley, lord	*Lancashire*
Stanley, hon. Edw. G. S.	*Preston*
Starkie, Le Gendre N.	*Pontefract*
Stephenson, Rowland	*Leominster*
Stewart, sir Mich. S. bt.	*Lanarkshire*
Stewart, Alex. R.	*Londonderryshire*
Stewart, John	*Beverley*
Stewart, William	*Tyrone County*
Stopford, viscount	*Wexfordshire*
Strathaven, lord	*Grinstead*
Strutt, Joseph Holden	*Okehampton*
Stuart, ld. Pat. J. H. E.	*Cardiff*

STUART, Henry V.	*Waterfordshire*
STUART, James	*Huntingdon*
SUGDEN, Edward B.	*Weymouth*
SURRY, Earl of	*Horsham*
SUTTON, rt. hon. C. M.	*Scarborough*
SYKES, Daniel	*Kingston-upon-Hull*
TALBOT, Richard Wogan	*Dublinshire*
TALMASH, hon. Fred. J.	*Grantham*
TALMASH, hon. Felix T.	*Ilchester*
TALMASH, hon. Lionel	*Ilchester*
TAPPS, George W.	*Romney*
TAVISTOCK, marquis of	*Bedfordshire*
TAYLOR, sir Chas. Wm. bt.	*Wells*
TAYLOR, George Watson	*Devizes*
TAYLOR, Mich. Angelo	*Durham City*
TENNYSON, Charles	*Blechingley*
THOMPSON, George L.	*Haslemere*
THOMPSON, Paul B.	*Wenlock*
THOMPSON, William	*London*
THOMSON, Charles P.	*Dover*
THYNNE, lord Henry	*Weobly*
THYNNE, lord John	*Bath*
THYNNE, lord William	*Weobly*
TIERNEY, rt. hon. Geo.	*Knaresborough*
TOMES, John	*Warwick*
TOWNSHEND, lord Chas. F.	*Tamworth*
TOWNSHEND, lord J. N. B.	*Halleston*
TOWNSHEND, hon. J. R.	*Whitchurch*
TRANT, William H.	*Dover*
TRENCH, Fred. William	*Cambridge*
TREVOR, hon. Geo. Rice	*Carmarthen*
TUDWAY, John P.	*Wells*
TUFTON, hon. H.	*Appleby*
TUITE, Hugh M.	*Westmeath*
TULLAMORE, lord	*Carlow*
TUNNO, Edward R.	*Bossiney*
TWISS, Horace	*Wootton-Bassett*
TYNTE, Chas. Kemys	*Bridgewater*
URE, Masterton	*Weymouth*
UXBRIDGE, earl of	*Anglesey*
VALLETORT, viscount	*Lestwithiel*
VAN HOMRIGH, Peter	*Drogheda*
VAUGHAN, sir R. W. bt.	*Merionethsh.*
VERNON, Geo. Granv. V.	*Lichfield*
VILLIERS, Thomas H.	*Hedon*
VIVIAN, sir R. Hussey, bt.	*Windsor*
VYVYAN, sir Rd. Rawl. bt.	*Cornwall*
WAITHMAN, Robert	*London*
WALL, Charles Baring	*Wareham*
WALLACE, Thomas	*Yarm. I. of Wight*
WALPOLE, hon. John	*King's Lynn*
WALROND, Bethel	*Sudbury*
WARBURTON, Henry	*Bridport*
WARD, William	*London*
WARRENDER, rt. hn. sir G. bt.	*Westbury*
WEBB, Edward	*Gloucester*
WELLS, John	*Maidstone*
WEMYSS, James	*Fife*
WEST, Frederick R.	*Denbigh*
WESTENRA, hon. H. R.	*Monaghansh.*
WESTERN, Charles Callis	*Essex*
WETHERELL, sir C.	*Plympton-Earle*
WHITBREAD, Sam. Chas.	*Middlesex*
WHITBREAD, Wm. Henry	*Bedford*
WHITE, Henry	*Dublinshire*
WHITE, Samuel	*Leitrimshire*
WHITMORE, Thomas	*Bridgenorth*
WHITMORE, Will. Wolr.	*Bridgenorth*
WIGRAM, William	*New Ross*
WIGRAM, Sir Robt.	*Wexford*
WILBRAHAM, George	*Stockbridge*
WILLIAMS, sir Rob., bt.	*Beaumaris*
WILLIAMS, Owen	*Marlow*
WILLIAMS, Robert	*Dorchester*
WILLIAMS, Thomas Peers	*Marlow*
WILLOUGHBY, Henry	*Newark*
WILSON, sir Robert T.	*Southwark*
WILSON, James	*York*
WILSON, Richard F.	*Yorkshire*
WINNINGTON, sir T. E. bt.	*Worcestersh.*
WODEHOUSE, Edmond	*Norfolk*
WOOD, Charles	*Grimsby*
WOOD, John	*Preston*
WOOD, Matthew	*London*
WOOD, Thomas	*Breconshire*
WORCESTER, marquis of	*Monmouth*
WORTLEY, hon. John S.	*Bossiney*
WROTTESLEY, sir J., bt.	*Staffordshire*
WYNDHAM, Wadham	*New Sarum*
WYNN, sir Watkin Wm., bt.	*Denbighsh.*
WYNN, rt. hn. C. W. W.	*Montgomerysh.*
WYNNE, Owen	*Sligo*
WYVILL, Marmaduke	*York*
YORKE, sir Joseph Sydney	*Ryegate*

SPEAKER,

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES MANNERS SUTTON.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER OF COUNTIES, BOROUGHS, &c.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Abingdon.
John Maberly.
Agmondesham.
T. T. Drake,
W. T. Drake.
Albans, St.
Christopher Smith,
John Easthope.
Aldborough.
C. J. Fynes Clinton,
Sir Alex. C. Grant, bart.
Aldeburgh.
Marquis of Douro.
Spenser H. Kilderbee.
Andover.
Sir John W. Pollen, bart.
T. A. Smith, jun.
Anglesey.
Earl of Uxbridge.
Appleby.
Hon. Henry Tufton,
Viscount Maitland.
Arundel.
Edward Lombe,
John Atkins.
Ashburton.
Rt. hon. W. S. Bourne.
Sir L. V. Palk, bart.
Aylesbury.
Lord Nugent,
William Rickford.
Banbury.
Hon. Arth. C. Legge.
Barnstaple.
Frederick Hodgson,
Henry Alexander.
Bath.
Lord John Thynne,
Earl of Brecknock.
Beaumaris.
Sir Robert Williams, bart.
Bedfordshire.
Thomas P. Macqueen,
Marquis of Tavistock.
Bedford.
Lord Geo. Wm. Russell,
William Henry Whitbread.
Great Bedwin.
Rt. hon. sir J. Nicholl,
John Jacob Buxton.
Beeralston.
Lord Lovaine,
Hon. P. Ashburnham.
Berkshire.
Charles Dundas,
Robert Palmer.
Berwick.
Marcus Beresford,
Sir Francis Blake, bart.
Beverley.
John Stewart,
Charles H. Batley.
Bewdley.
Wilson A. Roberts.
Bishop's Castle.
William Holmes,
Edward Rogers.
Blechingley.
Charles Tennyson,
William Ewart.
Bodmyn.
Davies Gilbert,
Horace B. Seymour.
Boroughbridge.
George Mundy,
Henry Dawkins.
Bossiney.
Hon. J. Stuart Wortley,
Edward Rose Tunno.
Boston.
Gilbert John Heathcote,
Neill Malcolm.
Brackley.
R. Haldane Bradshaw,
James Bradshaw.
Bramber.
John Irving,
Hon. Fred. G. Calthorpe.
Breconshire.
Thomas Wood.
Brecon.
George Gould Morgan.
Bridgenorth.
Thomas Whitmore,
Will. Wolryche Whitmore.
Bridgewater.
William Astell,
Chas. Kemeys K. Tynte.
Bridport.
Sir H. D. C. St. Paul,
Henry Warburton.
Bristol.
Rich. Hart Davis,
Henry Bright.
Buckinghamshire.
Marquis of Chandos,
Hon. Robert J. Smith.
Buckingham.
Sir George Nugent, bart.
Sir Thos. F. Fremantle, bt.
Callington.
Alexander Baring,
Matthias Attwood.
Calne.
Rt. hon. Jas. Abercromby,
Sir James Macdonald, bart.
Cambridgeshire.
Rt. hon. lord C. S. Manners,
Rt. hon. lord F. G. Osborne.
Cambridge University.
Viscount Palmerston,
William Cavendish.
Cambridge Borough.
Marquis of Graham,
Fred. Wm. Trench.
Camelford.
Mark Milbank,
Sheldon Cradock.
Canterbury.
Rt. hon. S. R. Lushington,
Lord Clifton.
Cardiff.
Lord P. J. H. C. Stewart.
Cardiganshire.
William Edward Powell.
Cardigan.
Pryse Pryse.

Carlisle.
James Law Lushington,
Sir William Scott, bart.

Carmarthenshire.
Hon. G. R. Rice Trevor.

Carmarthen.
John Jones.

Carnarvonshire.
Lord Newborough.

Carnarvon.
Lord William Paget.

Castle Rising.
Lord H. Cholmondeley,
Hon. F. Grev. Howard.

Cheshire.
Davies Davenport,
Wilbraham Egerton.

Chester.
Viscount Belgrave,
Hon. Robert Grosvenor.

Chichester.
Rt. hon. ld. J. Geo. Lennox,
William Stephen Poyntz.

Chippenham.
Eben. Fuller Maitland,
Frederick Gye.

Christchurch.
Rt. hon. sir G. H. Rose,
George Pitt Rose.

Cirencester.
Rt. hon. lord Apsley,
Joseph Cripps.

Clitherow.
Hon. Robert Curzon,
Hon. P. F. Cust.

Cockermouth.
Viscount Garlies,
Lawrence Peel.

Colchester.
Daniel Whittle Harvey.
Richard Sanderson.

Corfe-Castle.
George Bankes,
Philip John Miles.

Cornwall.
Sir R. Raw. Vyvyan, bt.
E. W. W. Pendarvis.

Coventry.
Richard E. Heathcote,
Thomas Bilcliffe Fyler.

Cricklade.
Joseph Pitt,
Robert Gordon.

Cumberland.
Sir John Lowther, bart,
Sir J. R. G. Graham, bart.

Dartmouth.
John Bastard,
Arthur Howe Holdsworth.

Denbighshire.
Sir W. W. Wynn, bart.

Denbigh.
Frederick Richard West.

Derbyshire.
Lord G. A. H. Cavendish,
Francis Mundy.

Derby.
Hen. Fred. C. Cavendish,
Samuel Crompton.

Devizes.
John Pearse,
George Watson Taylor.

Devonshire.
Sir Thos. D. Acland, bart.
Edm. Pollexfen Bastard.

Dorchester.
Robert Williams,
Hon. A. W. Ashley-Cooper.

Dorsetshire.
Henry Bankes,
Edw. Berkeley Portman.

Dover.
Chas. Poulett Thomson,
William Henry Trant.

Downton.
Hon. Barth. Bouverie,
Alexander Powell.

Droitwich.
Earl of Sefton,
John Hodgetts H. Foley.

Dunwich.
Michael Barne,
Andrew Arcedeckne.

Durham, County.
Lord W. J. F. Powlett,
William Russell.

Durham.
Michael Angelo Taylor,
Rt. hon. sir Hen. Hardinge.

East Looe.
Hon. Will. Seb. Lascelles.
Henry T. Hope.

Edmund's, Bury St.
Earl of Euston,
Earl Jermyn.

Essex.
Sir Eliab Harvey,
Charles Callis Western.

Evesham.
Sir Chas. Cockerell, bart.,
Edward Protheroe.

Exeter.
Sam. Trehawke Kekewich,
Lewis William Buck.

Eye.
Sir Edward Kerrison,
Sir Miles Nightingall.

Flintshire.
Sir Thomas Mostyn, bart.

Flint.
Sir Edw. Price Lloyd, bart.

Fowey.
Hon. Rob. Henley Eden,
George Lucy.

Gatton.
Hon. William Scott,
Michael Geo. Prendergast.

St. Germain's.
Charles Ross,
James Loch.

Glamorganshire.
Sir Christopher Cole,

Gloucestershire.
Lord R. E. H. Somerset,
Sir Berk. Will. Guise, bart.

Gloucester.
Edward Webb,
Robert Bransby Cooper.

Grantham.
Frederick James Talmash,
Montague John Cholmeley.

Great Grimsby.
Charles Wood,
George Fieschi Heneage.

East Grinstead.
Lord Strathaven,
Viscount Holmsdale.

Guildford.
George Chapple Norton,
Arthur Onslow.

Halleston.
Marquis of Carmarthen,
Lord J. N. B. B. Townshend.

Hampshire.
Sir Will. Heathcote, bart.
John Fleming.

Harwich.
Rt. hon. sir Will. Rae, bart.
Rt. hon. John C. Herries.

Haslemere.
Rt. hon. sir J. Beckett, bt.
George Lowther Thompson.

Hastings.
John Evelyn Denison,
Joseph Planta.

Haverfordwest.
Sir Richard B. Philipps, bt.

Hedon.
John Baillie,
Thomas Hyde Villiers.

Herefordshire.
Sir J. Geers Cotterell, bart.
Robert Price.

Hereford.
Viscount Eastnor,
Edward Bolton Clive.

HERTFORDSHIRE.
Sir John S. Sebright,
Nicholson Calvert.

HERTFORD.
Thomas Byron,
Thomas S. Duncombe.

HEYTESBURY.
Edward Henry A'Court,
Henry Stafford Northcote.

HIGHAM-FERRERS.
Hon. Fred. Cav. Ponsonby.

HINDON.
Hon. Geo. M. Fortescue,
Hon. Arthur G. Calthorpe,

HONITON.
Josiah John Guest,
Harry Baines Lott.

HORSHAM.
Nich. Will. Ridley Colborn.
Earl of Surry.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.
Viscount Mandeville,
William Henry Fellowes.

HUNTINGDON.
John Calvert,
James Stuart.

HYTHE.
Stewart Marjoribanks,
Sir R. T. T. Farquhar, bart.

IPSWICH.
Charles Mackinnon,
Robert Adam Dundas.

IVELCHESTER.
Hon. Lionel Talmash,
Hon. Felix Thos. Talmash.

IVES, ST.
Rt. hon. Chas. Arbuthnot,
James Halse.

KENT.
Sir Edw. Knatchbull, bart.
Wm. Philip Honywood.

KING'S LYNN.
Rt. hn. ld. G.F.C. Bentinck.
Hon. John Walpole.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.
Augustus John O'Neill,
Daniel Sykes.

KNARESBOROUGH.
Rt. hon. Geo. Tierney,
Rt. hon. sir J. Mackintosh.

LANCASHIRE.
John Blackburne,
Lord Stanley.

LANCASTER.
John Fenton Cawthorne,
Thomas Greene.

LAUNCESTON.
Sir James W. Gordon,
James Brogden.

LEICESTERSHIRE.
Rt. hon. lord Rob. Manners,
George Ant. Legh Keck.

LEICESTER.
Sir Chas. A. Hastings, bart.
Robert Otway Cave.

LEOMINSTER.
Lord Hotham,
Rowland Stephenson.

LEWES.
Sir John Shelley, bart.
Thomas Read Kemp.

LINCOLNSHIRE.
Sir W. Am. Ingleby, bart.
Charles Chaplin.

LINCOLN.
John Nicholas Fazakerley,
Chas. D. W. Sibthorp.

LISKEARD.
Lord Eliot,
Sir William Henry Pringle.

LICHFIELD.
Sir George Anson,
George Granv. V. Vernon.

LIVERPOOL.
Rt. hon. Will. Huskisson,
Isaac Gascoyne,

LONDON.
William Thompson,
Robert Waithman,
William Ward,
Matthew Wood.

LESTWITHIEL.
Viscount Valletort,
Hon. Edward Cust.

LUDGERSHALL.
Hon. Geo. J. W. A. Ellis,
Edward Thos. Foley.

LUDLOW.
Viscount Clive,
Hon. Robert Henry Clive.

LYME REGIS.
Hon. Henry Sutton Fane,
John Thomas Fane.

LYMINGTON.
Walter Boyd,
George Burrard.

MAIDSTONE.
John Wells,
Abraham Wildey Robarts.

MALDON.
Thomas Barrett Lennard.
Hugh Dick.

MALMESBURY.
Sir Charles Forbes, bart.
John Forbes.

MALTON.
John Charles Ramsden,
Viscount Normanby.

MARLBOROUGH.
Thos. Hen. S. B. Estcourt,
William John Bankes.

GREAT MARLOW.
Owen Williams,
Thomas Peers Williams.

MAWES, ST.
Sir Scrope B. Morland, bt.
Sir C. E. Carrington, bart.

MERIONETHSHIRE.
Sir Rob. W. Vaughan, bt.

MICHAEL, ST.
Henry Labouchere,
William Leake.

MIDDLESEX.
George Byng,
Samuel Chas. Whitbread.

MIDHURST.
John Smith,
Abel Smith.

MILBORNE-PORT.
Arthur Chichester,
John Henry North.

MINEHEAD.
John Fownes Luttrell,*
James Blair.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.
Sir Charles Morgan, bart.
Rt. hn. ld. G.C.H. Somerset,

MONMOUTH.
Marquis of Worcester.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.
Rt. hon. C. W. W. Wynn.

MONTGOMERY.
Henry Clive.

MORPETH.
Viscount Morpeth,
William Ord.

NEWARK.
Henry Willoughby,
Michael Thomas Sadler.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LINE.
Rt. hon. R. J. W. Horton,
Richardson Borradaile.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.
Sir M. W. Ridley, bart.,
Cuthbert Ellison.

NEWPORT, CORNWALL.
Rt. hn. W. F. V. Fitzgerald,
Jonathan Raine.

NEWPORT, ISLE OF W.
Hon. Wm. Hen. J. Scott,
Spencer Perceval.

NEWTON, LANCASHIRE.
Thomas Legh,
Thomas Alcock.

NEWTON, HANTS.
Hudson Gurney,
Chas. Compton Cavendish,

NORFOLK.
Thomas William Coke,
Edmond Wodehouse.

NORTHALLERTON.
Hon. Henry Lascelles,
Sir John P. Beresford, bart.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Viscount Althorp,
Wm. Ralph Cartwright.

NORTHAMPTON.
Sir G. Robinson, bart.
William Leader Maberly.

NORTHUMBERLAND.
Hon. Henry Thos. Liddell,
Matthew Bell.

NORWICH.
William Smith,
Jonathan Peel.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.
Frank Sotheron,
John Saville Lumley.

NOTTINGHAM.
Joseph Birch,
Lord Rancliffe.

OKEHAMPTON.
Sir Compton Domville, bt.
Joseph Holden Strutt.

ORFORD.
Sir Henry Fred. Cooke,
Quintin Dick.

OXFORDSHIRE.
William Henry Ashurst,
John Fane.

OXFORD.
Jas. Haughton Langston,
John Ingram Lockhart.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.
Thomas G. B. Estcourt,
Sir Robert Harry Inglis, bt.

PEMBROKESHIRE.
Sir John Owen, bart.

PEMBROKE.
Hugh Owen Owen.

PENRYN.
David Barclay,
William Manning.

PETERBOROUGH.
Sir Robert Heron, bart.
Sir James Scarlett.

PETERSFIELD.
Hylton Jolliffe,
William Marshall.

PLYMOUTH.
Rt. hon. sir G. Cockburn,
Sir Thos. B. Martin, bart.

PLYMPTON-EARLE.
Gibbs Crawfurd Antrobus,
Sir Chas. Wetherell, knt.

PONTEFRACT.
Thomas Houldsworth,
Le Gendre N. Starkie.

POOLE.
Hon. W. F. S. Ponsonby,
Benjamin Lester Lester,

PORTSMOUTH.
John Bonham Carter,
Francis Baring.

PRESTON.
Hon. E. G. S. Stanley,
John Wood.

QUEENBOROUGH.
Rt hon. lord Downes,
John Capel,

RADNORSHIRE.
Rt. hon. Thomas F. Lewis.

RADNOR.
Richard Price.

READING.
John Berkeley Monck,
Charles Fyshe Palmer.

RICHMOND.
Hon. Thomas Dundas,
Hon. sir R. L. Dundas.

RIPON.
Louis Hayes Petit,
George Spence.

ROCHESTER.
Hon. Henry Dundas,
Ralph Bernal,

ROMNEY.
Geo. Hay Dawk. Pennant,
George William Tapps.

RUTLAND.
Sir Gerard Noel Noel, bt.
Sir Gilbert Heathcote, bt.

RYE.
Richard Arkwright,
Henry Bonham.

RYEGATE.
Sir Joseph Sidney Yorke,
James Cocks.

SALOP.
Sir Rowland Hill, bart.
John Cressett Pelham.

SALTASH.
Andrew Spottiswoode,
Colin Macaulay.

SANDWICH.
Joseph Marryatt.
Sir Henry Fane.

SARUM, NEW.
Hon. Dunc. P. Bouverie,
Wadham Wyndham.

SARUM, OLD.
Rt. hon. Stratford Canning.
James Alexander.

SCARBOROUGH.
Rt. hon. Chas. M. Sutton,
Hon. Edmond Phipps.

SEAFORD.
Hon. Augustus Fred. Ellis,
John Fitzgerald.

SHAFTESBURY.
Ralph Leycester,
Edward Davies Davenport.

SHOREHAM.
Sir Chas. M. Burrell, bt.
Henry Howard.

SHREWSBURY.
Panton Corbett,
Robert Aglionby Slaney.

SOMERSETSHIRE.
William Dickinson,
Sir T. B. Lethbridge, bart.

SOUTHAMPTON.
William Chamberlayne,
Abel Rous Dottin.

SOUTHWARK.
Charles Calvert,
Sir Robert Thos. Wilson.

STAFFORDSHIRE.
Edward John Littleton,
Sir John Wrottesley, bart.

STAFFORD.
Ralph Benson,
Thos. W. Beaumont.

STAMFORD.
Rt. hon. lord Thomas Cecil,
Thomas Chaplin.

STEYNING.
George Richard Philips,
Peter Du Cane.

STOCKBRIDGE.
Thomas Grosvenor,
George Wilbraham.

SUDBURY.
Bethel Walrond,
John Norman Macleod.

SUFFOLK.
Sir Thos. Sherl. Gooch, bt.
Sir William Rowley, bart.

SURREY.
William Joseph Denison,
Charles Nicholas Pallmer.

SUSSEX.
Walter Burrell,
Edward Jeremiah Curteis.

TAMWORTH.
Rt. hn. ld. C.V. Townshend,
William Yates Peel.

TAVISTOCK.
Rt. hon. visc. Ebrington,
Rt. hon. lord Wm. Russell,

Taunton.
Henry Seymour,
William Peachy.

Tewkesbury.
John Edmund Dowdeswell,
John Martin.

Thetford.
Rt. hon. lord Chas. Fitzroy,
William Bingham Baring.

Thirsk.
Robert Frankland,
Robt. Greenhill Russell.

Tiverton.
Viscount Sandon,
Rt. hon. Richard Ryder.

Totness.
Thos. Peregrine Courtenay,
Earl of Darlington.

Tregony.
Stephen Lushington,
James Brougham.

Truro.
Viscount Encombe,
Nathaniel William Peach.

Wallingford.
William Lewis Hughes,
Robert Knight.

Wareham.
Rt. hon. John Calcraft,
Charles Baring Wall.

Warwickshire.
Dugdale Strat. Dugdale,
Francis Lawley.

Warwick.
Hon. sir Chas. J. Greville,
John Tomes.

Wells.
Sir Chas. Wm. Taylor, bt.
John Paine Tudway.

Wendover.
Samuel Smith,
George Smith.

Wenlock.
Hon. Geo. C. W. Forester,
Paul Beilby Thompson.

Weobly.
Rt. hon. lord H. F. Thynne,
Rt. hon. lord Wm. Thynne.

Westbury.
Right hon. Robert Peel,
Rt. hon. sir G. Warrender.

West Looe.
Charles Buller,
Sir Charles Hulse, bart.

Westminster.
Sir Francis Burdett, bart.
John Cam Hobhouse.

Westmorland.
Viscount Lowther,
Hon. Hen. Cecil Lowther.

Weymouth & Melcombe Regis.
Masterton Ure,
Thos. Fowell Buxton,
John Gordon,
Edw. Burtenshaw Sugden.

Whitchurch.
Hon. John R. Townshend,
Samuel Scott.

Wigan.
James Alex. Hodson,
James Lindsay.

Wilton.
John Hung. Penruddocke,
Edward Baker.

Wiltshire.
John Benett,
Sir John Dugd. Astley, bt.

Winchelsea.
Viscount Howick,
Henry Brougham.

Winchester.
Sir Edward Hyde East, bt.
Paulet St. John Mildmay.

Windsor.
Sir Richard Hussey Vivian.
John Ramsbottom.

Woodstock.
Marquis of Blandford,
Lord Ashley.

Wootton-Bassett.
Sir George Philips, bt.
Horace Twiss.

Worcestershire.
Sir T. E. Winnington, bt.
Hon. Henry B. Lygon.

Worcester.
Thomas Henry H. Davies,
George Richard Robinson.

Wycombe.
Sir John D. King, bart.
Sir Thomas Baring, bart.

Yarmouth.
Hon. George Anson,
Charles Edmund Rumbold.

Yarmouth, Hants.
Joseph Phillimore.
Thomas Wallace,

Yorkshire.
Viscount Milton,
Hon. William Duncombe,
Richard Fountayne Wilson,
John Marshall.

York.
Marmaduke Wyvill,
James Wilson.

SCOTLAND.

Aberdeenshire.
Hon. William Gordon.

Aberdeen, &c.
Joseph Hume.

Argyleshire.
Walter Fred. Campbell.

Ayrshire.

Ayr, &c.
Thos. Fras. Kennedy.

Banffshire.
John Morison.

Berwickshire.
Hon. Anthony Maitland.

Caithness and Bute.
Hon. James Sinclair.

Crail, &c.
James Balfour.

Cromarty and Nairn.
Duncan Davidson, jun.

Dumbartonshire.
John Campbell.

Dumfries-shire.
Sir Will. Johnstone Hope.

Dumfries, &c.
William Rob. K. Douglas.

Dysart, &c.
Sir Ronald C. Ferguson.

Edinburghshire.
Sir George Clerk, bart.

Edinburgh.
Right hon. Will. Dundas.

Elginshire.
Hon. Francis Will. Grant.

Elgin, &c.
Hon. Alexander Duff.

Fifeshire.
James Wemyss.

Forfarshire.
Hon. Will. Ramsay Maule.

Forfar, &c.
Hon. Hugh Lindsay.

Fortrose, &c.
Robert Grant.

Glasgow, &c.
Archibald Campbell.

Haddingtonshire.
Lord John Hay.

Haddington, &c.
Adolphus John Dalrymple.

Inverkeithing, &c.
Robert Downie.

Inverness-shire.
Right hon. Charles Grant.

Kincardineshire.
Hon. Hugh Arbuthnot.

Kinross and Clackmannanshire.
George Edw. G. F. Pigott.

Kirkcudbright.
Robert Cutlar Fergusson.

Kirkwall, &c.
Sir Hugh Innes, bart.

Lanarkshire.
Sir Michael S. Stewart, bt.

Linlithgowshire.
Hon. sir Alexander Hope.

Orkney and Shetlandshire.
Hon. Geo. H. L. Dundas.

Peebleshire.
Sir Jas. Montgomery, bart.

Perthshire.
Rt. hon. sir George Murray.

Renfrewshire.
John Maxwell.

Ross-shire.
Sir J. W. Mackenzie.

Roxburghshire.
Henry Francis Scott, jun.

Selkirkshire.
William Elliot Lockhart.

Selkirk, &c.
Adam Hay.

Stirlingshire.
Henry Home Drummond.

Sutherlandshire.
Rt. hon. lord F. L. Gower.

Wigtonshire.
Sir William Maxwell, bart.

Wigton, &c.
John H. Lowther.

IRELAND.

Antrimshire.
Hon. John B. R. O'Neil,
Edm. Alex. M‘Naughten.

Armaghshire.
Hon. Henry Caulfield,
Charles Brownlow.

Armagh, Borough.
Rt. hon. Henry Goulburn.

Athlone.
Richard Handcock, jun.

Bandon-Bridge.
Rt. hon. lord John Russell.

Belfast.
Earl of Belfast.

Carlowshire.
Henry Bruen,
Thomas Kavanagh.

Carlow.
Lord Tullamore.

Carrickfergus.
Sir Arthur Chichester, bt.

Cashell.
Ebenezer John Collett.

Cavanshire.
Henry Maxwell,
Alexander Saunderson.

Clare.
Lucius O'Brien,
Daniel O'Connell.

Clonmel.
Jas. Hewitt Massy Dawson.

Coleraine.
Sir John Will. H. Brydges.

Corkshire.
Hon. Robert King,
Hon. John Boyle.

Cork, City.
John Hely Hutchinson.
Gerrard Callaghan.

Donegalshire.
Earl of Mountcharles,
George Vaughan Hart.

Downshire.
Lord Arthur Hill,
Viscount Castlereagh.

Downpatrick.
John Waring Maxwell.

Drogheda.
Peter Van Homrigh.

Dublinshire.
Henry White,
Richard Wogan Talbot,

Dublin, City.
George Moore,
Henry Grattan.

Dublin, University.
Rt. hon. John W. Croker.

Dundalk.
Charles Barclay.

Dungannon.
Hon. Thomas Knox.

Dungarvan.
Hon. George Lamb.

Ennis.
William Smyth O'Brien.

Enniskillen.
Hon. Arthur Henry Cole.

Fermanaghshire.
Mervyn Archdall,
Viscount Corry.

Galwayshire.
James Daly,
James Staunton Lambert.

Galway.
James O'Hara.

Kerryshire.
Rt hon. Mau. Fitzgerald,
Viscount Ennismore.

Kildareshire.
Rt. hn. ld. W. C. Fitzgerald,
Robert Latouche.

Kilkennyshire.
Hon. Chas. H. B. Clarke,
Viscount Duncannon.

Kilkenny.
John Doherty.

King's County.
Thomas Bernard.
Lord Oxmantown.

Kinsale.
John Russell.

Leitrim.
Viscount Clements,
Samuel White.

Limerick.
Hon. Rich. H. Fitzgibbon;
Thomas Lloyd.

Limerick, City.
Thomas Spring Rice.

Lisburne.
Henry Meynell.

Londonderry.
George Robert Dawson,
Alexander Robert Stewart.

Londonderry, City.
Rt. hon. sir G. F. Hill, bart.

Longfordshire.
Rt. hon. viscount Forbes.
Sir Geo. R. Fetherstone, bt.

Louthshire.
Alexander Dawson,
John Leslie Foster.

Mallow.
Charles D. O. Jephson.

Mayo.
Lord Bingham,
James Browne.

Meathshire.
Earl of Bective,
Sir Marcus Somerville, bt.

Monaghan.
Evelyn John Shirley,
Hon. Hen. Rob. Westenra.

Newry.
Hon. John Henry Knox.

Portarlington.
James Farquhar.

Queen's County.
Sir Chas. Henry Coote, bt.
Sir Henry Parnell, bart.

Roscommonshire.
Arthur French,
Hon. Robert King.

New Ross, Town.
William Wigram.

Sligoshire.

Hon. Henry King,
Edward Synge Cooper,

Sligo.

Owen Wynne.

Tipperary.

Hon. Francis A. Prittie,
John Hely Hutchinson.

Tralee.

Robert Vernon Smith.

Tyroneshire.

William Stewart,
Hon. H. T. Lowry Corry.

Waterford.

Richard Power,
Henry Villiers Stuart.

Waterford, City.

Rt. hon. sir J. Newport, bt.

Westmeath.

Gustavus Rochfort,
Hugh Morgan Tuite.

Wexfordshire.

Rt. hon. viscount Stopford,
Rob. Shapland Carew, jun.

Wexford.

Sir Robt. Wigram, knt.

Wicklow.

James Grattan.
Ralph Howard.

Youghall.

Hon. George Ponsonby.

The NUMBER of MEMBERS sent by each County, &c. to Parliament.

Bedfordshire	4	Kent	10	Suffolk	16
Berkshire	9	Lancashire	14	Surrey	14
Buckinghamshire	14	Leicestershire	4	Sussex	20
Cambridgeshire	6	Lincolnshire	12	Warwickshire	6
Cheshire	4	Middlesex	8	Westmoreland	4
Cornwall	42	Monmouthshire	3	Wiltshire	34
Cumberland	6	Norfolk	12	Worcestershire	9
Derbyshire	4	Northamptonshire	9	Yorkshire	32
Devonshire	26	Northumberland	8		
Dorsetshire	20	Nottinghamshire	8		473
Durham	4	Oxfordshire	9	Cinque Ports	16
Essex	8	Rutlandshire	2	Wales	24
Gloucestershire	8	Shropshire	12	Scotland	45
Herefordshire	8	Somersetshire	18	Ireland	100
Hertfordshire	6	Hampshire	26		
Huntingdonshire	4	Staffordshire	10	Total	658

Members for England and Wales	513
Scotland	45
Ireland	100
TOTAL	658

CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE.

Chief Clerk, John Henry Ley, Esq.
Clerk Assistant, John Rickman, Esq.
Second Ditto, William Ley, Esq.
Clerk of Committees of Privileges and Elections, Thomas Dyson, Esq.
Prin. Com. Clks., Sir E. Stracey, Bart. George Whittam, Sam. Gunnell, and William G. Rose, Esqrs.
Clerk of the Journals and Papers, John Bull, Esq.
Clerks of the Ingrossments, Sir Edward Stracey, Bart., and Mr. David Jones.
Serjeant at Arms, Hen. Seymour, Esq.
Chaplain, Rev. Charles Norman.
Secretary to Speaker, Ed. Phillips, Esq.

OFFICERS OF STATE.

(April, 1829.)

MINISTRY OF ENGLAND.

Duke of Wellington	*First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).*
Right Hon. Henry Goulburn	*Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.*
Lord Lyndhurst	*Lord High Chancellor.*
Earl Bathurst	*Lord President of the Council.*
Earl of Rosslyn	*Lord Privy Seal.*
Right Hon. Robert Peel	*Secretary of State for the Home Department.*
Earl of Aberdeen	*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*
Right Hon. Sir Geo. Murray	*Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.*
Lord Viscount Melville	*First Lord of the Admiralty.*
Right Hon. John C. Herries	*Master of the Mint.*
Lord Ellenborough	*President of the Board of Control.*
Right Hon. W. V. Fitzgerald	*Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Trade.*

The above form the Cabinet.

Right Hon. Sir Hen. Hardinge	*Secretary at War.*
Viscount Beresford	*Master General of the Ordnance.*
Duke of Montrose	*Lord Chamberlain.*
Marquis Conyngham	*Lord Steward.*
Duke of Leeds	*Master of the Horse.*
Marquis of Winchester	*Groom of the Stole.*
Right Hon Ch. Arbuthnot	*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.*
Right Hon. John Calcraft	*Paymaster of the Forces.*
Viscount Lowther	*First Commissioner of Land Revenue.*
Thomas P. Courtenay, Esq.	*Vice President of the Board of Trade.*
Duke of Manchester	*Postmaster General.*
Sir William Henry Clinton	*Lieut.-general of the Ordnance.*
Sir James Scarlett, Knt.	*Attorney General.*
Sir Edward B. Sugden, Knt.	*Solicitor General.*

MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Northumberland	*Lord Lieutenant.*
Rt. Hon. Sir Anth. Hart, Knt.	*Lord High Chancellor.*
Lieut.-Gen. sir John Byng	*Commander of the Forces.*
Lord Francis Levison Gower	*Chief Secretary.*
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HANSARD'S

Parliamentary Debates

During the FOURTH SESSION *of the* EIGHTH PARLIAMENT *of the United Kingdom of* GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *appointed to meet at Westminster the 4th of February,* 1830, *in the Eleventh Year of the Reign of His Majesty*

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, February 4th, 1830.

THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS SPEECH ON OPENING THE SESSION.] The Fourth Session of the Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was this day opened by Commission. The Lords Commissioners were the Lord Chancellor (LYNDHURST); the Lord President of the Council (BATHURST); the Lord Privy Seal (ROSSLYN); the First Lord of the Treasury (WELLINGTON); and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, (ABERDEEN). Mr. Pulman, acting for Mr. Quarme the Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod, summoned the attendance of the Commons; and the Speaker, attended by numerous Members, appearing at their lordships' bar, (the Commission for opening the Parliament having been read) the Lord Chancellor delivered the Speech of the Lords Commissioners to both Houses of Parliament, which was as follows:—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

We are commanded by His Majesty to inform you, that His Majesty receives from all Foreign Powers the strongest Assurances of their Desire to maintain and cultivate the most friendly Relations with this Country.

His Majesty has seen with Satisfaction that the War between Russia and the Ottoman Porte has been brought to a Conclusion. The Efforts of His Majesty to accomplish the main Objects of the Treaty of the 6th July 1827 have been unremitted.

His Majesty, having recently concerted with His Allies Measures for the Pacification and final Settlement of Greece, trusts that He shall be enabled, at an early Period, to communicate to you the Particulars of this Arrangement, with such Information as may explain the Course which His Majesty has pursued throughout the Progress of these important Transactions.

His Majesty laments that He is unable to announce to you the Prospect of a Reconciliation between the Princes of the House of Braganza.

His Majesty has not yet deemed it expedient to re-establish, upon their ancient Footing, His Majesty's Diplomatic Relations with the Kingdom of Portugal; but the numerous Embarrassments arising from the continued Interruption of these Relations increase His Majesty's Desire to effect the Termination of so serious an Evil.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His Majesty has directed the Estimates for the current Year to be laid before you. They have been framed with every Attention to Economy, and it will be satisfactory to you to learn that His Majesty will be enabled to propose a considerable Reduction in the Amount of the Public Expenditure, without impairing the Efficiency of our Naval or Military Establishments.

We are commanded by His Majesty to inform you, that although the National Income during the last Year has not attained the full Amount at which it had been estimated, the Diminution is not such as to cause any Doubt as to the future Prosperity of the Revenue.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His Majesty commands us to acquaint you, that His Attention has been of late earnestly directed to various important Considerations connected with Improvements in the general Administration of the Law.

His Majesty has directed that Measures shall be submitted for your Deliberation, of which some are calculated, in the Opinion of His Majesty, to facilitate and expedite the Course of Justice in different Parts of the United Kingdom, and others appear to be necessary Preliminaries to a Revision of the Practice and Proceedings of the Superior Courts.

We are commanded to assure you, that His Majesty feels confident that you will give your best Attention and Assistance to Subjects of such deep and lasting Concern to the Well-being of His People.

His Majesty commands us to inform you, that the Export in the last Year of British Produce and Manufactures has exceeded that of any former Year.

His Majesty laments that, notwithstanding this Indication of active Commerce, Distress should prevail among the Agricultural and Manufacturing Classes in some Parts of the United Kingdom.

It would be most gratifying to the paternal Feelings of His Majesty to be enabled to propose for your Consideration Measures calculated to remove the Difficulties of any Portion of His Subjects, and at the same Time compatible with the general and permanent Interests of His People.

It is from a deep Solicitude for those Interests, that His Majesty is impressed with the Necessity of acting with extreme Caution in reference to this important Subject.

His Majesty feels assured that you will concur with him in assigning due Weight to the Effect of unfavourable Seasons, and to the Operation of other causes which are beyond the Reach of Legislative Control or Remedy.

Above all, His Majesty is convinced that no Pressure of temporary Difficulty will induce you to relax the Determination which you have uniformly manifested to maintain inviolate the Public Credit, and thus to uphold the high Character and the permanent Welfare of the Country.

MINUTES.] The Commons afterwards withdrew. Their Lordships resumed at five o'Clock.—The LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD then took the Oaths and his Seat.—Lord ARUNDELL took the Oath prescribed by the 10th Geo. 4th. to be taken by Peers professing the Roman Catholic Religion.—The Certificate of the Return of the Earl of GLENGALL as a Peer for Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Blessinton, deceased, was read.—The Select Vestries Bill was brought in and read the first time *pro formâ*:—the Bill was introduced by the Duke of WELLINGTON.

ADDRESS ON THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS SPEECH.] This Speech having been again read, first by the Lord Chancellor, and then by the Clerk at the Table,

The Duke of *Buccleugh* rose:—

My Lords;—In rising to move that a humble Address be presented to his Majesty, in answer to the most gracious Speech, I am not unmindful of the difficulties which I have to encounter in support of the task I have undertaken, nor of my inability to do justice to the important subjects contained in that Speech. It would be presumptuous in one so young and inexperienced as I am, and who have had the honour of a seat in your House for so short a period, to venture to give opinions at length, or to enter into a discussion on the various topics contained in his Majesty's Speech. I shall, therefore, confine myself to such few observations and reasons as may occur to me, claiming, at the same time, the indulgence of your lordships, feeling that it was never more necessary, nor more unfeignedly requested than on the present occasion. [*hear*] My lords, the strong assurances which his Majesty has been pleased to inform us he still continues to receive from the different states of Europe, of their anxiety to maintain and cultivate the relations of peace with this country, must be a subject of congratulation, as it holds out to us the prospect that peace will be lasting. This nation is too much involved in the general interests of Europe not to view with satisfaction the intelligence that peace has been established between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; therefore, it is most satisfactory to learn that the warfare between these two neighbouring states which had so long existed, is happily terminated, for who could contemplate the conflict carried on without fearing that the ravages of war might be extended to other states of Europe? We cannot but hear, my lords, with satisfaction, of his Majesty's unremitting offices with his allies to carry into effect the Treaty of July 6th, 1827. I trust that your lordships will think with me, that this is not the period to enter into the details on that topic of the Speech, but that you will wait until his Majesty shall make those disclosures respecting the measures carried on with his allies as regards the situation of Greece. The measures are of great importance, as putting an end to warfare and bloodshed, and as tending to raise up a people who have been so long plunged into misery and ruin, and to give to them a station which they have not enjoyed among the nations of Europe.—With regard to Portugal, my lords, it is impossible that we can view with indifference the proceedings there going forward, considering how long have been our peculiarly friendly relations with that country. Those friendly relations must continue to be interesting to a country which for so long a period of time has been our ally. I trust that his Majesty's exertions will effect a reconciliation between the two branches of the House of Braganza, and that the diplomatic relations which have been so long interrupted between the two countries may be again established. One of the most important questions which will come before your lordships is the revision of the Courts of Law—with a view of expediting and facilitating the course of justice in different parts of the United Kingdom. Every one of your lordships, I am sure, will agree in the proposition, that it is expedient that some alteration should be made in the administration of justice. I feel convinced of the necessity of such a proceeding, more particularly as respects the country with which I am more immediately connected. [*hear, hear*] I am sure a vast advantage will arise from expediting the course of justice, which while it allows the law to be faithfully executed, shall shorten the tedious process of a lawsuit. Revision will be advantageous by which obsolete laws shall be abolished, and those which are unsuitable to the present condition of society shall be better adapted to its wants. [*hear, hear*] No one, my lords, can be ignorant of, nor view with indifference, the unparaleled distress under which the agricultural and manufacturing classes are at present labouring in many parts of the country. I am not disposed to consider that the distresses now felt are so desperate, or so universal, as some have represented, or as other persons would wish to have it believed; nor do I think they will continue, or that there is reason to despond. Despondency ought not to be encouraged or excited. But this is a subject of vast importance for your lordships to consider, and one which requires great judgment and caution in your deliberations, but upon which I will not now enter. I would fain hope, my lords, that it is only a temporary distress which is felt, and that it will be alleviated and removed. In the consideration of this subject, we must give due weight to the two late unfavourable seasons which the agriculturists have experienced. To the many difficulties with which they have had to contend, must be added the expending of their capital in getting in the harvest, which, when secured, proved so indifferent. I will not, however, enter into any detail; it is a subject of too vast importance to be discussed now, and one upon which I do not feel capable of entering. But, my lords, although there is distress among the agriculturists and the manufacturers in parts of the country, have we not a subject of congratulation in the fact mentioned in his Majesty's most gracious Speech, that the export of British produce and manufactures during the last year has exceeded that of any former year? This, is surely a subject of congratulation, and I think warrants me in the conclusion to which I have come, that the evils complained of are not deep rooted. Your lordships are not ignorant that we have now the manufacturers of other countries to contend against. Formerly this was the only nation where manufactures were extensively carried on; now every nation is turning its attention to manufactures. We have, therefore, to compete with foreign markets in our manufactured articles, and this has lowered the profits of our manufacturers. My lords, I trust that whenever any measure shall be brought forward in this House connected with this subject, your lordships will avoid any thing that may tend to show the people that we entertain apprehensions on the subject. My lords, the population of this country will naturally look to your lordships for example—and, therefore, when the discussion is brought forward, it should be our endeavour to encourage the people rather than dishearten them—to persuade them to cherish the expectation of their distresses being removed, rather than induce them to suppose that they are—which they assuredly are not—permanent. But whenever the expected measure, whatever it may be, shall be brought forward, I trust that we shall see nothing advanced which may cause to the public creditor any hazard of his property. The country has maintained its high character in times of greater difficulty than the present. We are now at peace. I am persuaded that the distress felt is of a temporary description. I have, my lords, particularly avoided entering into the details connected with this important subject; but before I conclude, I trust I may be permitted to express a hope that when it is brought before your lordships in a regular way, you will pay it your undivided attention, and not make it the subject of daily conversation which can produce no beneficial results, and may contribute to alarm the people and increase and exaggerate the real evils. The noble duke concluded with moving the Address, which will be found at p. 121, together with his Majesty's most gracious Answer.

Lord *Saltoun* seconded the Address. He said, in doing so, I must state that I unfeignedly agree in all the arguments adduced by the noble duke to induce your lordships to go along with him. It must be particularly gratifying to your lordships to find that the state of peace continues, which has now lasted for a longer period than this country has formerly enjoyed, and which promises, from the confidence reposed in our government by other governments, to be lasting. With respect to the termination of the war in the East, though it did not directly interfere with the interest of England, it was thought advantageous for the future peace of Europe that Turkey should be maintained. What arguments may have been used to prevent us from entering into war, I am not aware; but it must be evident to every man acquainted with the power of the two parties, that no other result, except one more disastrous, could have been anticipated. Turkey, however, has now been spared, and that power may have time to revive and improve its advantages. As to the Treaty of July 6th, I shall take no notice of that, as the measures relating to it will be submitted to your lordships hereafter. It must be a matter of regret to your lordships that our diplomatic relations with Portugal should have been so long suspended. Our commerce is hence cramped and fettered by the want of those forms which give facility to communication between governments. It has not been in our power, however, to avoid this interruption. With respect to the right of the two parties, I have no doubt that, in law, the eldest branch has the right to the throne; but the Portuguese nation have thought proper to adopt the younger branch, and it is consistent neither with the policy nor the interest of this country to interfere with any nation, and make it choose what ruler we please. I trust, however that the interruption will not be of much longer duration, and that before long the diplomatic relations will be restored to the same state as formerly existed between the two countries. The next subject mentioned in his Majesty's Speech is addressed to the House of Commons, and it must be satisfactory to the country to hear that, at the same time that the expenditure of the country is to be diminished, the efficiency of the naval and military forces is not to be impaired. His Majesty's Speech informs us, too, my lords, that the state of the administration of justice is to be revised. I, for one, am too little acquainted with the subject to enter into details; but I must say, that if the measures for altering the law, particularly as far as the country I represent is concerned, shall make its operation more expeditious, and not prevent substantial justice being done, and shall also assist in fixing the law, they will be a great advantage to the country. The distresses of parts of the country I deeply regret, although I look on them as but of a temporary nature. No doubt, very great distress exists now, and has existed for some time past, among the manufacturers and agriculturists in many parts of the country. Whatever may be the causes of that distress, it has been of too long duration to be wholly attributable to the currency; several other causes have contributed to promote that distress. Some persons have said that it was over-production; others that it was the change of the currency; and others have stated different causes, and proposed different remedies. Looking at the whole question, I cannot say that any one cause in particular has brought it about, or that any remedy yet proposed will remove it. In the first place, it arises from the change which has taken place from obtaining large profit on small ventures, to getting only small profits on large transactions. In other words, my lords, during the war the whole trade and manufactures of the world were thrown into our hands, and we supplied the whole continent with all the colonial product it received; we not only carried goods and manufactures then for all the world, but were also able to sell our manufactures at our own price, for there was no opposition. When the peace came, our machinery was adopted in other countries. Other manufacturers came into the market, prices were lowered, and our people could not make the same profit on the same outlay. If a manufacturer were now obliged to make one hundred bales of goods to realize the same profit as he formerly obtained on sixty bales, he must be so much worse off, and could not afford to pay his workmen the same rate of wages; that brought on the manufacturers' distress. The manufacturers not being so well paid as they were formerly, could not give the same prices for agricultural produce, and could not consume so much of it, and this is the source of the distress of the agriculturists. That distress was felt formerly as well as now—it was felt in 1819 and 1820, and before any change had taken place in the currency. Respecting the currency, however, I must say that the change has so long existed, that all the mischief that it can do it has done; but no change in the situation of the country which has taken place can be wholly attributed to the existing law. In Scotland, where no change had taken place, and where the banks were not fettered, there was some distress. There was a time, I know, when some alarm was felt that the alteration in the banking system would be extended to Scotland, and then the banks limited their issues. Now, however, that alarm has passed away, and the banks issue their notes to the same extent as before; and accommodation can be obtained in that country to as great an extent as ever. I regret very much the distress of the agriculturists; for I have no other property than land. I shall certainly be ready to give my best attentions to any measures which may come before your lordships relating to this subject. I will not detain your lordships—I do not intend, I never did intend to trespass at length on your lordships, and I shall now conclude by seconding the Address.

Earl *Stanhope* said:—My Lords, I should consider it a base dereliction of my duty not to take this, the earliest, opportunity, of stating my opinion to your lordships. Under a state of difficulty and distress, universal in extent, and unequalled in intensity, it behoves your lordships to address the Throne, not in the language of compliment, but of truth; discharging with decision and firmness our duty to our country, for the benefit of which we have received political power. I am never disposed to treat any of the speeches from the Throne with disrespect, but I must speak plainly of this. A speech, I must say, more inept and more inappropriate was never delivered from the Throne. In the country there was unusual distress, universal in its extent, unprecedented in its degree, intolerable in its pressure. After congratulating Parliament upon the close of the war in Turkey, we are informed that distress prevails amongst the agricultural and manufacturing classes in "some" parts of the United Kingdom. Surely it would have been much more correct for his Majesty to have told us that unexampled distress prevails in every class, and every interest! [*hear*] When the Speech informs us that distress prevails in some parts of the country, and among some classes of the community—the people at large would be most grateful to the noble duke, or to any other noble lord who will point out that *terra incognita* in which distress does not prevail. [*hear, hear*] Then we are warned that we should proceed with extreme caution; and what, let me ask, is the plain English of this warning? It means nothing more nor less than this—" You, the people of England, manufacturers as well as agriculturists, are in a state of great suffering, but use extreme caution, and take great care that you do not get out of it." [*cheers*] This is as much as to tell a man who has fallen into a deep river, and is likely to be drowned, " take great care you do not, in attempting to get out, make your situation worse." To me the danger seems most imminent; and we are so far removed from a situation to which such language can be applicable, that it is our bounden duty, as we are now nearly destroyed, to take care that our interests are not quite annihilated. Neither can I derive any consolation from the opinion, or hope, expressed by the noble duke who moved the Address, that the distress is only temporary. That source of consolation has been often open to us, and has as repeatedly been disappointed by the event. We were heretofore told in metaphorical language that the light clouds that cast a temporary shade will soon pass away; and that the sun will again break forth in all his wonted splendour! Instead of passing away, we have seen the sky thicken and blacken, and we have waited in vain for the return of promised sunshine. No man who really knows the situation of the country can contemplate it without dismay. The noble duke says " Do not excite feelings of despondency." I am not apt to despond—it is not the character or temper of my mind—but I do say that my feelings will and must be those of utter despondency if a remedy be not speedily discovered and administered. The language of the Speech appears to be the more extraordinary and the less excusable, because the noble duke at the head of his Majesty's Treasury must be well acquainted with the true condition of the country. He must be acquainted, not only with the particular pressure, but with the general existence of that distress which is described in such feeble terms in the Speech from the Throne. The noble duke has travelled much in the course of the last summer, and though he has visited various parts of the country for a different purpose, yet I still may venture to hope that he was not without a disposition to gain information on the state and condition of the people. He must, therefore, know from his own experience, the universality as well as the severity of the distress. He must know it, too, from the county meetings lately held in different parts of the kingdom; although, on a former occasion, the noble duke was pleased to call the proceedings of county meetings "a farce." [*hear, hear*] I will not stay to inquire whether the proceedings of any other assembly, at no great distance from this place, are much more enlightened or may not better merit the application of that term. [*cheers, and a laugh*] The noble duke must also know the extent and weight of the distress from the remonstrances presented from grand juries in different quarters of the country. He must know it from the representations of other kinds, poured in upon government; and yet in the Speech I see no hope of relief—no promise even that the sufferings of the people shall receive the consolation of inquiry. I regret this circumstance most deeply, for the sake of the inhabitants of this unhappy and ill-governed country. I regret it also for the sake of the noble duke himself, for whom, as far as regards his former career, I can, in common with the rest of my countrymen, entertain no other sentiments than those of admiration and gratitude. But that noble duke, who was then placed on a pinnacle of glory which no man before had attained, and who had acquired a reputation never equalled by any man in the annals of our history, save the great Marlborough, had every thing to lose and nothing to gain by becoming prime minister. And what new laurels has he gained? He found the vessel of the state surrounded by rocks and quicksands, and yet he consented to steer the very same course which had been so ruinously pursued by his predecessors at the helm. He persevered in the same system, and adopted the same errors which had occasioned all our difficulties and dangers, which were now universally felt, and were the subject of such general complaint. He has adopted all the errors and followed all the mistakes of his predecessors. What new laurels, I repeat then, has he gained? Where, let me ask, is the glory of acting, not as the head and chief of an independent administration, but as the mere deputy of the administration he succeeded? He may reply, "I am the minister who granted Catholic emancipation:" it is not my intention now to enter into this topic—I have no wish to resuscitate the animosities of the debates which took place upon it; let them be considered dead and buried, but still I must remind your lordships that that measure was unwillingly extorted from the noble duke by the menaces, denunciations, and intimidations of the Roman Catholic board. [*hear, hear*] If we contemplate the distresses of the country, we shall find them not limited to agriculture alone, which the noble duke justly considers the most secure basis of national prosperity and power: we shall find that it extends itself also to the manufacturing interests, and that the trade and commerce of the kingdom are proportionably suffering. Does not this state of things then imperiously demand immediate investigation? If I do not on this occasion minutely enter into the details I should otherwise be desirous of furnishing, it is solely because it will be my duty, in the course of a few days, as soon as noble lords shall have arrived in town to take part in the debate, to move for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the state of the nation, as far as regards its internal condition. I shall, therefore, limit the investigation merely to our domestic situation; and I cannot suppose that the noble duke is the only man in the empire who is ignorant of the real state of the nation. And will any one deny that an inquiry is not imperiously demanded? The people have a right to know, through the medium of parliamentary investigation, whether their distresses are as partial and temporary as they are represented, or whether, as I contend, and as I shall be able on the proper occasion to prove, they are not permanent, and do not arise from mistaken legislative measures which it is necessary to repeal? We are told, in the Speech from the Throne, to assign due weight to the effect of unfavourable seasons and other causes; but what those other causes are we are only left to conjecture. As to unfavourable seasons, we know that the invariable effect of them has hitherto been to injure the producers of grain; but has it been a usual effect of unfavourable seasons to lower the price of grain [*hear*]. It was an absurdity without a parallel. Really the person who forced this notion into the royal Speech must have formed a very mean opinion of the capacities of those to whom it was to be addressed. Who, from the beginning of the world to the present day, ever heard of such a monstrous absurdity as is now attempted to be palmed upon us, for the sake of preventing inquiry, and for the sake of shutting out light as clear as that of the sun at noon-day, that bad seasons have the effect of lowering the price of corn? Why has the price of corn been lowered? It is the consequence of pernicious measures founded upon no just principle, or rather upon no principle at all. I had the honour to propose an amendment to the proposition of the noble duke on this subject, which amendment had for its object the fixing of the scale so as to afford a remunerating price to the grower. The price of grain has not fallen in consequence of unfavourable seasons, but in consequence of that cause which was so truly and forcibly stated by my noble friend, whose loss I cannot sufficiently deplore. He was one of the brightest ornaments of this House, and his virtues and talents were as a tower of strength to the country. [*hear*] I need not add that I allude to the late lord Redesdale, who truly described the measure of Mr. Peel as an act of wrong and robbery. [*hear*] But if such be the effect upon corn, is that a reason why other agricultural produce is to fall also? The absurdities upon this subject, and points connected with it, are so great, that a person gravely told me that the depression in the price of butter and cheese arose from the superabundance of grass, in consequence of the extreme wetness of the late season. [*laugh*] He however mentioned these facts to show how little is known of the real grievances of the country; and to illustrate to what absurd shifts they resorted who were determined to shut their eyes to the state of the country. But passing the question as to corn, did anybody ever hear of an unfavourable season lowering the price of wool? That is a part of the system I cannot too strongly reprobate, for upon that principle one portion of the community is plundered for the supposed profit of another portion. In the outset of that system the wool-grower was plundered, that some benefit might accrue to the manufacturer; and the result of the experiment has been what I always contended it would be, that while the wool-grower has been reduced to a state of pauperism, the manufacturer has not been benefited—by the decay of the home-market he has lost his best, surest, and most extensive customer. I also wish to know whether unfavourable seasons have, or are supposed to have, an unfavourable effect on the trade and manufactures of the country? It would be quite as rational to say that their condition is to be attributed to the present severity of the weather. The expression of unavailing regret is, however, to be checked, and the country is merely to be told that its sufferings are beyond the reach of parliamentary interference and remedy. If I thought that such was really the case, I should indeed entertain a gloomy and desponding view of the state of the country. But nevertheless the country is now rapidly approaching that condition which threatens to tear asunder all the bonds that unite human society. It is impossible to state this evil in language too strong; the result will be not only danger, but destruction, if remedy for our difficulties be not afforded. Then, I conjure your lordships, for your own honour —for the sake of the discharge of the duty the people have a right to expect from you, to examine the case with a view to the discovery of some method of relief. You were truly and eloquently told by a learned and eminent counsel at your bar on a memorable occasion, that you cannot flourish, nay, that you cannot long continue to exist, if once you lose the affection and confidence of the people, that you must fade and wither like the blossoms struck from the tree. Is this the way to secure the affection and confidence of the people, or is this the way for your lordships to discharge your high and important duties? Are you to obtain the affection and confidence of the people by agreeing to an Address which, from one end of the kingdom to the other, must be received with contempt and derision. [*hear*] There is no part of the country which does not begin to think for itself, and to examine for itself the nature, extent, causes, and remedies for the existing evils; and to have adverted to them in the royal Speech would have been far more proper than to talk of legal inquiries. This I can call only a wilful attempt to divert the attention of parliament from the real, true, and what will soon become the intolerable, grievance of the nation. Why, otherwise, does what is said about the consideration of measures for the better administration of justice occupy so prominent a place in the Speech? No doubt, at the proper time, those would be important subjects of investigation; but what should we say of the wisdom of any individual, who, when his house was on fire, set to work busily to examine his banker's book? [*hear*] Whether the opinions of the people will be expressed in petitions to this House, or whether they will be addressed to another quarter, I know not; but if, in the course of the present session, no petitions are presented, I must thus early protest against the inference that this silence is to be considered the test of the indifference of public opinion, or the absence of all cause of complaint. Let it be recollected that the petitions of the people to this House have been treated with neglect—that it was said that they had been "got up." I wish those who dared to make this assertion would endeavour to "get up" some petitions for the continuance of the present system. Let any man in any part of the kingdom, and with reference to any interest, try to get up a petition praying that the present distresses may be continued; and let us see what will be the result? If petitions are not presented, it may arise from another cause, to which, as a member of this House, it is painful for me to advert. It will show general distrust of parliament, from the base servility it has, on different occasions, exhibited. I speak not now of one set of principles, or of another. I recollect that the late lord Liverpool, who presided over his Majesty's councils from the end of the war till 1819, pursued a system which was then considered, as I now consider it, sound in principle; and he was supported by a large majority of this House. When the same lord Liverpool subsequently departed from that sound principle as regarded currency, free trade, the navigation laws, and many other vital questions, the complaisancy of this House still gave him its support. To regain the confidence of the country you must adopt some course of inquiry which may ultimately extricate us from our present difficulties. It is mainly to save this House from the disgrace, ridicule, and scorn (for I cannot use milder terms), to which it will be exposed if it adopt the Address of the noble mover, that I shall propose an amendment, which has this recommendation—that it will neither prejudge the causes of the present distresses, nor the remedies that ought to be applied to them: it merely pledges parliament to institute a minute inquiry into the distresses, with a view to the amelioration of the condition of the suffering classes in all parts of the country. The terms of it will be these:—"That this House views with the deepest sorrow and anxiety the severe distress which now afflicts the country, and will immediately proceed to examine its causes, and the means of administering speedy and effectual relief." Should I be unsuccessful—as I probably may be—I shall then enter my protest against any further proceeding; and in a very short time, as soon as a sufficiently numerous attendance can be obtained, I shall submit a motion for inquiry, not by any "select" committee of members to be named by the noble duke, but an inquiry by the whole House, into the state of the nation as regards its internal condition. That course will not preclude any noble lord, who may think proper, to bring forward any inquiry into our foreign relations. That is not my intention to do; first, because I cannot pretend to be sufficiently informed on the subject; secondly, because, though I may see much to deplore in our foreign policy, I also see much to admire in the pacific course adopted by the noble duke; thirdly, because I wish to secure the votes of those who may agree with me on the question of domestic policy, though they may be of a very different sentiment with respect to our conduct to foreign powers.

Upon the question of our internal situation I shall certainly take the sense of the House. I know not how many may vote with me; but, feeling as I do, I should think it an act of baseness not to introduce the subject, and I know that I shall be supported by some whose opinions I most reverence. It was my intention to have entered at some length into the state of the various interests of the country, and especially into the pressure produced by the alteration of the currency; a measure that has actually raised the present amount of taxes above the sum paid by the country in the last and most expensive year of the war. The noble duke seems to indicate his concurrence in this position; and if he agrees with me, let me ask how is it possible for the nation to bear that enormous and intolerable burthen of taxation, with a diminished consumption in every branch of produce, trade, and manufactures? The most convenient mode of inquiry would be by a committee of the whole House; and, if your lordships shall refuse it, all I can say is, that in my view you will bring upon yourselves indelible disgrace, and desert your duty in a manner which will not be forgotten, and ought not to be forgiven. You will then be justly considered unworthy to hold the station you occupy, since you neglect its most imperative duties. If you wish to turn distress into despair and disaffection—if you wish to extend through the country, not a spirit of temperate and salutary change, but the wildest and most sweeping doctrines of parliamentary reform, you cannot adopt a course more efficacious than refusing to hear the grievances of the nation, and, if possible, to apply a remedy. All the arguments in favour of parliamentary reform will thus acquire double strength, and there will be nothing to oppose them but weakness and distrust. On a future occasion I shall endeavour, in more detail, to show the manner in which the best interests of the country have been wilfully attacked and injured, by obstinate adherence to misgovernment and false principles; I therefore shall not, on the present occasion, trouble the House further than by reading the Amendment I propose. [His lordship concluded by again reading the terms of his Amendment: it was agreed, after some conversation with the LordChancellor, that it should commence from "United Kingdom" at the end of the tenth paragraph to the end of the Address.]

Viscount *Goderich* said:—My lords, although it is my intention to support the Address proposed by the noble duke, and to oppose the Amendment, I beg to assure the noble earl, that among the many considerations which have induced me to take that course, cannot be reckoned any insensibility to the distresses I know and feel to prevail to so great an extent, and which, were it within our power, it is clearly within our duty to redress. I feel, if I were to acquiesce in the Amendment, I should only be lending myself to a delusion. [*hear*] Before, however, I proceed to make any remarks upon that part of the subject to which the noble earl has so emphatically called your lordships' attention, I shall beg leave to advert to some other matters noticed in his Majesty's Speech. Although I feel, and deeply feel, that there is nothing so strongly interesting to our hearts and consciences as the condition of the country, when in a state of such unexampled distress, I cannot think that we are therefore called upon to neglect the consideration of other great questions in which the welfare of the nation is essentially involved. It would, indeed, be a great misfortune to befal the country, if, because we were suffering distresses of a very severe kind, we should shut our eyes to those great questions in which, not on account of the mere interest they excite at the present moment, but of the effect they must produce on the latest posterity, a paramount degree of importance is involved. I particularly allude to the contemplated improvement and melioration of the mode of administering justice. It would indeed be a great misfortune if we were to shut our eyes upon all the great questions which the present state of circumstances has created, merely because some of them are not connected with the internal condition of the country. These are questions which I hope your lordships will not consider of so little importance as to think that our internal distresses will justify you in passing them by in silence —I mean those which have a relation to the foreign connections of this country. With regard to that subject, the Speech expresses the satisfaction with which his Majesty views the termination of the war between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. If the words "view with satisfaction," relate solely to the pleasure his Majesty has derived from seeing the termination of a war, which was not only attended, as all wars are, with many calamities in itself, but which was likely, from the interests involved, and the parties engaged in it, sooner or later to have dragged every great power in Europe into the contest, I most heartily concur with them; but if they are intended to express a satisfactory feeling created by the mode in which the war has terminated, and the conditions that have been imposed, then I cannot concur with that portion of the Speech. [*hear*] I am willing to believe, that the first sense is that in which the words have been used. With respect to the mode in which that war has been terminated, I never entertained an opinion that it could come to any other end. I never conceived how any man who looked at all to the course of events in that country, in connection with those in other European States, could fail to see, that for the last hundred and thirty years the power of the Turk has dwindled every day, whilst the power of those states, which would be the most likely to contend in warfare against him, have been progressively and naturally increasing. The principles of his government and of his faith make it impossible for him to advance with the advance of others; they were those of a blind, prejudiced, stupid, fanatic; while those powers, whose fear before restrained them, but whose cupidity is now awakened by the hope of deriving benefit from his weakness, have been making a daily progress in those arts which at first render a country independent of, and afterwards superior to, her less civilized neighbours. This has been strongly exemplified with respect to Turkey. There has not been a single war in which the Turk has engaged within the last hundred and thirty years without coming out of it somewhat shorn of his previous strength. I was, from the first, perfectly convinced that nothing could save him from the consequences of his conduct in the approaching war but a combination of the other powers—a coalition that he should never have counselled. I know that my opinion was one which was by no means general. Great pains were taken to propagate others; a directly contrary opinion was indeed ardently diffused by some persons—we were told that orders had been given to the Pacha to collect troops. God knows how many troops were to be brought together from one quarter or another; and it was said that the defeat of the invader was certain. I believe that that opinion was generally entertained in this country. The Pacha received orders to collect troops no doubt, but there were no troops to collect, and he was engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the means of resisting a most formidable aggression—a fact which was not noticed in this country, but which was one of a most important nature. And then, as to the Sultan, we were told indeed a great deal as to his energy and vigour, but I confess I never could discover any signs of energy or vigour, even in that act of his life which has been the subject of so much admiration. I saw nothing in it, on the one hand, but a cold and reckless indifference to human life when a favourite object was in view—the destruction of eight or ten or twelve thousand men being considered as nothing; and on the other, a hasty determination to do a certain act without at all providing for its consequences. For when he had succeeded in destroying the prætorian bands which menaced his security, and held the despot in their hands, he took no measures to secure another military body for the guard of his empire in their place. I therefore say, that I considered that act as anything but one of vigour, courage, or wisdom; and I felt sure, that in consequence of it, he must, when he was attacked, consent to an unconditional submission. I believe the Sultan was misled—I believe that great pains were taken by a certain individual to induce him to act as he did both towards Russia and Greece. Such individual, it is true, has been since disowned by his government, but I believe that his representations were to this effect: "Don't listen to France, to Russia, or to England; do what you please, they will quarrel among themselves; stand firm, and you will be sure of a successful issue of the struggle." But quarrel amongst themselves they did not; and the Sultan, deceived by false hopes, was unfortunately urged on to his own destruction. I say unfortunately, because, though I am not a lover of the Turk, and do not hold in respect the principles of his government, and set no great value on his political attachment to this country—I yet do not wish to see him crushed; and by no means do I wish to see him, by this, or any other country, driven from the position he occupies, and left to his fate. I do not wish to see him driven precipitately to his fate, and thereby leave open territories so valuable, and that would excite the cupidity of any power who might wish to possess them: that is a result which no one can contemplate with unmixed satisfaction. That part of the Speech on this subject, which gave me the most satisfaction, was the announcement that the terms of the pacification and settlement of Greece were likely soon to be adjusted; and adjusted, I should hope, on the basis of the Treaty of the 6th of July. I am not prepared to say that such treaty has not been honourably executed, and I will not say what might be thought of the first steps of the French government; but I do think, that the body of French troops sent into that country were not sent without the *bona fide* intention of carrying the stipulations of that treaty for the liberation of Greece into effect. If I am asked whether I anticipate anything unsatisfactory in the details of the pacification, I can only answer, that so far as we are yet informed, there has been a reasonable extension of territory conceded to the Greeks, and that I am not disposed to quarrel with the doctrines of a monarchy as the first principle of their future government. I will not enter into the question how far that principle may be consistent with the future form of that government, or how far the interference of others should extend in its first settlement; but I will say, that a government of that kind appears to me to be more likely to lead to something stable, definite, and intelligible for Greece, than if it were left to chance or to a diversity of interests, which, unguided by any principle, might but excite fears, jealousies, and other unpleasant sensations among the various governments of Europe, and render it doubtful how long the present peaceful relations of its different countries might continue. I will now say one word with respect to Portugal; I felt a strong degree of interest respecting that country, and I was not without doubts as to the course his majesty's government might pursue. That this matter has not been conducted to a satisfactory issue (and to do that the government has no easy task to perform) we learn from the Speech itself, which informs us that no specific settlement can yet be anticipated. If I were to venture to predict anything, it would be that Don Miguel will be recognised by this country. I am not prepared to say that I object to the fact of his being recognised. Circumstances may render it impossible for this country not to take that course; but if so, I hope it will be the recognition of him by England, and by England alone, without relation to any other power on earth. I hope it will be such a recognition as to call on Portugal for a return of friendship and good offices for so disinterested an act; and lastly, I hope, that if Don Miguel be recognised, we shall not leave unfortunate men, who had been persecuted on account of their patriotic attachment, still to suffer as the victims of tyranny, [*hear*] but that their hard fate may be mitigated by the influence of British councils. From what I have both heard and seen, I fear it will not be mitigated without such interference. I say I do hope that the unhappy victims of oppression and illegal outrage will not be left to suffer perpetual exile, and cruel poverty, not for their crimes, but for their virtues. [*cheers*] I will take the liberty now, if I have not already intruded a little too far, of turning from this part of the subject to the topics more specifically alluded to by the noble earl. As far as I can judge from the general tenor of his observations, the two great objects he has in view are to take measures to get rid of the "pestilent heresy," as it had been called, of free trade, and to diminish the amount of the taxes by paying them in a different currency, or to retrace our steps on the subject of the currency. As to the first of these matters I will just observe one thing. Whenever I have met these violent opponents of free trade, and have questioned them on their opinions, I have never been able to find one who could tell me what his notion of free trade was, still less what laws of trade had been altered—in what degree the alteration had taken place, and what was the effect of the alteration on the object which it affected; and I firmly believe that whenever we shall come to the discussion of this question, we shall be left by these persons as much in the dark as we hitherto have been. What says the noble earl, and what have a thousand others said, on the subject of wool? There have been violent declamations respecting the introduction of foreign wool at a low duty; and those who have thus admitted it have been stigmatized as heartless theorists, and indeed as little better than demons.—But those who advise us, in this respect, to follow what they call the "wisdom of our ancestors" seem to forget that it was those very ancestors who let freely, and without restraint, foreign wool come into this kingdom. [*hear*] If the wisdom of our ancestors is worth a straw, it is good against the duty, not in favour of it; for it was not until 1819 that a high duty was levied on it. They encouraged the importation of foreign wool. They may have been wrong; but whether they were or not, do let us call things by their right names, and not thus mistake facts, and then raise false inferences upon them. There is nothing more important in discussing a question of this kind, than that we should be quite certain of the premises on which we start; and we shall only get into difficulties, if we ascribe to certain causes things which do not arise out of them. I shall say nothing further on this subject now, but shall reserve myself for any general discussion on it. I will now say one word on the question of the currency. There is no idea more prevalent on this subject than that which was dwelt on by the noble earl; namely, a notion that the currency having changed has produced an increase of taxation. [*hear, hear*] That 'hear, hear' is just what I wanted; it shews the truth of what I have stated. Now the notion to which I have alluded would be quite correct if the amount of money paid in taxes were the same now as in the time of the depreciated currency. But what is the fact? In 1815, in the hey-day of our glory, the amount of taxes levied was somewhat more than the enormous amount of eighty millions. If the depreciation had been charged, as it may fairly be calculated, at 30 per cent, the amount would have been fifty-six millions. So that fifty six millions now are equivalent to eighty millions of that time. The same taxes, therefore, as were levied (including the property-tax) in 1815, and which then produced eighty millions, would, if levied now, produce fifty-six millions. It is a curious fact that the amount levied last year did produce just that sum. But we know that considerable reductions have taken place—I do not say that every thing has been reduced to its full extent; that the government has done all that they could, and the noble earl asks how they can expect to raise the same amount as in a depreciated currency? But what followed the bill on the subject of the currency? Did it follow that because the currency had been rectified there was a diminished production of manufactures and other produce, or of consumption? The truth was, a reduction of taxation had taken place to a very great extent antecedently to 1823. From that period, and previously to 1826, a reduction to the extent of nine millions had taken place; so that if the consumption were the same in 1827 as in 1823, there would be a diminished receipt of nine millions. But what was the fact? The diminution in the revenue did not exceed three millions; and if it were calculated in 1828, it would be found not to have gone beyond one million. This is only to be accounted for by an increased consumption of the necessary articles of life. The cause of this must have been, either that the population has increased, or that the people are able to consume more than they did. I care not one straw, so far as the argument goes, which of the two is taken to be the fact; for the result of either must show that the pressure has been lightened, or that the people have increased means of consumption. I will go into these matters more in detail at a future time, but I felt so strongly on the subject, that I was obliged to say thus much now in answer to the objections urged against the "pestilent heresy" of free trade, and the pernicious tendency of the currency-bill. I know that all feel the pressure of the times. I feel them deeply myself, but still more do I feel for those who are less able to bear them; but I do not think the things I have referred to are the causes of that pressure. I am not prepared to give my unqualified confidence to his majesty's government; but I do not come here to embarrass them. I hope others do not; and I will do my best to support them in the course they have adopted on these subjects, for I conceive it to be of infinitely more importance to continue in this course than to suffer oneself to be led away by errors on these great subjects, in order to make them the means of attacking, I had almost said assaulting, an administration, in order to triumph in their discomfiture; a measure, the consequences of which, if thus occasioned, few can truly foresee. If ever I had any political hostility to the present administration, I have buried it in the grave of the Catholic question. My sole object is to do the best I can to aid them or others in that course of government which I conceive to be beneficial; and if the ministry, instead of turning round are prepared to maintain the conduct they have hitherto adopted, I for one, shall not grudge them the possession of their office.

The Duke of *Richmond* said: but for the line of argument pursued by the noble viscount, especially on the subject of the wool-trade and duty, he should not on the present occasion have trespassed on their lordships' attention. The noble duke declared that he had only named the wool question because he thought that the wool-trade had been unfairly excepted from the general rule, and was not protected in the same ratio as others. He could refer to papers to show that it was not equally protected with others, he guarded against going into the subject of free trade, and had expressed no opinion on it, and therefore he ought not to have been charged with improperly referring to our ancestors' conduct on that subject. There was now three years' growth of wool on hand; the farmer could not get rid of his produce, and the manufacturer felt at second hand the distress inflicted on the farmer. The land-owners and occupiers were on the verge of ruin; and the labourers were existing, if existence it could be called, on the miserable pittance which the parish officers with difficulty collected for their support. Many of their lordships knew, if they attended to their magisterial duties, that many of the labourers were without the means of existence. He was not sanguine enough to suppose that his arguments would have any great weight there, but out of doors they would have their effect. The noble viscount said it would be a delusion to hold out a hope that parliament could provide a remedy for this evil. Were their lordships then to tell the labourer and manufacturer that they must starve? Were they to tell the yeomanry that there was no remedy for them but patience? That was not the language to hold to them in their distresses. He should not however shrink from the performance of his duty, although he might be exposed to the serious charge, by so doing, of "assaulting" he believed was the word—the administration. Not that he had any wish to assault the government, but he hoped that the expression of opinion in the House would be strong enough to show the noble duke that their lordships intended to do their duty to their country, and to act with justice to all. There were some points of the Address which he was happy to hear, even at this late period; he meant the allusion to the courts of law. He hoped that amendments would be adopted with respect to the court of Chancery and that the plans of the intended reforms would not be suffered to lie idly on that table. [*hear*]

The Earl of *Caernarvon* considered the language used in the Speech to be quite unworthy of our most gracious sovereign, and were only the expressions of those who now formed his councils. They alone must be answerable for them. On the whole, he must say that they were a most insulting, unfeeling, and cold-blooded allusion to the distresses of the country. He had felt a painful sensation in reading them; especially the confusion and incapacity manifested in the words which were put into the mouth of the sovereign, as to the impossibility of relieving the distresses.

Yet the House were recommended to adhere to that course which, year after year, had been attended with increasing distress, and when the only cases in the wilderness of distress were those exhibited by the country when that course was departed from. He admitted that there might be minor concurrent causes of distress; but the great and overwhelming cause which had brought down this country from the pinnacle of prosperity to its present depression, was, the line of conduct which the ministers, within the last few years, had thought fit to adopt. He could conceive nothing like the scattered allusions of the most extraordinary Speech. He, for his part, believed that it would be difficult to persuade the country that the state of the seasons, that a wet summer or a cold winter, had occasioned the general distress. He would call to the recollection of the House one circumstance of recent occurrence, which would at once put an end to all arguments upon the distress arising from the present season. Noble lords must recollect that the years 1816 and 1817 presented the worst seasons almost within memory. Now the country was placed, at the present moment, precisely in the situation in which it stood at the commencement of 1818; but was the distress to be compared? So far from it, 1818 was like an "oasis rising in the desert"; it was an era of bright, though, as it turned out, of illusory prosperity. Had the country, at the present moment, any such prospects of prosperity either in the agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial interests? No man would contend that prosperity was brightening. But the government had felt the distresses of 1816 and 1817, and they became alarmed at their own operations. They deferred their resumption of cash payments for two years: the dreary scene never had brightened, except on the occasion of temporary relaxation of those ill-fated measures taking place; and in those intervals a gleam of prosperity had returned on our affairs. Not only did the ministers do this, but if his recollection did not fail him, there was then an issue of seven million of Exchequer-bills, the Bank of England made an issue of three million of small notes, and there was a proportionate issue made by the private bankers. All this countervailed the inclemency of the season; and was not this plain fact better than speculative calculations, and the best of all arguments, in reply to all that was ever said about the wet summer? The distresses of the country were treated, however, as if they were of a trivial nature. He much lamented that so important a subject, one on which the happiness, prosperity, health, and lives of millions were dependent, should have been treated so lightly by those whose duty demanded a very different course of conduct. The noble viscount (Goderich) who had just spoken, expressed his determination to vote for no inquiry, as it would only prove illusory; and illusory he admitted it certainly would be, if the House of Lords should confess the same incapacity of which his Majesty's ministers already stood self-convicted. If the noble lords in office could propose no measure of assistance at such a juncture, when the cries of a suffering nation assailed their ears, they were not the ministers who could save the country. At the same time he did not mean to insinuate that this was to be referred to a want of capacity, whatever other deficiencies the present government might be charged with. On the subject of the currency laws, he would speak his sentiments freely, notwithstanding the reluctance which was so visible on the part of others, both within doors and abroad. Many entertained opinions similar to his own, although deference to one leader or another prevented them from speaking out. Some also hoped that the powerful hand of government would be extended to relieve the public from the intolerable evils so improperly termed 'temporary' in the official document then under their consideration. It would be easy to prove that every measure in other times, and other countries, which had for its object the contraction of the circulation, produced uniformly public distress. Formerly, distress which so originated passed away in a few years; now, however, the kingdom was placed under different circumstances, as the production of the precious metals had diminished while agricultural and commercial resources had multiplied. Many of the noble lords whom he addressed had been already obliged to abate their incomes by 20 or 30 per cent; but, according to the system pursued by government, they might make a still further reduction of 20 or 30 per cent more, without producing any permanently beneficial effect, so long as the principal source of mischief remained untouched. It was a foolish and a mad project to go on speculating how much contraction the currency would bear. Wiser and happier statesmen had supported successfully the principle that the currency could not be too extensive, provided it represented something substantial; or, in other words, that it represented property, whether agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing. Another great error had been committed in the settlement of the currency question —namely, that the standard should have been fixed to be a gold one. This was the only country which had a gold standard alone. A small expenditure required one standard; a larger another; but he considered the metallic currency in no other light than as the small change of a great commercial and manufacturing state. He would ask any one in that House whether, when rents were sent up to their bankers here, were they sent up, forsooth, in rouleaus of gold?—Never. They were sent up almost always in a paper currency, or by the bankers, for their own convenience—namely, bills of exchange. In cases of doubt only was there a demand or run on any one for gold or precious metals. When a panic occurred, it was always greater and more general in a larger country than in a smaller; the wealth of the former ought therefore to be represented by that metal, as a standard which was easier procurable than gold, and was also to be had in larger quantities. In no other country was gold exclusively a standard, nor did he believe that it could at this moment be obtained in any quarter of the world to meet an immediate and general demand. Besides, gold was more open to combinations than any other metal, which would be sufficiently demonstrated in a sudden exigence by the great dealers in money on the Stock Exchange. He would propose a silver standard, and have gold for circulation with a view only to convenience. The resources of the country would then be emancipated from the artificial fetters in which they were bound, and it would be shown, to the confusion of political economists, that they could be made the means of feeding as well as starving the population of the country. What was the condition of the English people just now? Why, 30,000,000*l*. of taxes had been apparently taken off, an ostensible abatement from 84,000,000*l*. to 56,000,000*l*. had been made, and yet the pressure was found to be about the same as before. Were they in the present times, after fifteen years of peace, to be told that they must pay a property-tax, pay all the war taxes—in short, all that had been levied at the heaviest period of national expenditure;—now, too, while economy and retrenchment were adopted in every department of the public service? The noble duke at the head of the government had made promises of still greater reductions. In this respect, he was free to acknowledge that no minister had greater power or more honest intentions. He was quite willing to give that illustrious individual abundant credit for his ability and integrity, but he might retrench and economise until he should even put in peril the existence of our institutions, and yet the distress of the manufacturing and agricultural population, he could assure him, would not be the more ameliorated by exertions of such a nature. One of the evils attendant upon the working of the present system was the course of conduct which it imposed upon bankers. They could not, consistently with their interest, afford the slightest accommodation to farmers, who might suffer by a wet and backward season. The crop, although abundant, would necessarily require a longer period before it could be brought to market. The farmer, on presenting himself to the banker, demands a check for 100*l*., and promises to pay the amount with interest, offering his corn-ricks, haystacks, cattle, &c. for security. This proposal, however, is invariably refused, as the nature of the circulation prevents the banker from profiting by acceding to it. His issues are in five-pound notes, and, on an average, from seven to eight days after their issue, those five-pound notes are returned on him for small change, which he is obliged to pay in gold. The only argument advanced in favour of this circulation appeared to be their supposed effect in preventing traders to any great amount on fictitious capital from going to market, and consequently so far it protected fair dealing, and encouraged the interests of trade. This assertion, nevertheless, was not true, in his opinion, to the extent alleged. He had seen returns made in the year 1825, which justified the inference, and led him to believe that its operation in this respect was very much over-rated. He recommended a silver standard, disavowed having attended any county meeting where the subject had been discussed, and stated his conviction that the distresses complained of were not of a temporary character, nor arising from accidental causes. There was, however, another point of the King's Speech which he could not forbear adverting to in terms of approbation and satisfaction. He meant the assurance of a reform in the courts of law. [*hear, hear*] This was a matter worthy of being undertaken by his majesty's government, and he had no doubt the announcement would be hailed with one common feeling of gratified expectation by every member of the community. With respect to a remedy for the distresses under which the country was suffering, he believed the noble duke opposite would be most glad to apply one, if he knew it; but though the noble duke might not be able to devise one, still it was necessary that a remedy should be applied, and that speedily. It was impossible that the poorer classes could continue in the state in which they were now suffering. If that class had no confidence in the ministry, they had confidence in parliament; but even in that their confidence would not long continue, unless they found that serious attempts were made to relieve the distress under which they laboured. Another topic to which he was anxious to call the attention of their lordships was one in which he considered that the honour of this country had been compromised, and its glory tarnished. He alluded to the conduct we had adopted towards those brave and loyal men who had endeavoured to land at Terceira, to add their force to that which was already there, acting in the name of their lawful sovereign, the young queen of Portugal. He contended that ministers, while professing a strict neutrality, as between the party of Don Miguel and the constitutionalists, or rather that of the lawful queen of Portugal, had shown a decided partiality to the usurper, and had materially assisted him in his outrageous violation of the rights of the young queen. If they had acted on the principles of strict neutrality, it might have been fair; but they had departed from it, and in every way showed a decided partiality for Don Miguel. They had, in fact, acted as constables for his protection. The noble lord observed that he had been prevented from bringing this subject forward in the latter part of last session; but he should at no distant day have the opportunity of directing special attention to it. In the meantime, he must maintain that the conduct of government, in preventing the landing of the Portuguese who went out unarmed to join the force of their lawful queen at Terceira, was a decided violation of that neutrality on which ministers professed to act, and was an interposition unwarranted by the law of nations. We certainly were not bound to assist in conveying them there; but he defied any man to prove that we were justified in preventing an unarmed force from landing on that island. Even if government knew that these men were afterwards to be all armed and sent to attack Portugal, still he would contend that, acting strictly as neutrals, we were bound not to interpose. He would ask the noble viscount (Melville) at the head of the Admiralty, if he had ever heard of such a naval or military armament as an unarmed vessel containing six hundred unarmed men? He hoped their lordships would receive some satisfactory explanation on this subject—if it could be given. He had seen the curious dispatch of the noble duke to the noble earl (Aberdeen) at the head of the Foreign Department on this subject. He could account for a communication of this kind between the noble duke and the earl, by a wish on the part of the former to let his noble friend, whom he had kindly relieved for a short time from the business of his department, see what he had been doing for him in his absence. The noble duke seemed also to take upon himself the responsibility of another noble friend, who was at the head of the Admiralty. He avowed the whole act as his own, and as if he alone were responsible. "The whole act," said he, "is mine"—

"Me me adsum qui feci: in me convertite ferrum."

The whole proceeding reminded him of some humorous designs in which he had seen a noble lord represented as an actor of all work. But when the government put forth such statements to justify their conduct as their belief that the Portuguese were about to attack Terceira, the government professed to believe what no person in the country could believe but themselves. There was one circumstance, however, which took off a little of the regret he felt at the conduct of the British government. He rejoiced that those men had not arrived at Terceira, because their absence contributed to enhance the glory of one of the most brilliant achievements in modern times. [*hear*] The commander of that little island, placed at the head of a few, opposed by a greater force, threatened by the whole kingdom of Portugal, and pressed by an enemy who could choose his own time for attack, and proportion his means to the occasion which required them—the commander of that island, with every thing to discourage him, with the example of the feeling entertained by this government towards his countrymen, proved in the proceeding of the British ship of war—that commander had attempted, and succeeded in the attempt, to defend the island, which he accomplished by an action that must for ever enrol the name of Count de Villa Flor amongst the first officers of his day. The glorious result at Terceira afforded a proof of the injustice with which the Portuguese character was treated. Our ministers had not done them justice, nor had they done justice to Don Miguel. They were engaged in a war against the resources of their own country, and were incapable of acting a bold and manly part even against such a monster. He could not conclude without calling on the country to come forward and show that the distresses were not partial but general. If ministers could not propose a remedy for the distress, others should be found who could. [*hear, hear*] To persevere in the present course was impossible. They must attempt something to improve the state of the country. It was not permitted to a great people to act a little and obscure part, if the ministers did not find a remedy, the country would have a ministry by whom some remedy could be devised. If this were not provided, and speedily, he could see nothing await us but a rapid diminution of power and influence. In urging these opinions he felt that he was acting with perfect consistency. It would not be easy to convince him that the relation of cause and effect could not be traced between what had happened and what had been often foretold. If they had taken a wide step in error, it was only by taking as wide a step in retreat that they could hope to recover their lost advantages. He did not think that a parliamentary inquiry would answer any good purpose. The people of this country would not be Englishmen if they were satisfied with any thing short of the prompt exertion of the government to dissipate the present distress. The government had confessed themselves not only not able to remedy the distress, on the contrary they now declared, they could not even distinguish it. [*hear*] As for the Speech, it meant nothing—it was nonsense. He spoke without intending disrespect to the noble lords opposite; but such was the light in which it struck him; considered as the Speech, not of the king, but of the minister, whose policy it was intended to lay open. He was not one of those who would object to an ordinary compliment upon such an occasion; but he felt that, by voting for this Address, he should pledge himself to a blind reliance upon ministers—a course which, under all the circumstances, he did not consider it his duty to adopt. He considered that it would pledge him to an opinion as to the state of the country which he believed to be inconsistent with truth; and he was astonished how the opinion could have found its way into the Speech.

The Duke of *Wellington.*—If, my lords, I could entertain any doubt as to the propriety of the determination which I had formed not to refer to those points of the motion of my noble friend near me, relative to foreign affairs, in answer to noble lords opposite—I say, my lords, if I had ever harboured any such doubts, they would be entirely removed by the latter parts of the speech of the noble earl (Carnarvon) who has just sat down. The noble earl, instead of referring to those parts in his Majesty's Speech, and in the Address of my noble friend, which have relation to the transactions of the present year, has found it necessary to refer to the history of the last two years, in order to find ground of blame against his Majesty's government. In the very last session of parliament I declared my earnest anxiety that your lordships would be pleased to discuss the very question which the noble earl has taken advantage of this night's discussion to introduce to your consideration—taken advantage of to introduce, without notice to any one concerned, or opportunity given them to consult the documents, that we might see whether the noble earl quoted them correctly, or whether any others were necessary to the elucidation of those transactions to which he referred. It was not to those transactions that the noble earl addressed himself, but to certain papers for which he had upon some former occasion moved; and to-night, upon the occasion of considering an Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne, he loses sight of all the topics of that Speech and Address, and refers to other transactions, upon which no information has yet been given to the House, or, at least, but very partial information, and charges government with certain things—where he found them God only knows—most certainly not in the despatches which have been laid before this House, or which have reached the public offices. I say, my lords, that there was no such communication as that the noble earl refers to. It was desired by Don Miguel that the British troops should continue in Portugal, but the proposal was negatived by the British government; and it is not true that any such proposition was made by any individual, or set of individuals, on the part of this government, that I ever heard of. But the noble earl considers that to us is attributable the failure of the insurrection of Oporto. Surely not, my lords; we had nothing to do with it. The truth is, that the insurrectionists of Oporto had all the strength of troops, abundance of ammunition, and all the muniments of war necessary to carry their points, and they were joined by the very officers who (the noble earl says) were absent, and who, if present, would have obtained all the ends of the expedition; but they withdrew from Portugal, they quitted the ship which carried them, they left the country, because they saw the whole country was against them. That was the fact, and it appeared upon the face of the correspondence. But, not only has the noble earl referred to transactions for which there are no documents, but also to others, of which the documents are before your lordships, and to which he might as well have given notice of his intention of referring to-night. I say, my lords, that we were neutral in the contest between Don Miguel and his niece or brother; that we were neutral in the civil war of Portugal. The neutrality was never violated by us. We were bound in commercial relations with Portugal, bound by a commercial treaty before the time that he usurped the government of Portugal; and under that we had rights to maintain. Being so situated, could we suffer an army to be organised at Plymouth for the purpose of invading Portugal, the Azores, Terceira, or any other place within his dominions? Don Miguel might be an usurper, or he might not; that was not a question which we had a right to settle by appeal to such arguments as would show a disposition to violate the strict neutrality which it was our duty to observe in the contest. The noble earl talks of the cruelty of that transaction at Terceira, and regrets that blood has been spilled. I regret it too. I believe that one man was killed, though the evidence on that point is not so clear as the noble earl would make it appear. The fact has not been proved. But this was not our affair; we did no more than was required to keep his Majesty's neutrality, [*hear*] and we were fully justified by the laws of nations, and by that treaty, in taking those measures. [*hear, hear, from Lord Holland*] The noble earl has also adverted to the correspondence having been carried on through the person who fills the situation which I have the honour to hold, upon that occasion, as if I had taken upon myself the duties of my noble friend (Lord Aberdeen). But, if the noble earl would quote accurately that correspondence, he would see the reason why it devolved upon me, why my noble friend did not undertake it, and why it was afterwards transferred to my noble friend. It remained in my hands so long as the person acting here for Portugal did not assume an official character, which it was our object to prolong, but as soon as an official person did appear, the business was then transferred to my noble friend, and from that time he took upon himself the negotiation. Such was the history of that transaction as far as I recollect; for, not thinking that an affair which happened so long before last session would be made the subject of discussion to-night, I do not pretend to speak with any accuracy upon it, and, in fact, trust myself entirely to my recollection of its circumstances. I had intended, my lords, to confine myself in what I had to say to the latter part of the Speech from the Throne, and the latter part of the Address, which was particularly alluded to by the noble earl at the table, and which, notwithstanding the great pains that have been taken with other topics, I consider the most important part of the Speech. His Majesty has thought proper to recommend to this House that it would proceed with great caution in the consideration of the subjects which are to be submitted to it. But what does the noble earl opposite do? He not only does not attend to the recommendation of his Majesty—a recommendation to proceed with prudence and discretion—but he calls upon your lordships to pledge yourselves, not only to inquire into those transactions for the good of the country, but he points out the very measures which ought to be adopted; namely, an alteration of the currency. [*hear. No, from the Opposition*] This, I say, my lords, is the measure pointed out by the noble earl. He has thought proper to make some observations upon the Speech, as if his majesty's government had neglected to ascertain the true state of the country—as if they were ignorant of its distress, and as if I, in particular, was negligent of my duty in this instance. I can assure him that no one is more sensible than I am of the state of things, and that no one laments it more sincerely than I do: and I am certain that independently of motive or interest in this subject arising from my official situation, there is no person in the country who feels for its distress more acutely than the person who fills the situation which I have the honour to hold. The noble earl has said that, in the Speech, the whole of the distress is attributed to the state of the seasons; but what is the statement of the Speech upon that subject? Without affecting to quote it literally, is it not, in substance, this—"that, in considering the remedies to be applied to this state of things, you are to give due weight to the unfavourable nature of the seasons, which occasioned enormous expenses in collecting the harvest, and which has, in fact, occasioned one bad harvest, if not another; so that the collection of it was excessively expensive." Surely these circumstances must not be overlooked in taking the subject of distress into consideration. But, besides the agriculturists, there is another class labouring under great distress—the manufacturers. I want to know whether the competition of machinery with labour in all departments of mechanics—the general application of steam—the competition abroad with our manufacturers—and the general imitation of our fabrics—have not produced very great distress amongst the manufacturers at home? These are the circumstances to which his Majesty refers as important to be considered in connection with the subject of distress, and they are those over which parliament has no control. Can this House prevent competition by foreign markets with our own? Can we prevent improvements in machinery? Can we prevent steam from being applied to foreign manufacture? And yet we all know that this injurious competition is ruinous to the manufacturer, by lowering his wages, or throwing the labourers out of employ. But then, the noble earl says the distress is general—universal. My lords, I am afraid the distress is very general; but I must say, notwithstanding the distress which prevails, that there are symptoms to show that the country is advancing. I say, and it may be proved by the documents, that the exports of British manufacture have increased, have been increasing for the last few years, and that in the last year they were larger than they ever were before. I say, my lords, that the amount of exports of produce of British manufacture is greater than it ever was before. [*hear*] I say that there are, upon all sides, shown the strongest symptoms of improvement in the condition of the country—that there is not a rail-road, or canal, upon which the traffic has not increased of late years, including last year. True it is, my lords, that the profits of trade are now smaller than they were formerly; but if profit, however small, is being derived from the labour of men and animals, surely it is impossible but that some advantage must accrue to some one. It is true that these advantages are not so great as they were ten or fifteen years ago [*hear*] but there is some advantage, or would the increase of traffic exist? And where that is the case the distress cannot be said to be universal. There is another circumstance which I would call to your lordships attention. There is in this country a very large class of persons who are retail dealers; I ask if they are distressed? [*Hear, and Yes, from the Opposition.*] This class is very numerous in every town and village in England; I want to know if they are distressed? Are they able to pay their rents? Who build and rent all the new houses that one sees in all directions? These, my lords, are circumstances, say what you please, which every man must feel and acknowledge as indications that the country, notwithstanding the pressure upon it, is still rising, and in some points must continue to rise. I will now say one word, my lords, upon the remedies proposed by the noble earl. That noble lord has entirely misunderstood the argument of the noble viscount (Goderich). The noble viscount had said that the revenue in the year 1815 produced eighty millions sterling, and that, though taxes had been reduced, first to the amount of eighteen millions, and afterwards to the amount of nine millions, making altogether twenty-seven millions, the revenue produced in sound currency now the same amount as it did in a depreciated currency before. Does not, then, this fact of the revenue keeping up, though the taxes were taken off, prove that the consumption of articles had increased one-third since the period when the taxes were taken off—a proof, also, of the better state of the country. It would be impossible for the country to increase in its consumption one-third in fifteen years if it was suffering under the universal distress which the noble Lord talks of. The noble Lord opposite and the noble Lord who spoke last (Carnarvon) have thought proper to refer the distress to a deficient circulation. Now, my Lords, I hold in my hand a paper which gives the relative amounts of the circulation at different periods. By this it appears that the largest sum ever known to be in circulation during the Bank Restriction was 64,000,000*l.* sterling. The sum was made up of—

Bank of England notes..........	£30,000,0000
Country-bank notes	23,000,000
Gold	4,000,000
Silver	7,000,000
Total	£64,000,000

But in the last year the circulation consisted of—

Bank of England notes..........	£19,900,000
Country-bank notes	9,200,000
Gold	28,000,000
Silver	8,000,000
Total	£65,100,000

Being an excess over the largest circulation ever known. [*hear*] If the question be about the actual amount of money in circulation, I beg to observe that there is more money in circulation now than there ever was at any period of the Bank restriction, and that whoever considers that there is abroad sixty-five millions, cannot say that money is scarce. Why, the truth of the matter is, that noble lords want not extended circulation, but unlimited circulation—that is—to give an unlimited power to some individuals—not the Crown, any one but the Crown—to coin as much money, in the shape of paper, as they please, that they may be enabled to lend a fictitious capital to all sorts of speculators. [*hear*] This is what the noble earl opposite wants, but what the country cannot have without exposing it to a degree of ruin from which it has so narrowly escaped in 1825 and 1826. [*hear*] If your lordships will attend to the arguments of the noble lord, you will see that this is what he wants. For what is the language now held? "In the west of England," one says, "I inquired, and found that the farmer could not borrow any money: his corn-yards and hay-ricks were full, but he was not able to raise money upon them; and why? Because the country banker cannot coin 1*l.* notes." [*hear*] — If these bankers, says the noble earl, cannot lend their money, they cannot get any interest upon their capital. I beg his pardon. The banker may have discount upon cashing the farmer's bill; but he is not content with that profit, he wants to be coining 1*l.* notes, and to have profit upon those insecure notes, in addition to the discount. [*hear*] And what is it the noble earl wants now, and will, perhaps, move for in a few days? Not to increase the circulation, for there is as much now as at any former period, but to give certain persons power to lend as much money as they please upon land or no land, upon security or no security. I submit to your lordships that the noble earl has not proved the want of money—there never was a period when money was less wanted. Is there any man, however speculative — any scheme, however visionary, provided only it is a little plausible, which now-a-days lacks support? Is there any power, however bankrupt, even Portugal and Brazil, though the creditors of these countries have been so ill-treated, but can borrow money in this city upon any security or no security? In fact, capital is more abundant now than it was ever known to be, and the evil is certainly not too limited a circulation. I am sorry to trouble your lordships with these observations, which are rather replies to what has been said by the noble earl, and I will now pass to more important topics in his Majesty's Speech—namely, the measures which affect the permanent welfare of the country. In answer to all the declamation that we have heard to night, as to the evils resulting from free trade, and this system of currency, I beg to state to your lordships only one fact. Since the year 1815, but principally since the bank restriction was taken off, measures have been adopted by which this country has been relieved from twenty-seven millions a year taxes, besides three millions or four millions interest of the debt, representing a capital of hundred millions of debt. I beg you to bear this in mind when you are discussing this question; and I would tell the advocates of what is called an "equitable adjustment," that, with all their measures, they could not have accomplished so much. I repeat, that since the bank restriction has been taken off, the country has been relieved to the amount of nine millions and eighteen millions besides. I wish to take no credit to myself for this; I give it to those to whom it is properly due—to my noble friend upon the cross-bench (Lord Bexley) and to the noble viscount (Goderich) opposite. Your lordships, then, perceive what may be done by economy; we give our pledge to strive to attain similar ends by the like means, and we call upon you, and count upon your giving us your aid, in putting that economy into practice which will enable us to imitate and rival our predecessors. I trust that your lordships will believe that his Majesty's ministers will do all in their power to relieve the distresses of the country.

The Marquis of *Clanricarde* said, notwithstanding the tone in which the noble duke had thought proper to comment upon the observations of the noble earl (Carnarvon), he contended that there never was a session in which parliament waited with so much patience and composure for information respecting our foreign relations as the last session. Some of the most important papers, relating to the Portugal affair, were not laid before this House till the close of the last session. The noble earl, in his opinion, had taken a proper opportunity to canvass these papers to-night, for this was in fact the first opportunity which had offered for such an inquiry. Could it be said that the notice of them was unseasonable now, when government were about, by their own confession, to recognise Don Miguel? [*hear*]—He hoped that some information would be given to the House respecting the mission of a noble friend of his to the Brazils, for without such information it would not be dealing fairly with the House to call upon it to pledge itself to any course of policy with respect to Don Miguel, which, by agreeing in this Address, they might be supposed to be. He hoped some noble lord would make a motion on the subject, but it would be more satisfactory and becoming if it came from ministers themselves. [*hear*] He was not disposed to canvass the whole Speech in detail, but he could not help congratulating ministers upon their great versatility, in being able to extract pleasure from Turkey, which they had hitherto regarded as a source of pain. [*hear*] He hoped the explanation would be given relative to the mission to the Brazils.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* explained. No advantage was intended to be taken of the House with respect to the negotiation with Don Miguel because their lordships might concur in this Address. Their lordships might rest assured that all due information would be laid before them before any steps were taken in that recognition—

Lord *Holland*.—Steps?—[*hear*]

The Earl of *Aberdeen*.—What I mean to say is, that before any thing is done, parliament will be furnished with information tending to explain and justify the advice which we may give. [*hear, hear, from the Opposition*] That any intention exists at this moment of taking such a step as that of recognising Don Miguel I will not now say; but thus far I will be explicit, that I myself have long considered the recognition as a question of time only, for take place it must at one time or other, though perhaps the period may be precipitated or retarded by different considerations. Happen, however, when it may, I have only to repeat, that all the information which will be calculated to explain and justify our measures shall be laid before you.

Lord *Holland*.—I do not rise to prolong this discussion, but to have, if I can, a clear understanding of the meaning of the noble lord's expression. If I understand him rightly, he says that, when the happy period arrives when we are to acknowledge as king of Portugal that usurper whose whole course has been marked by the greatest hostility and perfidy to this country, parliament is to be made acquainted with all about it; but is it to be before or after, for there lies all the difference? In the early part of his short address, the noble lord used the expression "steps taken," which he afterwards qualified by saying that the information would be afforded before any determination was come to upon the subject of Don Miguel. Now, my lords, in my opinion these expressions make all the difference, and it is of the last necessity that we understand each other clearly. This is the more necessary after the rebuke which my noble friend (Lord Carnarvon) received from the noble duke opposite, who, when, two years ago, these papers were refused, then declared that such a refusal was solely owing to negotiations then pending, and that he longed, nay, panted for a discussion upon them, and was never so anxious to go into a full explanation of the foreign relations of the country—afterwards allowed a whole session to pass without saying one word to parliament on the subject—and, at last, when the House called for information, at the end of a fortnight or three weeks, came down here in a way that nobody ever saw a Secretary of State, I am sure, before—laying a bundle of papers upon the table, without saying whether they were all the documents necessary, or saying a single word to explain them, all incomplete and garbled as they were. I say, my lords, that when my noble friend near me, with great eloquence and great perspicuity, makes some observations upon these papers, the noble duke says, "Oh, this is the old story; what do you mean now? why didn't you give notice?" [*laughter*]—It is the more necessary that we understand each other at once, lest he again turn round upon us hereafter. The fact is, my lords, that these papers do not contain one-half of the thing, and the conduct of government, as appears upon the face of them, is bad and disgraceful indeed. [*hear*]—I hope the noble duke will give us this information with a good grace. I do not want to press him now, but that, before the time arrives when we are to recognise Don Miguel as king, it will be found necessary to lay the whole case before us, and, above all, have it explained, since we were told from the Throne last session, that the head of the House of Braganza was the quarter where these differences were to be terminated, and we know that a minister had been sent out to the Brazils to suggest the grounds of a negotiation between the contending parties. What was the termination, and why the failure, of that mission? not a word was there of it in the papers before the House, though parliament had an undoubted right to the most extended information upon the subject. I hope, that before they resolve upon the disgrace and ignominy of recognizing that bloody usurper and tyrant of a country which is of more importance to this nation than any other country in Europe, your lordships will be favoured with full information upon all that has been done in the matter. There is another subject, too, the affairs of the east, upon which I trust the lords will not be left without information. I would not say any thing upon that subject now, except that I thought his majesty's ministers had treated their "ancient ally," the Turk, with great disrespect. For my own part, I should not have regretted the fall of an odious and disgusting tyranny, which had done so much mischief to mankind. As a citizen of the world, I am sorry that the Russians had not taken Constantinople. People might say, "Oh, we should have sent a fleet to prevent them." But their lordships might depend upon it that if the Russians had taken Constantinople, we should have sent no fleet, whatever we might have threatened to do.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, he could state to the noble baron, that whenever his Majesty's ministers thought proper to advise their sovereign to remove diplomatic relations with Portugal, they should not ask his advice as to the course that ought to be adopted. Their lordships might depend upon being furnished with the fullest information — with information which he trusted would fully justify the government in every step that had been taken. The noble lord, who never spoke of Don Miguel but in terms of strong vituperation and almost of horror, [*hear, from Lord Holland*] must be aware now how much the conduct of that individual had been exaggerated. The noble lord must know what the spirit of party and political prejudice would do against the character of princes, even when they least deserved opprobrium. That Don Miguel's character might merit all the reproaches cast upon it was possible, and he would be very far from defending or even palliating what was considered reprehensible conduct in him. But the noble lord ought to have been the last person to object to him as a usurper, because he had on former occasions shown no disinclination to acknowledge usurpers. Don Miguel was, besides, the choice of the people. He maintained that it was the interest of

England to connect itself with Portugal, whether governed by one brother or the other of the House of Braganza; and the interruption which had taken place in the relations between the two countries was of longer duration than had ever occurred for two hundred years before. The interruption of those relations was calculated to injure the union which had so long subsisted between the two countries, and open a way to other powers in Europe to occupy that place which we had held in relation to Portugal. It was not therefore to be wondered at that his Majesty's government should be anxious, at the first proper moment, to go back to that state which had been the settled policy of this country for so many years. When the government should think that that moment had arrived, their lordships would be informed of it, and they then would be in a condition to judge whether his Majesty's ministers had acted properly; and he trusted that the House and the country would not think they had acted precipitately.

Lord *Holland* said, he had never expected that the noble Earl would ask his advice upon any subject, for he appeared to take all his measures without consulting parliament or indeed any body else. In allusion to some peculiar expressions that had fallen from the noble Earl, he wished to say a few words merely in explanation. The noble Earl had said that he would not ask advice as to the time of re-opening the relations with Portugal; but he trusted parliament would not wait till the noble earl chose to give information, but would of itself call upon ministers to lay the documents connected with the subject on the table. With respect to Don Miguel, he was not merely a usurper, but he had seized the throne in spite of the promises he had made. He had directly broken faith with us; and it was not merely because he was a usurper that he (Lord Holland) was unwilling to acknowledge Don Miguel. That prince was a far different sort of a person from Napoleon, who was no usurper, but had been called to the government of France, in the same manner as the royal family of this kingdom, by the voice of parliament, and the representatives of the people; and therefore he had been disposed to acknowledge him as the king of France. The noble earl had said that it was the interest of this country to maintain a connexion with Portugal. It then became the duty of parliament to consider how far the conduct of his Majesty's ministers had served to separate Portugal from England. When the present ministry of this country came into office, England had military possession of Portugal, but now, in consequence of our conduct, Portugal was looking to a connexion with France. He hoped parliament would take some steps to know how far the present situation of affairs was the result of misconduct in the ministry, or of that abominable and disgusting outrage, and violation of law, perpetrated at Terceira. The insinuation which the noble earl had made that he (Lord Holland) was inclined to favour revolutionary governments, though conveyed in parliamentary language, he considered to be highly improper, especially when the situation which the noble earl held in his Majesty's government was considered.

The Earl of *Winchilsea* said, he would give with heartfelt satisfaction his support to the Amendment to the Address, the character and nature of which had been much misrepresented by the noble duke opposite. The proposed Amendment called on the House to take into its serious consideration the present distressed situation of the country—distress admitted on all hands to exist, and from which all interests were suffering—and to consider what remedies ought to be applied to it: it did not allude to any specific remedy. He felt regret at the slight allusion made in his Majesty's Speech to the unparalleled distress existing in the country. The slightness of the allusion might have arisen from the advisers of the Crown, whose duty it was to inform his Majesty of the state of the country, having either withheld information or misrepresented it, or told his Majesty that it was not in the power of Parliament to afford relief; but if the House neglected to take into consideration the distressed state of the country, it would be neglecting its duty to the public. It might cause the country to think that the House was unable to legislate for the public good; he was sorry to say that he saw a spirit for forming associations springing up in different parts of the country, not for the purpose of laying the grievances of the people before the Parliament, but to propose remedies of their own, and to redress their own wrongs; and if their lordships neglected to inquire into the distress of the country, they would be giving encouragement to that spirit. He certainly believed that there were other causes besides the unparalleled badness of the seasons in causing the present distress. Some causes had been mentioned in his Majesty's Speech as being beyond the control of Parliament; but as those causes were not explained, many speculative and perhaps erroneous opinions would be formed, which would not tend to the tranquillity and peace of the country. From personal experience and from information he had received from well-informed persons, he was convinced that distress was pervading every county of England at present in a most unparalleled degree, and therefore he gave his most decided support to the noble earl's Amendment.

Earl *Stanhope* explained.—If the noble duke had done him the honour to attend to his Amendment, he would have found that it did not pledge the House to the introduction of the question which the noble duke imagined. It only went to this extent, to call upon the House to inquire into the cause of the distress—the existence of which was not disputed—and to administer speedy relief. If the House neglected its duty, and failed to inquire into the distresses of the country, feelings of contempt, on the part of the people, towards their lordships, would naturally arise.

Lord *King* then rose.—He found it to be absolutely necessary to move an amendment of his own; [*a laugh*]—for he could neither agree in that part of the Address which the noble duke opposite had moved (the Duke of Buccleuch,) respecting the distresses of the country; nor in the amendment of the noble earl near him (Earl Stanhope), supported as it had been by his speech. The objection he had to his Majesty's Speech was, because it conveyed no adequate idea of the distress of the country,—of the nature of the disease,—and none whatever of the proper cure. Their lordships heard from that Speech the ten-times-told tale of temporary distress; but he wanted to know the reason why, after fifteen years peace, the country experienced a constant recurrence of what was called temporary distress. When their lordships saw distress so universal as the present, no doubt they must think that there was a great pervading and adequate cause. That cause was an error of the legislature, but not of the nature the noble earl supposed. It was the fault of the government, which government could remedy. If their lordships looked to the speech of the noble earl, they would find that it bore with it a strong hankering after the flesh-pots of Egypt. The noble earl remarked how well things went on when paper formed the circulating medium. Then rents were high. But such things could not last long; and now those who have caused the distress do not want to feel any of it. Those who voted for the Bank Restriction-bill, found every one very smooth while it continued; but when there came a specie circulation, they then saw themselves obliged to pay their share of the burdens with which they had before loaded others. This was retributive justice, and Bentham himself could not have invented a punishment more appropriate to the crime. They were suffering because they had encouraged by their voice, and supported by their votes, the depreciation of the currency, and the suffering was just in proportion to the degree of excess in which they indulged their wishes with respect to that currency. He remembered some lines of a poet, which he considered exceedingly applicable to the situation and expressions of those persons, and which were not more remarkable for their severity than for their truth.

"Ye ruined squires and scathed nobility;
  What boots it now to raise a loud lament
  Of grinding taxes and of falling rent,
And fill our Senate with your senseless cry?
Time was, the coming mischief to prevent,
  But then with flinty heart and tearless eye,
  You saw your peasants droop—your soldiers die;
Hind paid with rags, and troops to Walcheren sent.
A sturdy swain deprived of his meed,
  Even by your war made slavish, lean, and poor;
  What reck'd ye—you but gain'd an ample store.
So now shall pity leave you in your need,
Unmov'd we hear you rant, and howl, and roar;
  For none who taste of woe have e'er deserv'd it more."

For the last fifteen years every thing had been getting bad, but now every thing exhibited symptoms of being worse, except perhaps the royal palaces which they saw rising around them. And what did their lordships suppose this proved? Why it proved that the progress of society was arrested, and they had arrived at what the political economists call the stationary, which immediately precedes the declining. There have been a variety of reasons assigned at various times for the distress. At one time there was a superabundance of food; at another a superabundance of goods; at a third they were labouring under a load of paper; at a fourth under a load of money; all these foolish reasons were assigned as the cause of that sinking and going down which every one experienced. The true reason he apprehended was to be found in the odious monopolies which met them at every turn. The nation was, in fact, the victim of monopoly. They had a monopoly of beer—a monopoly of corn—of sugar—of tea; and the effect of all these fell on the consumer. [*hear, hear, hear*] Every one who suffered from any one of these exclaimed against that monopoly, or against the other, as the monopoly happened to gall them; but no one seemed to care for the poor consumer who paid for all. He verily believed that the relief which might be afforded by the repeal of these monopolies, would amount to at least one-half the national debt. [*hear*] He was confident that the nation would be a gainer to that amount, and have a good bargain too, for he considered the relief would prove at least equal to fifteen millions sterling per annum. The price of raw produce had been raised most improvidently by these monopolists; and that was the cause of the distress. By raising the price of the raw produce, the manufactured article was rendered dearer; and then there was no demand. That was their situation at present. The price was raised; the demand was lessened; the profits, of course, diminished; and then, as a matter of course, capital found its way abroad, instead of being brought into activity at home. This was the effect of monopoly. The landed interest was suffering from monopoly and want of demand, because the manufacturers, who were also suffering from the same causes, could not afford to eat. There were three countries suffering at this moment from the same causes—countries which possessed a superabundance of wealth and resources beyond every other in Europe, and none of which were oppressed from the absence of a paper currency. These were America, France, and England. America, not behind this country in folly, has had the weakness to deprive herself of the advantages nature bestowed on her, and instead of labouring to increase the export of her raw produce, weakly endeavours to become a manufacturing country. In France, where the system has been somewhat analogous to that of this country, the people were suffering equal depression, because they too had their monopoly. First, there was the monopoly of iron, which rendered that material two or three times dearer than in this country. That monopoly, equal to a tax on labour, prevented the French from selling their wines. But then there were, no doubt, many eloquent persons in France, who would dwell with ecstacy on the merits of French iron, and exclaim, "What! are we to be dependent on England for our iron?" That, however, was not good for the owners of woods, for it raised the price, and the result was, that France was punished for her monopoly by a tax on labour, by the loss of the sale of her wines, and by a tax on fuel. By these means nations destroyed their own prosperity; and although he believed there were means of raising this country to a higher pitch of prosperity than she had ever yet possessed, if it could but be prevailed on to become a customer of those nations which were its rivals, yet he doubted the firmness of those whose duty it was to execute such a task. The noble lord apologized for troubling the House so much in detail, and concluded abruptly by proposing his amendment—to be inserted after "Majesty," in the 13th paragraph; which was—:

"That after fifteen years of uninterrupted peace, this House laments that the general condition of the people is not materially improved, or the prosperity of the country perceptibly increased; that, on the contrary, the landed and manufacturing interests, as well as the traders and labourers of every description, have frequently been afflicted and still continue to be weighed down by severe distress:

"That it is the duty of Parliament to examine into the causes which have produced these distresses, and to remove the impediments which retard the progress of the national prosperity:

"That the necessaries of life and the materials of manufacture are rendered dear by taxation and regulation: by these means too much is taken from the industrious classes, and, in many instances, too much is given to the privileged classes.

"That it is a grievous aggravation of the public burthens, in addition to near fifty millions of taxes deemed necessary for the public service, still further to permit enormous sums to be extorted from the people by the intolerable monopolies of corn, beer, sugar, tea, and other articles, established for the private benefit of powerful and favoured classes, at the expense of the great body of consumers and of the public good;

"By these monopolies, the cost of the first necessaries of life is enhanced, the rate of profit in all trades diminished, capital driven abroad to seek a more profitable employment, and the productive powers of the national industry are greatly reduced:—By restrictions imposed on the import of foreign corn, the markets of other nations are in a great degree closed against us, the demand for the produce of the national industry is limited, and the symptoms of general distress are manifested in the inadequate reward of labour, and in the increasing difficulty of finding any profitable employment for capital and industry;

"By the partial and exorbitant duties of Excise imposed upon beer and malt, combined with the double monopoly conferred both on the grower of barley and on those who are licensed to sell beer, the price of that necessary of life is so greatly enhanced, that in the course of eighty years, whilst the population has been more than doubled in number, the consumption of malt has actually decreased:

"By the monopoly conferred on the cultivators of sugar in the British West-India islands, the price of that great article of consumption is very much enhanced at the expense of the people of England, who might be better supplied if permitted to resort to other markets, and who are also, for the benefit of the monopolists of the said islands, burthened with the heavy charge of defending those unhealthy and precarious possessions:

"By the exclusive privilege of navigation and trade to China conferred on the East-India Company, the whole supply of tea consumed in the United Kingdom is placed at the discretion of a single company of traders: monopoly in this, as in every similar instance, has produced its usual consequences; the price of tea is greatly increased, as compared with the price of the same article in the free markets of Europe and America; the quantity imported is limited by the narrow views of obtaining a large profit on a small supply, entertained by the monopolist company; the British manufactures suited to the Chinese markets are consequently exported in much smaller amount; and the public thus suffers in the increased price of tea, in the diminished demand for home manufactures, and in the exclusion from all navigation and trade to one of the greatest markets of the world;

"That it appears that these gigantic monopolies, superadded to the heavy load of taxation, have impoverished the country, and produced the public distress:

"That all prohibitions and restrictions imposed for the benefit of particular classes or companies, for the purpose of producing artificial high prices, are no less impolitic than unjust:

"That our own exclusion from the great market of the world, and the cessation of demand at home, are the necessary consequences of our own measures; because it is in the nature of things that a nation which refuses to buy the productions of other countries cannot sell its own:

"That we can only expect to derive permanent relief from our distresses, and improvement in our condition, from the strictest economy in every branch of the public expenditure, from the abolition of all exclusive privileges and monopolies, from an unrestricted supply of the first necessaries of life and of the materials of manufacture, and from a real free trade, by which the whole community, as consumers of goods, will be greatly benefited, the labouring classes enabled to procure a fair reward, the capitalist to augment those funds by which all labour is supported, and the efficiency of British industry permitted to produce its natural result in enriching the country, and thus to restore and to secure the public prosperity."

Earl *Darnley* said, he preferred the original motion of the noble Duke to the amendment of the noble Earl, or to that of his noble friend near him (Lord King). The Address did not preclude investigation; on the contrary, it invited it. It only exhorted their lordships—a recommendation in which he fully concurred—to proceed with caution and prudence; for if they held out to the people, suffering as they were, a pledge or prospect of immediate relief by any of the nostrums which were proposed, they would be doing mischief instead of good. He rose principally for the purpose of noticing an omission in the Speech of the Lords Commissioners. He observed that it contained no mention of Ireland. He admitted that much had been done for that part of the kingdom by his noble friend opposite (Wellington), but much remained still to be done. He should not, however, intrude upon their lordships with that subject at so late an hour, and the more particularly as it was remarkable that, from whatever cause it proceeded, scarcely a single representative peer of Ireland had been in attendance that day. He wished, however, to lay his claim to an early opportunity of bringing forward some motion on the subject of Ireland, unless his noble friend at the head of the government should originate something of the kind, who could of course do it with more effect than any other person.

The Duke of *Wellington* explained.—He denied that allusion to Ireland was omitted on account of the absence of particular noble lords, and declared, that although the situation of that country did not require such a notice, its situation had not escaped the attention of his Majesty's government, who intended to introduce a measure connected with it in the course of the session.

Earl *Stanhope* said, he wished, in explanation, to observe previously to the conclusion of the debate, that he had meant to represent that there was but one of two alternatives open; either to extend the currency, or to return, as had been wished by a large public meeting, to the expenditure of the country previously to the French revolutionary war.

The Marquis of *Lansdowne* wished to state shortly his reasons why he should vote against the noble earl's Amendment. It appeared from the speech with which that Amendment was introduced, that it was the object of the noble earl to induce the House to do all in its power again to plunge the country into what he could not but consider one of the greatest evils that could await any nation—certainly one of the greatest evils this country had ever endured—an unlimited issue of paper circulation. If the first step were taken, it would lead to subsequent steps, against which he felt it his duty to guard this House and the public. He knew of no extension that was not in danger of amounting to an unlimited issue. He did not know, however, if he should not have supported the Amendment, had not the Speech admitted distress, and in terms which implied a promise that inquiry should take place upon the subject, and which the country had a right to expect. It existed unquestionably to a lamentable extent; but he concurred in the recommendation that it should receive the most cautious inquiry. He thought it necessary to make these few observations in explanation of the vote which it was his intention to give on this occasion. He had often felt from experience the great difficulty which attended the discussion of numerous foreign and domestic interests at the same time; but if that difficulty had been felt on former occasions, how much more strongly did it attach on the present, since the interval which had elapsed since last session of parliament had produced changes and influences affecting our foreign interests of a most important character; and others more disastrous, affecting our domestic interests from one end of the country to the other. Although noble lords had a right to express their opinions on these events, it was impossible they could do so all at once with that degree of attention and caution which their importance required. He would not, therefore, take the present opportunity of entering into the discussion of those changes and circumstances, some of which most materially affected the glory and prosperity of this country. He agreed with the sentiments expressed by the noble mover of the Address on the subject of Greece; he rejoiced to hear that, out of those hostilities which had taken place in the east of Europe, there had grown up the prospect of the independence of that country; and to have heard it afterwards announced that measures had been concerted for her pacification. Whatever might be the result of those measures, he trusted it would be one calculated to make Greece happy and independent; for, if independent, she must be essentially free and strong. He hoped every effort would be made to connect her with every other power of Europe, and particularly from her maritime interests to form a permanent connexion with this country. If any efforts had been made to cramp and limit the power of Greece, he should rejoice that those efforts failed. With regard to Portugal, he could not feel so content, after what he had heard from the noble secretary opposite. More information was due to parliament and to the public, yet it was not to be granted till measures should be adopted which would render it no longer useful; that he was not quite so satisfied to learn. He was happy to hear that it was the intention of government to carry on the work, and to effect all possible reductions; he did not question that the noble duke would persevere in a course which he had already commenced, and in which he might depend upon receiving the support of those who were not connected with the government, and in which he would be entitled to the support of every person both in and out of parliament to the last farthing which he should propose to reduce consistent with the safety of the country. This was a subject upon which men of every party and every theory were united; without waiting, therefore, for any of those other remedies which might be proposed, let him continue the reformation already begun in the public expenditure, and he would receive more credit with the country than from any other measure whatsoever. With respect to Ireland, he wished the House had heard from high authority that the great measure, adopted in the last session of parliament, had been attended with that degree of success which, notwithstanding that distress prevailed, had still been productive of most happy consequences in that part of the United Kingdom.

On the question whether the words proposed to be left out should stand part of the original motion, the numbers were—Content 71; Not Content 9; Majority against the Amendment 62.

List of the Minority against the Address.

Dukes.
Cumberland,
Richmond,
Newcastle.
Earls.
Stanhope,
Tankerville,
Winchilsea,
Radnor.
Lords.
Rivers,
Northwich.

Lord Stanhope's Protest.] The following protest was entered in their Lordships Journal next day:—

Dissentient.—1. Because it is the bounden duty of parliament to examine the causes of public distress, and, as far as may be in its power, to administer speedy and effectual relief.

2. Because the grievous distress which now affects the country in many branches of productive industry, appears to be the result of legislative measures, and might, therefore, be relieved, if not altogether removed, by a different course of policy, particularly with respect to the currency, as the alteration in its value has greatly increased the weight of all the public burthens, and of all the private engagements which existed previously to that alteration.

3. Because the relief which ought to be administered cannot be delayed without injury and injustice, and also without danger to the country, of which the welfare must be destroyed, and of which the tranquillity might be disturbed by a continuance of the distress which is now suffered.

Stanhope,
Richmond (for the 1st and 3rd reasons.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, Feb. 4.

Minutes.] The House met at two o'clock; and after having been summoned to attend in the House of Lords, and previously to reading the Copy of the Lords Commissioners Speech, the Speaker acquainted the House, that he had issued warrants for new writs, for Eye, in the room of Sir Miles Nightingall, deceased: for Southampton, in the room of Wm. Chamberlayne, esq. deceased: Limerick County, in the room of Thomas Lloyd, esq. deceased.

The marq. of Douro, for Aldeburgh: Philip Charles Sidney, esq. for Eye: Daniel O'Connell,* esq. for Clare: George Bankes, esq. for Corfe Castle: Sir James Scarlett, for Peterborough: and Sir Edw. Burtenshaw Sugden, for Weymouth: then took the oaths and their seats.

Rowland Stephenson.—The Speaker then acquainted the House, that he had received a letter from Mr. James Bourdillon, solicitor to the estate of Rowland Stephenson, esq., a bankrupt, inclosing a certificate of the commissioners under the Commission issued against the said Rowland Stephenson; and the said letter was read; and is as follows:—

Bread Street, 19th Jan. 1830.

Sir;—As solicitor to the estate of Mr. Rowland Stephenson, a bankrupt, I am directed by the commissioners under the commission issued against him, to transmit to you their certificate of the issuing of such commission; and that Mr. Rowland Stephenson has not paid his creditors, although twelve calendar months have elapsed since the issuing of the said commission, and that the same has not been superseded. I have the honour to be, &c. J. Bourdillon.

To the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Then the certificate was read; and is as follows;

To the Right Hon. the Speaker, &c. &c.

At the Court of Commissioners of Bankrupts, in Basinghall Street, London, the 19th day of Jan. 1830.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being the major part of the commissioners named and authorised in and by a commission of bankrupt awarded and issued against William Remington, Rowland Stephenson, David Robt. Remington, and Joseph Petty Toulmin, of Lombard Street, in the city of London, bankers and copartners, do hereby certify, that a commission of bankrupt under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, grounded upon statute made and now in force concerning bankrupts, bearing date at Westminster the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, hath been awarded and issued against the said Rowland Stephenson, together with William Remington, David Robert Remington, and Joseph Petty Toulmin, directed to us, and also to John Beames and Henry John Shepherd, esqs., as commissioners, to execute the same; and that the said Rowland Stephenson, (together with the said Wm.

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* Mr. O'Connell took the Oath (at the left side of the table), and then shook hands with the Speaker. He afterwards seated himself in Mr. Hume's place and shook hands, and entered into conversation with sir F. Burdett. Very few members were present at the time. The other members took the oaths and their seat, but they were sworn at the right side of the table, the usual place.

REMINGTON, DAVID ROBERT REMINGTON, and JOSEPH PETTY TOULMIN), was found and declared a bankrupt under the same:

And we further certify that, although twelve calendar months have expired since the issuing of the said commission, the same hath not been superseded, nor have the creditors of the said ROWLAND STEPHENSON, or of him and his said partners, who have proved their debts under the said commission been paid or satisfied to the full amount of their debts under the said commission, according to the provisions in that behalf of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the fifty-second year of the reign of his late majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to suspend and finally vacate the seats of members of the House of Commons who shall become bankrupts, and who shall not pay their debts in full within a limited time."

Witness,
H. HASKER, Clerk to Mr. Jas. Bourdillon, Solicitor, Bread Street, Cheapside.

JOHN TURNER,
G. F. HAMPSON,
J. B. MACAULAY

MR. PLANTA then moved, that the Act 52 Geo. 3, c. 144, to suspend and finally vacate the seats of members of the House of Commons who shall become bankrupts, and who shall not pay their debts in full within a limited time, might be read. The same having been read; it was ordered, that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant to the clerk of the Crown, to make out a new Writ for the electing of a burgess to serve in this present parliament for the borough of Leominster, in the room of Rowland Stephenson, esq., whose seat has become vacant pursuant to the provisions of the said act.

New writs were ordered for WATERFORD COUNTY in the room of Henry Villiers Stuart, esq., Chiltern Hundreds: for HARWICH, in the room of right hon. John Charles Herries, President of the Board of Trade: for WEST-LOOE, in the room of Charles Buller, esq., Chiltern Hundreds: for MEATH, in the room of Earl of Bective, now marquis of Headfort.

MR. DAVENPORT gave notice that on the 16th inst. he should renew his motion relative to the state of the country, if forty members were present.

CLERGY, CHURCHES, AND CHAPELS.] Mr. *Hume* (in continuation of returns ordered last session) moved an Address for "Copies or Abstracts of the Returns made to his Majesty in council by each bishop in England and Wales on 25th March 1827 or 1828, as directed by the twenty-third section of 57 Geo. 3, c. 99:—Return of the number of parish churches and chapels, and chapels of ease, of the church of England, in each parish, and the total in England and Wales:—Abstract of the number of resident and licensed curates in England and Wales, with the amount of the salaries of curacies, according to the diocesan returns for the years 1827 and 1828:—Of the number of places of worship, not of the church of England, in each parish; distinguishing, as far as possible, of what sect or persuasion, and the total number of each sect in England and Wales."

Mr. *William Smith* said, there was no proper officer to whom an order for such a return could be directed. If the returns could be had without expense to private parties, he thought it highly desirable that they should be obtained; but he confessed he did not exactly see how they could be got at.

Mr. *Hume* saw no such difficulty. Every bishop was aware of the number in his own diocese; and, no doubt, the Home Secretary would know to whom to send the order so as to ensure obedience to it.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, it might be perfectly practicable to supply part of the information which the honourable member sought; but as to the number of persons attending, he really did not see whose business it could be to make returns upon that subject; certainly there were no official means of arriving at the information. As far as the motion could be, it should be complied with.—Motion agreed to.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.] Mr. *Protheroe* (in continuation of orders for accounts presented last session) moved addresses for returns from all Courts, and other authorities in England and Wales, empowered to grant probate of wills and letters of administration, stating the date of the earliest wills in their respective registries, the period at which there commences a regular series of original wills and recorded copies of administration, bonds and inventories of act, books of probates and administrations, and of indexes to the said records:—Together with a statement of any occasional chasms, that may occur in, and an accurate detail of the state and condition of, the said records:—Of the number of wills proved, and letters of administration granted, in the several jurisdictions respectively so empowered, in the years 1826, 1827, and 1828; and in cases where no wills have been proved, nor letters of administration granted, in any jurisdiction within the aforementioned period, the date of the last will proved, or letters of administration granted, to be stated:—Of the amount of fees, profits and emoluments of every description, which have been received by the judge, record-keeper, auditor of accounts, all deputies and assistant clerks, and all other persons in the Ecclesiastical and Manorial Courts in England (except the Prerogative Court of Canterbury), from 1825 to 1828, both inclusive:—And of the fees, profits, and emoluments of the registrars, deputy registrars, and proctors, on taking out probates and administrations, in the Ecclesiastical and Manorial Courts in England (except the Prerogative Court of Canterbury); stating the different charges and fees in detail.—He observed that the greater part of the returns he had reason to believe were in a state of forwardness, so that they might soon be presented.—Motion agreed to.

ADDRESS ON THE KING'S SPEECH.]—The Speaker then read a copy of the Lords Commissioners Speech.

The Earl of *Darlington* rose to move an Address. Having just heard, in common with the other members of this honourable House, his Majesty's most gracious Speech, it becomes my duty to move an Address thereon, and to advert to the topics which that Speech embraces. Before, however, I enter on these topics in detail, and in the order in which they are presented to me, I will, as concisely as I can, explain the reason which has urged me to undertake that duty, and to place me in a situation as novel to myself as it may be deemed peculiar by many who now hear me, inasmuch as I appear, after being a member of the House for seventeen years, this night, for the first time, at this side of it, and during that period having taken very little share in the debates. [*Spoke from behind the ministerial bench.*] I feel it due to my character as an individual, and to the responsibility which I undertook as a member of parliament, to give my reasons for undertaking a task which might be so much better performed in other hands; and I am certain I shall meet the indulgence of the House, as I have hitherto but seldom trespassed on its notice since I entered parliament. After the commencement of the war, and after the country had been distracted by two parties called Whig and Tory; when I found that the one was urging on the war with as much violence as the other used in trying to repress and end it, and having been educated with a regard for liberal principles, and considering that those principles were best illustrated by the conduct of the Whigs, I joined that side of the House. I found, however, that the progress of time made great changes both in men and measures; and many of the topics which had been urged without notice by the Opposition were at last treated with attention by the Ministerial benches, and that many of the measures for which the Whigs had long contended began to be adopted by the other side of the House, and were carried into execution by the government [*hear, hear*]. Though it has seldom been my lot to mark the proceedings of this House by other than a silent vote, considering that every topic of interest was taken up by persons better qualified to do them and the country justice than I was, still I have to assure you, Sir, that I was not a mere passive spectator, but that I paid a due regard to the progress of events, and to the circumstances which peculiarly marked the character of this House. I saw a change gradually approaching. I felt that the course of events brought with it increased moderation and liberality; and I looked forward to the day when I might see accomplished that which I now see;—namely, the time when government would be entitled to demand the support of an independent member of parliament, and when it would be no reflection on his principles to extend that support. I say, Sir, that day has arrived when we are entitled to declare that the government of the country is one worthy of the confidence of the Sovereign and of the affections of the people. [*hear, hear*]—I repeat, Sir, that the administration is one in which every true friend of the country may rejoice; and when I look at its constitution, I find my hopes are established on just and reasonable grounds;—when I see at its head a man who, like the noble duke, is as distinguished for judgment and decision in the cabinet as he was for skill and triumph in the field—when I look on the bench below me and see my right hon. friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Peel), and consider all the public services he has rendered, and the measures which he brought forward in the course of last session for the good of the country—when I look at these men and at their colleagues—when I see how honourably and efficiently the cabinet is on every side composed, I say, Sir, that I have reason to indulge a confidence; and I say, considering all the circumstances of the country, in a time of distress like the present, I am justified in what I do, and that it is every man's duty to rally round the Throne and give to such a government the warmest aid and support. [*hear*] I now look upon the distinction of Whig and Tory as empty names, and, equally dreading the violence of both, I can with difficulty say which party I would wish to see predominant.—The government of the present day have shown that, in effect, the sounds of Whig and Tory are synonymous; and we see in them an administration without a party, or rather a Tory administration acting upon Whig principles. [*loud cheers and some laughter*] It is true that there are still many honourable gentlemen attached to the minute distinctions which are all that are left of the mighty differences which once marked the state of party in this House; and far be it from me to find fault with those who conscientiously retain those feelings. For myself, I declare that I now act on the same principles which always governed my parliamentary conduct; and, though I have hitherto confined myself almost to a silent vote, I solemnly declare I never had any other object in view than that of the general good of the country [*hear*]—and I feel myself entitled to support a government acting on that opinion, no matter of what set of men it may be composed, convinced that the country is to be served by measures not by men. [*cheers*]—It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to say that I have not been induced to come forward by any attraction which prevailed in a particular cabinet, but I support the administration in which I find a coincidence with those sentiments on which I have hitherto acted, and because I confide in it, and in a prime minister, who combines promptitude, judgment, and decision equal, if not superior, to any other who has ever been intrusted with power in this kingdom. [*hear*]—Having now made to the House a preliminary statement, which I consider equally due to it and to myself, I will shortly touch on the different topics which are submitted to us in the Speech, and which will be embraced in the Address. His Majesty begins by justly expressing his satisfaction that the war between Russia and the Porte has been brought to a conclusion, and then proceeds to announce that a plan has been agreed upon for the final settlement of the affairs of Greece. What this plan may be I shall not, at present, inquire—because I am of opinion that it would be not only impolitic but unnecessary to press for a disclosure of what has been promised at an early period. I shall, therefore, go no farther than to hope that the House will join with me in congratulating his Majesty and the country on the termination of hostilities between Russia and the Porte. The House will more readily join in this congratulation when they recollect how very difficult it is to extinguish the flame of war when it is once lighted, as well as the impossibility there is of being enabled to ascertain how far war may extend. I am extremely sorry that it has not been in his Majesty's power to give us information of a similar kind with respect to Portugal, for it would appear as if all hope of reconciliation between Don Pedro and Don Miguel were at an end. I must, at the same time, express my entire approval of the line of conduct which has been pursued by his Majesty's government, and in this I trust the House will unanimously join; for if this country were to have asserted the right of Donna Maria, we should have run the risk of embroiling ourselves in war and with foreign countries—a risk which, under all the circumstances, would have been by no means justifiable on our parts. We are, no doubt, bound to maintain our ancient alliance with the kingdom of Portugal, yet we cannot be by any means bound to support any one or other of the parties contending for its Crown, nor can it be in any manner incumbent upon us so to act. With regard to our diplomatic relations, I must observe that our commercial connections with Portugal are so very numerous and important, great injury must necessarily arise from their being suspended; and, therefore, this is a subject which calls imperatively, for immediate consideration. [*hear*] The next topic to which his Majesty points our attention is that of economy and retrenchment which his Majesty informs us will be put into execution, and a considerable reduction effected in the public expenditure, without impairing the efficiency of our naval or military establishments. This, I think, is as much as the most rigid economist can require or desire. The deficiency in the revenue is no doubt much to be lamented, yet I have every hope that it will not be near so great as was apprehended by some, and I cannot help feeling secure that the country will be able still to support efficient establishments; and at the same time to maintain the public credit, which it is the duty of the government to support inviolate. [*hear*] The next portion of the Speech acquaints us with the attention that has been bestowed upon the reforms in our Courts of Law, with regard to which his Majesty says, that "he has directed that measures shall be submitted for your deliberation, of which some are calculated, in the opinion of his Majesty, to facilitate and expedite the course of justice in different parts of the United Kingdom; and others appear to be necessary preliminaries to a revision of the practice and proceedings of the Superior Courts." There can be but one opinion on this head; it is a subject on which I cannot be supposed to be well informed, and I shall content myself with saying that, whatever alterations have been made, and whatever improvements have been introduced into our different institutions, for them the thanks of the country are eminently due to the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department. The Speech then proceeds to another fact, to which I shall very shortly refer—namely, that the exports of British produce and manufactures were greater in the year 1829 than at any former period. This proves the advantage of a system of free trade, and is a subject gratifying to have brought before our eyes when distress is visible in the country. That great distress prevails I candidly admit and amongst all classes [*hear*]—and for it various causes may be assigned, and various opinions are entertained with respect to its origin; but whatever these may be, I fear they are beyond our power, and out of our control. However, it is a happiness to know that the country retains within herself the power of relief, and always will have it, from that energy which has rendered her remarkable above all the nations of the world. Temporary distress will recur in commercial countries, but time will relieve it; and I am the more inclined to this opinion with respect to England, since she has all the power of producing wealth—her ships, her warehouses, her superior machinery, still in her possession; and her general resources continue as great and unimpaired as ever. I see no cause for despondency. The greater part of our present distress has arisen, in my opinion, from the mischief of overtrading, which induced a production greater than the greatest possible demand. This, and an increased population in the manufacturing districts, combined with the use of machinery, are in my mind sufficient to cause a distress greater even than that which prevails at present. [*hear*]—Although the improvement in our export trade has been so great, still, with regard to our home consumption, it is to be regretted that there exists a great stagnation; the agricultural interest is also distressed, and this may be one of the causes, if not the chief one, of that stagnation. For as long as the price of agricultural produce is low, the farmers, our greatest and best consumers, will not be able to purchase from the manufacturers. They have no interests that militate the one against the other; and I will always maintain that the interests and the prosperity of agriculture and manufactures coincide and depend upon one another.—I have now touched upon all the topics in the Speech from the Throne, and upon some, probably, at too great length; but if I have committed any mistake, or been guilty of any omission, the House will, I trust, accept my inexperience as an apology; and if, in the course of my observations, any unguarded expression may have dropped from me, they will, I hope, attribute it to the same cause [*hear*]—I hope I shall enjoy the good fortune of having the House unanimous in support of the Address which I shall now have the honour to propose.—The noble lord then moved that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty:—

"To return to his Majesty our humble thanks for the gracious Speech which his Majesty has directed to be delivered by the Lords Commissioners.—To assure his Majesty, that we have heard with high gratification that his Majesty receives from all Foreign Powers the strongest assurances of their desire to maintain and cultivate the most friendly relations with this Country; and that we participate in the satisfaction expressed by his Majesty, that the war between Russia and the Ottoman Porte has been brought to a conclusion.

"To thank his Majesty for acquainting us that his efforts to accomplish the main objects of the Treaty of the 6th July 1827 have been unremitted; and to express to his Majesty our acknowledgments for the assurance that his Majesty, having recently concerted with his Allies measures for the pacification and final settlement of Greece, trusts that he shall be enabled, at an early period, to communicate to us the particulars of this arrangement, with such information as may explain the course which his Majesty has pursued throughout the progress of these important transactions.

"To assure his Majesty that we concur with his Majesty in lamenting that he is unable to announce to us the prospect of a reconciliation between the Princes of the House of Braganza, and to thank his Majesty for the intimation that, although his Majesty has not yet deemed it expedient to re-establish upon their ancient footing his Majesty's diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Portugal, the numerous embarrassments arising from the continued interruption of these relations increase his Majesty's desire to effect the termination of so serious an evil.

"To return our acknowledgments to his Majesty for having directed the estimates for the current year to be laid before us, and for the assurance that they have been framed with every attention to economy, and to express to his Majesty our high gratification at learning that his Majesty has been enabled to make a considerable reduction in the amount of the Public Expenditure, without impairing the efficiency of our Naval or Military Establishments.

"To assure his Majesty, that we derive sincere satisfaction from the information that, although the National Income during the last year has not attained the full amount at which it had been estimated, the diminution is not such as to cause any doubt as to the future prosperity of the Revenue.

"To acknowledge his Majesty's goodness in having of late earnestly directed his attention to various important considerations connected with improvements in the general administration of the Law, and in having commanded that measures shall be submitted for our deliberation, of which some are calculated, in the opinions of his Majesty, to facilitate and expedite the course of justice in different parts of the United Kingdom, and others appear to be necessary preliminaries to a revision of the practice and proceedings of the Superior Courts; and to assure his Majesty that we will justify the confidence which his Majesty is pleased to repose in us, by giving our best attention and assistance to subjects of such deep and lasting interest to the well-being of his people.

"To express to his Majesty our satisfaction at learning that the Export in the last year of British Produce and Manufactures has exceeded that of any former year—and our sincere participation in the concern felt by his Majesty, that, notwithstanding this indication of active commerce, distress should prevail among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom.

"Cordially to acknowledge his Majesty's goodness in assuring us that it would be most gratifying to the paternal feelings of his Majesty to be enabled to propose for our consideration measures calculated to remove the difficulties of any portion of his subjects, and at the same time compatible with the general and permanent interests of his People; and, humbly participating with his Majesty in a deep solicitude for those interests, to express our concurrence in the necessity of acting with extreme caution in reference to this important subject.

"To assure his Majesty that we will not fail to assign due weight to the effect of unfavourable seasons, and to the operation of other causes which are beyond the reach of Legislative control or remedy.

"That we are deeply sensible of the paramount importance of maintaining inviolate the Public Credit, and of thus upholding the high character and the permanent welfare of the Country."

Mr. *Ward.*—I rise for the purpose of seconding the motion of the noble lord. Recollecting that many of the ablest and best men whom this country ever claimed as her sons have stood upon the spot which I now occupy for the purpose of recommending by their eloquence the various motions for addresses from time to time proposed, I must say, in my own excuse, that it is the partiality of others, and not any presumption of mine, that has selected me for this task. [*hear*]—Although those who preceded me well discharged their trust, yet I cannot admit that any one amongst them was ever animated by a warmer desire faithfully to discharge his duty than I am; nor am I deterred from coming forward because the period at which the part has been allotted to me is one of difficulty and distress. [*hear, hear*] This ought rather to stimulate every hon. member to greater exertions; and the people should feel and know that their representatives were at their posts, and were determined to do all in their power for the country's relief. We are required to make a suitable acknowledgment for the gracious Speech on our assembling; and, with the permission of the House, I will consider some of the topics which that Speech has brought under our consideration. The first amongst these is peace. This is the fifteenth year during which that blessing has been continued to us; but I fear that there are so many gentlemen who recollect the high prices and great profits attendant upon the war, that there are many persons who are not fully convinced of the value of that unrivalled blessing—peace. But, notwithstanding this, it is my warm hope, and I will express my strongest wish, that the noble duke now at the head of the administration will maintain to the longest moment in his power that peace. [*hear, hear*] There was a time when a military chief could issue from his camp a declaration that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign, or that a northern power was no longer to exist. He possessed the power to enforce his will, and he disregarded the ties, and set at nought the rights, of nations. We now, however, live in happier times; and it is pleasing to know that even those countries lately visited by military aggression still possess their independence. I am confident that all who were on the Finance Committee are quite convinced that the government are anxious to fix the expenditure for the services of the country on the lowest possible scale; and it is agreeable to know this at a time when there is a falling-off in the revenue. I lament that, with respect to our debt, there has not been a greater reduction, for to that reduction, of interest or otherwise, must the people mainly look for a diminution of their burthens. [*hear, hear*]—It is lamentable that those who were once our enemies, and who may be so again (though I sincerely hope not for a long time to come,) that France and America should have in this respect gone so far before us. The Sinking-fund of France is larger than that in this country, although their debt is not more than one-fourth of ours. America will have no debt in 1834; and if no exertions are made to reduce our debt, I fear we may be overtaken by a war when it may be most inconvenient for us to be engaged in one. [*hear*] The government must look boldly and resolutely at our situation to avert such an evil. The present is, however, a period favourable for this purpose, and I have hopes that the chancellor of the Exchequer will not allow it to pass without some measure for the reduction of the interest on our national debt. Nearly a century ago a predecessor of mine, sir John Barnard, pressed the chancellor of the Exchequer of that day to do the reverse of what I now ask, in order that the rate of interest on private transactions might be increased; but now it is different, as the government pays more than is required in private concerns. The next subject to which I shall allude is the distress that weighs upon our agricultural and manufacturing classes. I hope I am the last man who would seek to undervalue the real state of affairs, and I believe that distress of an extraordinary character does really exist. [*hear*] It is not for us to content ourselves with the mere statement of the fact, but it is our duty to see whether a remedy can be found. [*loud cheers*]—If we cannot find any remedies of real utility, let us not attempt to delude the people by holding out to their imagination projects which are impracticable. One remedy proposed for agricultural distress—namely, the repeal of the malt duty—would, no doubt, be good for the producers of barley, but it would be of no service to those engaged in other pursuits. The distress is, I know, attributed by many to the change in the currency. Many there are who overlook the difference between the change in the currency generally, and the change produced by parliamentary enactments. In 1819 a great change was effected; it was necessary that the country should have some standard of value, and in effecting that object the parliament was, in my opinion, fully justified; if they did go a step too far, still every allowance ought to be made for those who had brought forward and supported the measure. I had my own share in it, and I am ready to bear my part of the responsibility. In addition, it should be recollected that there was at that time a great falling-off in the produce of the mines. Austria had also made a change in her currency, so likewise did Russia: and another great mischief, in the eyes of those who wish the currency put upon the old footing, is to be charged to the philanthropy of this honourable House; for, in consequence of the vast numbers of forgeries, and the penalties inflicted upon the offenders, the one and two pound notes were withdrawn. More gold then became requisite. With respect to the distress of the agricultural interests, I am of opinion that it is chiefly and principally attributable not to the change in the currency, but to two successive bad harvests. Probably there were a million quarters of corn deficient in each of the two last years, at least importations to that extent were requisite. Agricultural distress, too, differs from commercial or any other that may prevail in a nation, because in agricultural loss it is not simply the impairing of property, but its total destruction. Although, then, I admit the existence of distress, yet there is no one more sure than I am that it will be relieved by natural causes. The elasticity of our resources has been so often proved, that there is no reason to despair now more than when we came out triumphant from contests in which Europe was leagued against us. If these views are erroneous, I must expect the chastening hand of correction; if not, I hope the House will be unanimous in voting the Address which I have the honour to support. [*cheers*]

The Speaker then read the Motion for an Address.

Sir Edward *Knatchbull.*—If, Sir, on the present occasion, I could permit myself to be influenced by personal considerations, I should willingly have adopted the course pursued by me for several years, and suffer the Address to pass without observation. In applying myself to the subject it must be obvious, and I confess it, that I labour under extreme difficulty. It is a very short time since I have been informed of the topics it embraces, and therefore my difficulty becomes the greater still, either in the application of my argument, or in the preparation of an amendment. It is true I might have taken the course once recommended by an hon. member in this House; I might move the adjournment of the debate until to-morrow, so as to have time to form such an Address as I could more willingly offer to your consideration. But I do not think that such a course would be in accordance with the wish or the usage of the House, and I shall not adopt it. I shall follow the Speech as well as I can, and make such observations as suggest themselves. But, before I move the amendment with which I mean to conclude, I must make one or two observations upon what has fallen from the noble lord and the hon. member opposite, the mover and seconder of the Address. If the noble Lord has found it necessary to apologize for the part he has taken, I have no fault to find with him; but, if an apology were necessary, he has made it in the best way possible, and I leave the government the benefit of the explanation. I will also say at once, that, if the Address were at all in unison with the sentiments uttered by the hon. members, very little difference of opinion could exist between us. The noble lord has said that the distress is general, and the hon. gentleman has decribed it as of an extraordinary character. But does the Speech say this? Does even the Address contain a syllable of this? No, they only state that it exists in some places; where then is there an expression of this extraordinary character and this generality? With respect to the different topics of the Address, it commences by announcing that the war between Russia and Turkey is concluded, and calls upon us to congratulate his Majesty on the event. I am ready to do so, and the more ready because the Speech says not a word as to the mode or the manner in which that conclusion was effected. The next point is the pacification of Greece. On that I shall say nothing more than that I entertain hopes similar to those of the hon. gentleman opposite, that every thing has been done for the best interests of the country, and if the settlement be attended with a lessening of expense to the country, I shall most heartily rejoice. I lament the situation in which we are placed as respects Portugal; and why Don Miguel, who is in possession of the throne, has not been acknowledged as he ought to be, and as he will be, appears most inexplicable. I know that observations have been made in this House against the policy of doing so, but that Don Miguel will be acknowledged I have not the slightest doubt. The next topic is, that the estimates will be prepared with the strictest view to economy, and I am very willing to believe this. Then follows the point relative to the reform of our courts of law; and in all that has been said on this subject I fully agree. I am not presumptuous enough to suppose that I could render any service, but on this subject shall dismiss every partial and every political consideration, and support improvement in this as in every other great question, let the man who proposes it be who he may. No matter into whose hands the power may fall, only let them administer matters faithfully, honourably, and economically, and the government shall have my support. The next point, and one which has been dwelt upon, is the great increase in our exports, but I should have much wished to hear that this was a good index of our prosperity. May not this increase have arisen from what has been complained of—namely, overtrading? I only wish that it would enable the chancellor of the Exchequer to come down, and take off part of our burthens; then, indeed, I could believe it was beneficial. The next topic is that of the distress, and upon this point I shall examine the Speech, which I have a right to assume to be the Speech of the ministers, and for which they must be responsible.

Mr. *Ward.*—No, no.

Sir *E. Knatchbull.*—Do I hear my hon. friend aright? Does my hon. friend mean to controvert a point which has been settled for now more than a century past, that his Majesty's Speech should be considered as that of his ministers?

Mr. *Ward.*—I had no such intention: I misunderstood my hon. friend. I supposed that my hon. friend intended to consider my speech as that of ministers. Now ministers were not at all responsible for what I may have said. [*a laugh*]

Sir *E. Knatchbull.*—All I say, and all I want the attention of the House to, is the simple fact, that the Speech says, in plain terms, that distress exists in "some" places. If I were in want of any explanation I need only refer to the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address. They say that the distress is general and extraordinary. That is the sole point of difference; and since I heard the Speech I have marvelled how such language could have found its way into the Speech, or how they could make statements so very different from the Address proposed. If ministers said, they would do every thing that wisdom and sagacity and energy could suggest for the relief of the people, then I should agree with them; it would have been unnecessary for me to propose any amendment. If I am asked what evidence have I that distress exists, I will say that I see it and feel it in my own part of the country; and if I am asked for more, I will put the question to every hon. member in the House, and he will say the same of the district which he represents. I know that the distress is not so great in some places as in others, but the question is—is it not universal? We are asked on this important day—perhaps the most important we have ever witnessed—to approach his Majesty with a declaration containing something very like falsehood [*hear*]. I will not for a moment suppose, or have it imagined, that I can think the mover or seconder influenced by any motive or feeling of such a description. But I ask—is the distress general or not? I appeal again to every authority, and I implore gentlemen to consider the vote they are asked to come to this night. I shall avoid, on the present occasion, saying anything as to the remedy. I shall not say a word upon the Malt Tax, because I know a difference of opinion exists; nor shall I allude to the currency for the same reason; they will be discussed hereafter. I shall state my opinion honestly, and all I ask is, that the House will respect and express the simple, naked truth [*hear*]—That which is wrong I am ready to correct, but I am cautious lest, in endeavouring to amend, I may suddenly and unwillingly find myself linked to those whose object is, to pull down and destroy. I must apologize for the length of time I have occupied, and beg leave to propose an amendment to be made to the question, by inserting, after the words "any former year" the words, "But that we lament the existence of that distress which his Majesty informs us prevails in some places:—We are, however, in the faithful discharge of our duty, constrained to declare to his Majesty our opinion that this distress is not confined, as his Majesty has been advised, to some particular places, but that it is general among all the productive interests of the country, which are severely suffering from its pressure:—We beg to assure his Majesty, that we will adopt the caution his Majesty has recommended, in the consideration of such measures as may be proposed to us, and that our earnest endeavours shall be directed to relieve the country from its present difficulties."

The Marquis of *Blandford* seconded the amendment. He would not detain the House long; and he thought it would be well if hon. Members in their speeches bore in mind what Jefferson * said of Washington and Franklin, namely, that they never spoke longer at a time than ten minutes, and yet by their counsels they greatly benefitted their country. He seized this early opportunity of declaring in his place, as one of the representatives of the people, his firm conviction that the circumstances of the country were such that it was impossible to return to a sound and healthy state, until such a diminution of taxes should take place as would enable the productive industry of the country to contend with low prices. Most decided, effective, and immediate measures must be resorted to. No petty half measures would restore the country to its former state of existence; no palliatives would now restore us--he would not say to a state of prosperity, but—to a state of healthful existence; the most vigorous measures were necessary for the accomplishment of this great purpose. It could not be done by the present House of Commons, in which the people had little confidence, and for which they were beginning to entertain less respect. The seeds of dissatisfaction, discontent, and disgust, had been sown; and it would be in vain to attempt to check their growth otherwise than by the speedy and temperate application of the first and genuine principles of the Constitution. He seconded the motion of his hon. friend the member for Kent; and after his amendment should have been disposed of, he had one of his own to propose. [*hear and a laugh*]

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* "I served with General Washington in the Legislature of Virginia, before the Revolution, and during it with Dr. Franklin in Congress. I never heard either of them speak *ten minutes at a time*, nor to any but main points, which was to decide the question. They laid their shoulders to the great point, knowing that the little ones would follow of themselves."—*Jefferson's Memoirs and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 50.

Sir *John Brydges*.—He did not rise to detain the House by discussing in detail the various topics that had been introduced into the speech of the noble Lord who moved the Address, and of the hon. member who seconded it. He concurred in what had fallen from them, and he approved of the Address. At that time, however, he held it to be insufficient to concur in silence. The parliament was now assembled at a crisis when unexampled distress pervaded every interest of the country, whether it was agricultural, commercial, or trading, and every nerve must be strained to alleviate it. However insignificant his powers might be, his constituents had intrusted him with a seat in the great council of the nation, to uphold their rights, and to maintain the dearest interests of the country; and by the blessing of God he would do his best not to disappoint them. If this trust had not been confided to him, it would have been conferred on some one else, more able, perhaps, but, he was confident, not more willing, to do his duty by them. He should not do so, if he did not take that opportunity, with great deference, to endeavour to impress, however feebly, upon the assembly, the imperative necessity that at that moment existed for every man to do his duty—to employ his talents and his time, in conjunction with his fellow-representatives, to rescue the country from the perils that surrounded it—to sink every selfish consideration, and unitedly to put their shoulders to the wheel—to lay aside all party feeling, and to know no other interest than the public good. The country called upon them, and looked up to them for relief. Great as were our difficulties, appalling as was our debt, let it not be said we cannot overcome them. He pitied the pusillanimity that prompted such a feeling; it was dastardly. True to itself and united, what could not England accomplish? If we did our duty by our constituents, they would do theirs by us. They had already done so, and were prepared to do so again, provided they saw that their representatives were in earnest to save their country. In a word, therefore, let them, in the present Session, be faithfully responsive to the urgent calls of a high-minded, high-principled, and generous people, who anxiously looked up to them to relieve their distress;—to them, whose efforts, he was sure, would be sanctioned, encouraged, and promoted by those ministers, to whose guidance his Majesty had committed the reins of government.

Mr. *Western*, was most astonished at that part of the Speech which described the distress to exist in some parts of the country only, and to be, in fact, merely partial and temporary. The noble duke and his Majesty's ministers must be very much misinformed with respect to the state of the country, and totally ignorant of the fact, that the people of every part of the country were placed in a condition such as they had never known before. The whole of the productive classes of the community, labourers as well as manufacturers, were now enduring a state of severe suffering and misery such as they had never experienced before, at any period of our history. It had been said the distress was partial and temporary. He denied that it could be called so. The people were engaged in a continuity of struggles, which they had supported with firmness for the last fourteen years; but their strength was now nearly exhausted, and their patience began to desert them. He would ask, if there was a member in the House who could deny the existence of this distress? And how, he would ask further, had it been produced? Why, by a succession of the most mischievous measures that ever were devised for the destruction of a nation. Notwithstanding the waste and extravagance of an impolitic war, to which he had during the whole of his life been opposed, the country was left at its close in a state of unexampled power and prosperity, and able to discharge its obligations, and with a people contented and flourishing. From that moment, however, the government had, by a system of the most vicious interference, destroyed the sources of their advantages, and had adopted measures which operated to double the taxes and all obligations. Against the evils created by this interference they had struggled on; but, he repeated, they were now exhausted, and unless a change of measures took place, they must look forward to one of the most terrible and frightful convulsions this country had ever sustained. The eyes of every class of the community were fixed on the government; and yet his majesty's ministers, with an indifference or an ignorance which was scarcely credible, had placed their distresses, as it were, in a parenthesis; [*laugh and hear, hear*] and passed them over with a levity which was disgusting, and which, he was sure, must prove galling to the feelings of the sufferers. He was willing to support the Amendment—not because it came up to his views, for, in his opinion, it but very feebly expressed the sentiments which ought to animate that House on such a subject—but he was willing to mark, in any manner, his disapprobation of, and dissent from, the terms of the Speech. If he were to frame an Address, it should be to pledge the House to appoint a committee to inquire into the causes of the distress; [*hear, hear, hear*] and to endeavour to ascertain how it was that a people, possessed of, as a noble mover of the Address had observed, all the elements of power, should, in the course of a few years have become so wretched, crippled, and exhausted. They still had the power, they still possessed the means of regeneration; they had spirit, energy, enterprise, every thing which could conduce to prosperity, were it not for heavy taxation, and that surreptitious enhancement of the currency which pressed on the industrious classes, and wrung from the sweat of the brows more than twice the amount which they had formerly been compelled to pay. He begged the House, however, to recollect that the people were now exhausted; and, worse than all, that their feelings, from the severe pressure of distress, were undergoing a most dangerous change. Their respect for authority was changing fast for contempt. No man could shut his eyes to the nature and effect of the expressions which were now heard from the body of the people. No man could listen to the exclamations of distress which were heard from every part of the country, without lamenting the kind of milk-and-water language in which his Majesty had been advised to advert to that distress; although the language of the amendment did not come up to his idea of the sentiments which ought to inspire the members of that House on such a subject, and which they ought to express, yet, for the reasons he had stated, he was willing to give it his support.

Mr. *Protheroe* said, he addressed the House, at that early stage of the debate, with unfeigned diffidence of his power to do justice to the subject. During the three sessions that he had enjoyed the honour to occupy a seat in the House, he had, on all occasions, preferred trusting to the language of others for the development of those measures, in the propriety of which he was willing to concur; but he thought the time was now arrived when the exertions of honesty and good intention were more requisite than the display of the greatest oratorical powers, and with that impression he ventured most humbly to offer himself thus early to their notice. That House had long been the subject of attack from men of a certain class and holding particular opinions; but it was now obvious that the opinions respecting its integrity and capacity were not confined to these persons, but that attacks the most violent, and urged in language the most vehement, were to be heard from quarters in which they had never before heard any thing but praise and approbation; from quarters which had been in the habit of lauding, indiscriminately, every act of authority and power, no matter in whose hands that power was reposed. The hollow murmur of discontent now approached the House from all quarters; and none had so accurately described the dreadful state of the country as the hon. member for Essex (Mr. Western). But so remarkable were the changes of opinions, that it was not long since he had read in a periodical publication remarkable for its devotion to power, a series of attacks on the members of that House, in which they were declared not only destitute of wisdom, but of every degree of firmness, integrity, or intelligence which would be required for the conduct of public affairs. He did not, in adverting to the nature of this language, intend to advise his Majesty's Attorney-general, whom he saw in his place, to prosecute the author or the editor of this publication, for using language calculated to bring the House and the government into contempt, but he wished to draw from it the conclusion, that the complaints against its constitution extended now to a very different class of society; that it had excited the attention and the condemnation of men who formerly regarded it with indifference or approbation, and that those who were interested in preserving the respect of the people should, by a timely and temperate reform, show their sense of the propriety of the remonstrances of those state physicians. [*hear*] Adverting to the language of the Address, he must express his conviction that it was a deliberate insult to the people. Those who advised it might have ascertained, with the slightest inquiry, if they were ignorant of the fact, that the distress was general, and he might add, universal; and he was satisfied that the remedy for that distress was not to be obtained from the exertions of any party within or without the walls of the House. The sentiments he uttered did not proceed from the spirit of party. He did not think that the country looked for its advocates amongst men of party feeling. It desired rather the exertion of humble abilities, fairly and honestly directed, than the aid of brilliant talents, tainted by feelings of party or ambition. He had drawn up the outline of an Amendment, which he had intended to submit to their consideration. It stated, in plain language, the nature of the distress, and pointed out the course which, in his humble opinion, ought to be adopted in the inquiries with respect to the remedy. He was confident, indeed, that the Speech did not, under the present circumstances, realize the expectations of the people; and the noble lord, whose duty it was to move the Address, must have felt himself as much crippled in his language, by its terms, as the dress in which custom required he should appear on such occasions must constrain the natural movements of his body.* In his opinion, the Address ought to have alluded to the melancholy fact, that the rent of the farmer was now paid solely out of his capital, and that trade of every kind, except that in money, was carried on without the slightest profit to the adventurer. He had taken leave to defend himself from the imputation of having been guilty of any act of taciturnity or uncourteousness in not communicating his intention to those members with whom he had been in the habit of acting during the time he occupied a seat in that House. The truth was, that there prevailed such a dissimilarity of opinions on all great political questions on that side of the House, that he scarcely knew to whom he should address himself. So many different parties were they divided into, that the House seemed to be more like a nursery of young statesmen than a collection of established politicians; and it was a matter of serious question whether the greater portion of the members on that (the Opposition) side of the House could be considered ministerial men or oppositionists. Delicacy, therefore, with regard to some, and ignorance with respect to the opinions of others, had forced him to rise thus early, and offer to the attention of the House an amendment, which, although it might be considered rather long, contained nothing but a plain statement of well-known facts. He could not move it, he was aware, till the amendment already proposed was disposed of; but perhaps the House would pardon him if he concluded his speech with reading it. [*hear*] The hon. member then read the following Amendment.

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to express to his Majesty the thanks of this House for his Majesty's most gracious Speech; and respectfully to inform his Majesty, that being assembled with the deepest impression of the extraordinary duties imposed on us by the unexampled difficulties and dangers of the country, we will direct our instant and earnest attention to those measures best calculated to maintain the dignity and stability of his Majesty's Throne, and to restore this nation to its ancient prosperity and happiness. To assure his Majesty of our undiminished attachment to his sacred person, and of our grateful conviction of his paternal feelings for the sufferings of his subjects; relying upon which, we consider it our first duty to lay before his Majesty a correct representation of the actual state of the country, and of all its leading interests, not concealing those wrongs and grievances which, with the assistance of a faithful parliament, his Majesty will delight to redress.

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* The noble Lord was dressed in his military uniform; the custom being usually observed for the appointed mover and seconder of the Address to appear in full court dresses.

"To represent ~~to his Majesty~~, that the measures recommended by his ministers, and adopted by parliament, have failed to restore the country, or to mitigate the calamities under which it is sinking.

"That the tendency of the present political, financial, and ecclesiastical systems, is to accumulate, in few hands, enormous masses of property, leaving the middle classes struggling to support a precarious credit, and the lower, in a degrading dependence for daily food.

"That neither the landowner nor the farmer has been enriched by the Corn Laws, while the bread of the poor is made dear, and the labourer is stinted in his hire.

"That the merchant, the shipowner, the manufacturer, the tradesman, are proceeding in hopeless efforts of industry, without remuneration, notwithstanding the extraordinary inventions of British science and ingenuity, and the increasing demands of extensive countries newly-opened to our trade.

"That the peasantry and operative mechanics, with wages or pay barely adequate to the support of life, are hastening to a state of universal pauperism, holding out temptations to the disregard and breach of laws that no longer afford security to property.

"That the pleasures of the rich are purchased by the demoralization of the poor, under the administration of Game-laws, originating in ages of feudal oppression, and pertinaciously adhered to and increased in severity by selfish legislation, whereby the prisons of the country are filled for offences not associated in the feelings of the people with moral guilt or delinquency.

"That by an ill-proportioned system of duties, having no reference but to the supply of a needy Exchequer, the poorer classes are deprived of the wholesome and nutritious drink of their forefathers, and are driven to the use of ardent spirits, alike destructive to their health and morals.

"That the nation is bowed down by a weight of taxation, which has been immoderately increased by laws affecting a change in the currency, made without a due consideration of the situation of the country, so that it is utterly unable to support the burthen.

"That it is impossible for the people to view, without disgust, the mockery of their distress, by a wasteful, blundering, and jobbing expenditure of the public money, in the erection of palaces and public buildings in the metropolis, alike devoid of taste and utility.

"That the people have a right to complain of the indecent and unjust continuance in undiminished amount, of various grants, pensions, salaries, and allowances which had been fixed or raised during the suspension of cash payments, upon the express plea and justification of the depreciation in value of money.

"That we receive with grateful satisfaction, his Majesty's assurance, that the reformation of the administration of the laws has occupied his Majesty's attentive consideration; and that we will devote our earnest attention to the communications his Majesty may direct to be made on these matters.

"That the tithe system (at all times an obnoxious and unpopular mode of providing for the clergy) is at this season of agricultural distress peculiarly galling in its operation, while the unequal distribution of the revenues of the church of England and Ireland, and the inadequate provision for those who perform its most active duties, are viewed with serious concern by the friends of the establishment, and afford just cause of scandal to its enemies.

"That the colonial interests of the country are plunged in a state of equal depression and suffering, the prices obtained for the produce of our colonies affording in general no profit in return for the capital, the labour, and the anxiety attending its cultivation.

"In acknowledging to his Majesty our conviction, that a state of national suffering and abuses so great and so general, after a long period of profound peace, and amidst so many elements of political prosperity, cannot have been produced without fundamental errors in legislation and government, "Finally, to assure his Majesty that, although we cannot but feel how uncertain must be all dependence upon the acts of a Legislature, which does not and cannot as now constituted adequately represent the talents, the sentiments, and the wishes of the country, yet we will not fail, while maintaining the integrity of our admired Constitution, to consult in all our deliberations the spirit of an enlightened age, and the just petitions of the people, by decided retrenchment of expense, large reduction of taxation, and by a needful reform, commencing with our own House."

Mr. Ald. *Waithman* said, he had never been better pleased with any speech than with that of the hon. member who had just sat down. He trusted that the hon. baronet who moved the first amendment would withdraw it in favour of that just proposed, which seemed more fully to express what he trusted was the sense of the House, because it was much nearer the truth. Feeling so strongly as he did on the present occasion, he would give his hearty concurrence to any and every amendment which had for its object an inquiry into the existing distress. He must confess that, looking to the extreme distress of the country, he expected more from the royal Speech on the present occasion than he usually did on similar ones; but looking at the distress of the country, knowing that it was not confined to any particular place, he was surprised at the paragraph in the King's Speech. The paragraph about economy might be taken from every King's Speech during the last four years. The year 1826 was one of great calamity, so was the following year, yet we were always assured that a system of the greatest economy would be observed. As to the noble duke at the head of the government, he knew of no individual in whom he could sooner place confidence; but, after past experience, he felt it impossible to place confidence in any man. In the year 1817 we were assured of a plan of strict economy, afterwards our army was reduced, and in the next year an increase took place. After this, could the House place confidence in what was stated by ministers? He knew from experience that it was impossible for a member of that House to place confidence in any ministers without its interfering with the strict performance of his duty. The royal Speech stated, that our exports had increased. The same thing was stated last year, and on many former years. It was evident that the official value of our exports had latterly increased, but it was equally evident that there was no profitable return for them; otherwise there would be larger imports. The fact was, the "real" value of our exports had decreased, as he had shown last year*; and as he would make still more clear to every man in the House and out of it, on a future evening. The public distress had been augmenting from year to year, until it had reached a point where it was past further endurance. Would any man stand up in his place and declare on his honour that the distress was confined merely to particular parts of the country? He was surprised that the hon. seconder of the Address had not made more particular allusion to the great body of traders in the city of London. The distress of that class was extreme. Their stocks had in general suffered a depreciation of 40 per cent. Their interests were not so fully represented in that House as those of other classes. The fact was, that the distress was not confined to any particular class, the great body of the people were equally distressed. The agriculturists, undoubtedly, formed a great and important branch; but that portion of the community was not the only one that was now suffering. The distress equally affected the mercantile and manufacturing classes. He was much surprised, when an hon. member, not now in his place, brought forward a motion for inquiring into the distressed state of the country; he was, he confessed, surprised on that occasion, and he made the observation "more in sorrow than in anger," that the agriculturists did not exert themselves. But those gentlemen had now come to their senses—the danger had overtaken them—it was at their own door—and they stood forward boldly, honourably, and in a manner worthy of the aristocracy of the country. They, he was sure, could make an impression on that House and on the government. They had only to say, "This must be done," and it certainly would be done. They were told that no legislative measure could do any good—they were desired to trust in Providence—to trust, in short, to any thing but themselves. If this advice were correct, what was the use of their meeting together? It would be better to have no parliament at all, rather than to meet for no purpose. He would say, if they were in such a hopeless situation, that the people were misrepresented—that they were misgoverned—and that the waste of the public wealth noticed in the amendment was perfectly true. [*hear, hear*] Such was really the present state of things; and if they looked back at what occurred for a series of years, and acted justly and fairly, there would then be some chance of reformation. If the things which he had described had happened in spite of their legislative measures,—in spite of their liberal policy, as it was called,—and if those measures were really founded in wisdom, there was no hope of salvation. But they had come to that pass, that they could not avoid doing something. He could not state the remedies that ought to be resorted to; but this he knew, that they must either bring up the prices to a level with the taxation, or bring down the taxation to a level with the prices. [*hear*] If parliament did not adopt one or other of these plans, he was as certain as that he stood there, that he should live to witness—and at his time of life he could not expect to see many years—a scene of dreadful confusion in this country. [*hear*] In stating his opinions, he was actuated by no ill feeling towards any party or set of men. He had nothing to hope or to expect from any party. He stood there merely to do his duty; and however unworthily placed in that House as one of the representatives of the metropolis of the British empire, he should betray his trust if he did not openly state his opinion. Therefore he entreated the House to forego all private and personal feeling, and to look to the general state of the country, every part of which was suffering under the most dreadful distress. [*hear*] To the original Address he could not agree, containing as it did, a palpable falsehood as to the distresses of the country.

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* Hansard's Parl. Deb., v. xxi., p. 1201.

Mr. *E. Davenport* said, many very material amendments ought to be added to the Address proposed by the noble lord. The first amendment ought to be a declaration of the expediency of getting rid of that immense military force which, in times of peace, their ancestors considered as an unconstitutional incumbrance, and which only enabled ministers to hold out bribes for the support of members of Parliament. The second obvious amendment was one which the circumstances of the country naturally suggested—namely, that if they had the capacity, they should pledge themselves to his Majesty to call the public servants to account, and to bring those to condign punishment who had betrayed their trust; and, with a view to their own emolument, continued to receive unreduced salaries to the present hour. As to the Speech which he had heard read, he thought he should be able to explain some portions of it which seemed to strike with surprise several hon. members who had spoken before him. In the first place, however, he begged leave to express his extreme concern at that part of the Speech which related to our diplomatic relations with Portugal. His view of that part of the Speech was different from that of the hon. baronet who moved the amendment; for he heard with great concern that his Majesty ever meant to conciliate a man whose conduct ought to put him out of the pale of the sovereigns of Europe. He should, if this were the proper time, dilate farther on this subject; but he would only say at present, that when the pressure of affairs enabled them to consider this question, he would bring before the House the subject of our relations with Portugal; and he would show on that day, that the existence of this monster (for so he would call him) on the throne of Portugal, was mainly owing to this country. The Speech declared, that the distress in the country was merely partial. This seemed to puzzle several gentlemen. But it was not difficult to show why that distress, which they all knew to be general, appeared to ministers to be only partial. The fact was, that amongst the land-owners of this country, there was a strong indisposition to do any thing that might hazard their losing the patronage of government. They would, he believed, rather encounter ruin than come forward and fairly declare the desperate condition in which landed property was. They did not like to state the fact plainly, lest they might thereby interfere with the prospects of the rising generation: that was the reason why they did not like to come forward, as they ought, to that House to seek redress. But what was the state of the gentry of England? Why, every man, whether a gentleman or a clergyman, [*laughter*] wished to make all the males of his family gentlemen, and this could only be done by placing them in the different professions. The attempt to attain that object had changed the once independent gentlemen of England, and turned them into courtiers. Lord Bacon had said, "A country overcharged with taxes cannot be thriving;" and he also observed, "Let any country that wishes to be great, not allow the nobility and gentry to increase too fast, for where the nobility and gentry are extremely numerous, the people will be base." This government seemed to proceed on a principle different from that. A body of ministers, abler, he supposed, than lord Bacon, had contrived, in the eighteen years during which his present majesty had been in power, to make no fewer than sixty peers; and he was informed by an individual who was conversant in these matters, that at the period of the Union a majority of the other House did not sit by hereditary descent. When they considered these points, it was not wonderful that the country gentlemen had not complained either to this or to the other House of parliament. The next point in the Speech related to the unfavourableness of the seasons. But would that account for all the distress? Would it account for a fall of thirty per cent in the price of cattle? Would it account for a reduction of thirty per cent in the value of cheese? Would it account for the fall in the price of every thing in the shop and in the warehouse? The next expression would be exceedingly consolatory, if we could attach the slightest authority to it. The expression to which he alluded was, that the distress was not of a permanent character. Now, he thought he could satisfy the House that the assertion was not worth one farthing. In 1828, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was told of the danger that would ensue from the withdrawal of several millions of one-pound notes, he stated their amount at about 2,250,000*l.*—a statement which was entirely erroneous. An individual had written to him on the subject, and stated that, on examination, he found that four-fifths of those notes had been out three years, and considerably above one-half of them had been out seven years. He therefore inferred that the amount was 7,000,000*l.* or 8,000,000*l.* instead of 2,250,000*l.* And further, he must argue, that the increased issue of 5*l.* notes did not make up for the deficiency thus created, and that the issue of sovereigns was not likely to increase a circulation the basis of which was credit. As to the boast so often made in that House with reference to the extent of our exports, its fallacy had been clearly shown by the hon. alderman below him, particularly in the course of the last session. Ministers appeared to entertain strange ideas of political economy. They looked to the production of a vast quantity of goods as a proof of the flourishing state of the country, no matter whether those goods fetched any thing or nothing in the market. Now it was notorious that the master-manufacturers who had produced those goods had been obliged to sell them under prime cost. And was that, he would ask, a matter of boast to be inserted in a king's Speech? He knew that the noble duke at the head of the government entertained very singular ideas as to the situation of the country. He said that the extravagant system which prevailed during the war must be abandoned, and moderate and sober habits introduced [*hear*]. Sober habits, he admitted, were very good, but why not extend them to all—to ministers, to sinecurists, to all who live on the taxes? [*hear*] for if

"Order and sobriety,
Are the rules of his society,"

why not make them general? [*cheers and laughter*] But in many parts of the country, the people were sober enough to satisfy any body, being reduced to potatoes and water. The noble duke ought to recollect, that those sober people had each contributed his mite to present him with the most splendid reward ever given to a soldier. But he doubted whether they would have granted him 700,000*l.* if they thought that he would have supported laws the tendency of which was to double that sum. In conclusion, he would observe, with respect to the national credit, that there were two species of debts—that which the government borrowed, and that which by Mr. Peel's bill was doubled. The first would be paid, but the second never would be, never could be, and never ought to be paid.

Mr. Alderman *Thompson.*—I should have contented myself by being silent this evening, if an hon. member had not adverted to a statement made which may go into society; and I feel that I owe it to my own character, and that it is due to the House, that I should give an explanation of the motives that actuate the class of the community to which I belong, as it will also serve to shew why I shall vote as I intend to do. If his majesty's ministers had simply announced that the distress did not affect one interest merely, but that it had spread generally over the country, there would have been little debating that night. He was not disposed, from any thing he had that evening heard, to withdraw his confidence from his majesty's ministers. He had no doubt the measures ministers would suggest would be those best calculated to relieve the overwhelming distress which now spread itself over every class of the community. But he must beg the right hon. gentleman to be cautious how he calculated the exports of the country to a vast extent. British manufactures had found no market at the price they could command a few years ago, but the merchants were compelled to send their goods abroad on the chance of sale anywhere, and at almost any price. The capitalist of London had changed his mode of dealing, and had lately assumed the character of a pawn-broker. British goods were sent in this way not to the continental markets merely, but to the whole world. There were goods now lying in the Custom-house which had been offered for sale in vain, and could be sold at no house at all in the city [*hear*]. The House was not the place to go into details of that kind; but if the House would permit him to read a letter which a friend had put into his hands this evening, they would know what was well enough known in the mercantile world, that the expenses on British goods exported exceed all possible profits that can be made by their sale [The worthy alderman here read the letter, which described the state of manufactured goods exported; adding, that they were sold in the foreign market at prices less than their production at home cost]. Since 1826, British manufactures had decreased from forty to fifty per cent in price. The noble Lord has said that he can depend on the energies of the country; that he is sure that London shops, machinery, and capital, will always beat the rest of the world in competition with it. I wish (continued the hon. alderman) I could bring my mind to believe his opinion; but I am afraid we overrate our resources. I know that there are manufacturers in this country who have been living on hope for four years, and who have labourers also living on hope with a much smaller subsistence. I saw a friend who had recently returned from one of the largest districts in the country, and he said both masters and workmen were fast coming down to despair. I know that labourers perform most painful works, and that after fourteen hours of hard and constant labour, they can only earn, to maintain themselves, a few shillings, utterly insufficient. The retail dealers are sinking into distress for want of customers, and are unable to pay rates, rent, or taxes, and trade is altogether unprofitable. The shop-keepers are indulging in improbable hopes of amendment. Wretchedness, ruin, and misery swallow up all in their vortex. Every week in the Gazette is a long list of bankrupts, and a longer list of declared insolvents. I see no reason why the government should not exercise an unsparing economy. They may thus relieve the burthens of the people; and if such a course be not taken—if such a spirit do not actuate the government, the very worst consequences may ensue. [*hear*]——He then observed, he was sure some system might have been adopted by which they might have retained a paper currency, sound in its principle, and likely to work well. [*hear, hear*] He had never been an advocate for an unlimited paper currency; but still he said that something must be done, either by throwing an increased quantity of money into circulation, or by a reduction of the taxes. [*hear, hear*] Since the alteration, what had been the system pursued in the manufacturing districts? The manufacturers had got into the custom of paying their workmen in goods, keeping, as it were, a sort of chandler's shop for provisions and clothing, and supplying, he was sorry to say, not sufficient quantities to support the workmen. He now wished to state the grounds on which he could not support the amendment of the hon. baronet. [*laughter, and cries of hear!*] It was because he thought it better to wait for the government to develope their scheme; and if he should deem it insufficient, he should then feel it to be his duty to give his immediate support to those gentlemen, who, he must however say, he believed were as anxious for a change of men as they were for a change of measures. [*hear, hear*]

Sir *J. Sebright* said, he had no doubt that his majesty's ministers would do all in their power to relieve the distresses of the country; but at all events the House must do its duty; and with such feelings he should support the amendment, which more accurately described the distresses of the country.

The *Chan. of the Exchequer* said, that for some years past it had been the admitted practice of that House, when they thanked his Majesty for his communication, to reserve for subsequent discussion those branches of the Speech which any hon. member might think afforded topics for the consideration of Parliament. The hon. baronet had, however, thought that the present occasion was one on which it was right to depart from the usual custom, and he had therefore moved an amendment to one paragraph in the Speech; though he must be allowed to say that it appeared to him to vary very little from the substance of the paragraph of which the hon. baronet would complain. The Speech stated that his majesty lamented that there was distress in some parts of the country, and the hon. baronet chose to assume that the statement there made was false and unfounded. He could assure the House that, however much many gentlemen might feel for the distress of the people, none partook more deeply of that feeling than those on whom the responsibility fell of advising his majesty; and he trusted that the House would not entertain a different opinion on this point because the ministry had thought it to be their duty to advise the king to present to parliament, not an exaggerated picture of what existed, but one that they believed to be correct, from the best information they were able to procure on the subject. It was not to be denied that there was a great and severe pressure of distress in the manufacturing and agricultural parts of the community in some parts of the United Kingdom; and if he excepted some portions from that summary, it was because he believed that there were parts which, so far from being visited with such an affliction, were enjoying a comparative state of ease and of comfort. [*hear, hear*] It was observable that the hon. baronet had confined his statements to England only; but he had omitted noticing that part of the United Kingdom which at all times had commanded much of the care and attention of that House—he alluded to Ireland. [*hear*] If the hon. baronet had investigated the state of the agricultural produce in that country, he would have found that great prosperity and comfort were existing; and he would likewise have found that there were parts of this country in which much of the pressure that existed had arisen from the free introduction of Irish produce; so that in proportion as one part of the kingdom was depressed, at least another portion was benefitted and advanced. If this were the case, how could his Majesty have been advised to inform the parliament that a state of distress pervaded the kingdom generally? And it was undoubtedly the case, that in the northern parts of the country, there were districts in which the distress complained of had not been felt in any such degree.—He felt it impossible to address himself to the subject of the amendment without, to a certain extent, taking into consideration the speeches by which that amendment had been supported. The hon. member for Essex (Mr. Western) had supported the amendment of the hon. baronet, and he could not forget the principle upon which that support had been given; so that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) found himself still further precluded from giving his support to the amendment, when he heard the grounds on which that amendment was supported. Was there a man who had heard those speeches who did not feel that the object of them was to make an alteration in the standard of value, or at least in the currency of the country, so as to change those laws which the parliament had sanctioned, after a most mature and anxious deliberation? [*hear, hear*] Nor was this attempted at a period soon after the establishment of those laws, but now, ten years subsequently: so that he certainly thought that they were called upon to discuss the subject *de novo*, rather than in reference to transactions which were ten years old. He was not disposed to enter into that discussion at present, but he must say that to entertain the proposition of altering the standard of value which was laid down in 1819 as the basis of our circulation, or to concur in the restoration of the circulating medium of one-pound notes, were concessions which the government would never be prepared to make, [*loud cheers*] as they were concessions which were not required by the state of the country. [*hear, hear*] By pursuing this conduct, the government might not perhaps be providing for their popularity at the present moment; but he believed that they were pursuing the true course to benefit the country, and for its future acquiescence in the justice of their conduct [*hear*]. For these reasons he felt it to be his duty to oppose the amendment of the hon. baronet, and he knew not to what object any individual would be looking who should give it his support. There was nothing in his majesty's Speech to agree with which would preclude the opening of any topic in future; there was nothing in the Address which pledged any one as to the degree of sympathy which he was to feel for the distresses of the country; there was nothing which precluded their inquiring into any subject; and, in short, the Speech comprised in itself what had appeared to his majesty's ministers to be the strict and literal truth [*hear*]. In agreeing with the Address, it did not prevent any gentleman undertaking the controversion of any isolated fact: above all, it did not pledge any member to any particular course, beyond that of a disposition to economize the public money. For these reasons he should avoid addressing himself to any of those particular topics which had been started; and, indeed, his principle reason for offering himself to the attention of the House was for the purpose of assuring it that it was the firm determination of his majesty's government to adhere to those measures which had that night been so freely discussed, and which he firmly believed to be calculated to afford the greatest advantage to the country. [*hear*]

Mr. *Maberly* said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Speech which he had just concluded, appeared to think that the sole object of the hon. baronet, and of those who supported his amendment, was to alter the standard of value, or to return wholly to a paper currency. Such was by no means the fact; and he (Mr. Maberly) would, on a future occasion, tell the right hon. gentleman how a paper currency might be adopted without once touching the standard of value. For his part, he had not heard from the hon. baronet that he wanted either an alteration of the standard, or an equitable adjustment, or any such thing. The principle on which the hon. baronet had dealt with the Speech was, that he did not consider it sufficiently explicit of the intentions of his majesty's ministers. It was quite clear that ministers were bound to propose some remedy for the evils that prevailed. Did they not know that the alteration of the currency caused the distress? He maintained that a great deal both of distress and difficulty might have been avoided by more careful measures respecting the one-pound notes. Did ministers say that they recommended a reduction of taxation?—No, but they recommended what? Why—nothing more than caution. [*hear*] Yes, caution was the only thing they recommended, not one word being said about the reduction of taxes. But the people could not go on paying taxes if the present low profits upon all produce continued. That House would not do its duty, either to the sovereign or to the people, if it did not support every measure which tended to diminish the severe burthens of the people. Disregarding for the present every other remedy, he would undertake on an early day to propose one which should stand and run. [*laughter*] Yes, he would propose a measure for establishing a safe paper currency, without at all interfering with the standard. On what basis did the present metallic currency stand? Why, entirely on the Bank of England, the capital of which was largely employed in Exchequer-bills and other securities—securities, too, that at various periods, as in the year 1825, for instance, were not convertible. To talk about a metallic currency, was quite idle, there was no sound metallic currency in the country, what there was must give way in time of pressure. It was infinitely better to have a steady paper circulation than a metallic currency, which might be so affected. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not recommend inquiry; and why? Because he said he could not sanction any alteration in the measures relating to the currency. He did not object to the right hon. gentleman taking the remedy into his own hands, if he only told them what he meant to do; but what he particularly complained of was, that there was to be no remedy at all. Nothing but caution was recommended. The House, he hoped, would take upon itself that duty which the right hon. gentleman neglected. He hoped that the House would institute an inquiry to ascertain what taxes might be reduced. There were seven millions of taxes laid upon beer and malt, but why was not this impost laid upon beer alone, or upon malt alone? No, this was not to be done, and the reason was obvious, because the expense of collection on both together was 370,000*l.* a-year. He complained of the expense of collecting some other taxes, and expressed his earnest hope that the House would promptly institute an inquiry into the existing distress, with a view to providing some effectual remedy. If the House insisted upon a large reduction of the taxation, the ministers would soon shape the expenditure accordingly.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he did not presume to think that either redress to the people or instruction to the House could follow from the few observations which he should trespass on the House on the present occasion. The people had sent him there to do their business, and in the discharge of his duty he felt that he was authorised to express his humble opinion as to the state of the country. In the discharge of that duty also, he might have to address them oftener than he could wish; and the only compensation that he could make was, to promise to be as brief as he possibly could. He had now to address himself to the Speech from the Throne, of which he felt himself bound to speak in as harsh terms as he might consistently with the respect to which it was entitled; it was entitled to respect as emanating from the king—and the king's name was a tower of strength; it was entitled to courtesy as proceeding from the noble duke at the head of state affairs and of the government; and, on these accounts, he should treat it with respect and courtesy; but when he looked at what the document was in itself, he felt warranted in saying that anything so unsatisfactory in its propositions, and so meagre in its details, could scarcely have been concocted or conceived. [*hear*] The seconder of the Address, in his observations, had alluded to France and America. Did he think that in France, with its new institutions, such a Speech would have been endured by the real representatives of that people? [*hear*] Or did he think that a message from the chief magistrate of the Americans, containing such jejune and empty statements, would have been tolerated for a moment? [*hear*] Let the House contrast it with the message that had lately been sent by the President of the United States. Let them look at the minuteness of detail, let them look at the wise suggestions which that message contained, and then compare it with the Speech which they then had before them. Would any one pretend to tell him that if that House really represented the people at large, such a Speech would ever have been offered to their consideration? [*hear*] What did it contain? The first point was, that foreign nations continued to speak in terms of peace; but did they ever do otherwise when a war was on the point of breaking out, or even when the war itself had actually commenced? The next information was, that the Russian war was at an end. That was an important discovery, indeed; and, of course, none of them knew that before [*a laugh.*] They were then told that nothing was determined as to Portugal. And why? Ah! they were not told that [*hear*]. Was the character of Don Miguel then doubtful? Did any one doubt that he had usurped the throne of another, and endeavoured to cement his seat by the spilling of innocent blood? [*hear*] If so, why did the government of England shrink from the decision to which it ought to come? They were next told of the partial distress of the country. But was that a fact? He thought that the expressions which had fallen from the three hon. members on the other side who had supported the Address, were—the one, that the distress was general; the second, that the distress was extraordinary; and the third, that the distress was overwhelming. [*laughter and cries of hear, hear*] The chancellor of the Exchequer, however, had made one happy discovery; he had found an "Oasis in the desert"—a country where no distress at all existed: and, who would have thought it?—that country was Ireland. [*laughter*] He had lately been in Ireland, but anything more astonishing he certainly had never heard in his life. Was it then not true, that there were seven thousand registered persons in Dublin alone actually living on three half-pence a day, and that even that miserable pittance was almost exhausted—the first subscription (with the lord lieutenant at the head) amounting to 3,500*l.* and the second to no more than 300*l.*? Why, if this were true, what very cruel landlords, what very stingy agriculturists must Ireland contain, that they should be in such a state of prosperity, and not even contribute a farthing to such miserable objects of pity. [*hear*] He did not like to pledge himself to any statement of facts, as to every part of the country, but he pretty well knew three provinces in Ireland—the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster, and he knew that the agriculturalists in those three provinces were suffering the greatest distress. In many parts of those provinces the rents were paid, not out of the profits of the land, but out of the capital of the farmer. There had been various instances in which the rents had been obtained only by levying an execution, and by the sale even of the very blankets with which the unfortunate tenant had been covered. In the production of that distress, as far as his information went, many causes concurred, but unquestionably the state of the currency was one of those causes. He felt that he had a right to complain of the omission of all allusion to these circumstances in the Speech; and he felt that he had a right to complain that all allusion to the state of Ireland was omitted in that speech, and that it was alluded to only in a kind of parenthesis in the Speech of the right honourable the chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. gentleman had given a pledge on the part of his majesty's government that they would not propose any measure of interference with the currency. He (Mr. O'Connell) was convinced that they could not adhere to that pledge without diminishing the taxation of the country, and reducing it, not by candle-ends and cheese-parings, but by millions upon millions. [*hear hear*] Instead of keeping up a taxation of sixty millions, if we persevered in a gold currency, we must cut that taxation down to fifteen or twenty millions. [*hear*] Let that be done; and then the currency might be maintained in its present state. Among the great causes of the distress of the people, were the abuses existing in the courts of law. Those abuses ought to be corrected equally in the courts of common law, in the courts of equity, in the courts of admiralty, and in the ecclesiastical courts. He therefore warmly approved of that passage in the Speech in which his majesty stated that "his attention had been of late earnestly directed to various important considerations connected with improvements in the general administration of the law." That was the solitary passage in the whole of the Speech which met with his cordial approbation. There must be reforms in the law, the present piebald system of Equity, Common-law, of the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty courts (different in each) must be simplified and assimilated. He offered his humble meed of sincere thanks to the right hon. Secretary (Mr. Peel) for his successful attempts to break down some of the legal defects which deformed the system. But we should proceed further; banish the barbarities of special pleading, and cause all our courts to act upon one consistent and defined principle. That distress existed in many places must be admitted. The chancellor of the Exchequer admitted its existence in England. What was the cause of this? Was it owing to want of industry, intelligence, economy, or perseverance in the people? Certainly not; the people of England were possessed of all these qualities in an eminent degree, and yet they were distressed. What was the cause of this? It was to be found, not in the people, but in the misgovernment to which they had been subjected. One salutary effect of the existing distress would probably be, that it would deprive the administration of the confidence of the people. If they met in their cities and counties, and made use of a gentle and constitutional compulsion towards ministers, ministers would yield, and a salutary reform would be the consequence. As he had before stated, we should have a thorough reform of the law. Talk not of modifying the Game-laws for instance, but abolish that cruel code altogether which now filled our prisons. There should be an investigation of the state of the representation, with a view to render it satisfactory to the people, who, if properly represented, could not complain with justice of the measures adopted by parliament. If the people, instead of being properly, or even partially represented, were left unrepresented—if there was a traffic in boroughs to fill up the ranks of the ministerial legions, it could not be expected that the people should be satisfied. He looked forward to the existing distress with satisfaction in one point of view—it would cause the people to raise their voice aloud, and demand a radical and complete reform. He had now made some confession of his political faith. From the people he came—they had sent him thither to do the work of the people. He should support the amendment proposed by the hon. baronet, the member for Kent; and if that were lost, he wished to propose a resolution to the effect that the existence of distress being admitted, and that this distress not being caused by any fault of the people, it was the first duty of the House to inquire into its causes, with a view to affording radical and satisfactory relief to all parties. He would then move (supposing his resolution to be adopted) that the House do sit from day to day until it had ascertained the causes of the public distress. [*cheers and laughter*]

Mr. *Huskisson* said, there had been already one amendment proposed, and notice given of no fewer than three others. He was far from censuring the practice of proposing amendments on such occasions as the present. He came down to the House altogether ignorant of the contents of his Majesty's Speech, and equally ignorant of the intention of the hon. baronet, or of any other gentleman, to propose an amendment; but an amendment having been moved, and a debate having arisen upon it, he felt called upon, without reference to the possibility of prospective arrangements, which might be for consideration hereafter, to express his opinion on the subject with reference to the simple matter of fact as to the state of the country, which was the real question in issue. If the question were as to any particular mode of relief, it would be equally unwise and unbecoming to go into it when assembled to thank his majesty for his gracious Speech; accordingly, from any thing of that sort he should cautiously abstain. But, after what he had heard from the noble mover and hon. seconder of the proposed Address, after all that had fallen from those who had subsequently addressed the House, and from his own knowledge of facts, he felt bound to state his opinion that the real facts of the case, as regarded the public distress, were more correctly stated in the amendment moved by the hon. baronet than in the Address proposed by the noble lord. [*hear*] Entertaining that opinion, whatever might be his wish to abstain from saying anything upon this occasion, he was no longer at liberty to support an Address which did not contain so accurate an estimate of the actual state of the country as was to be found in the amendment. He thought it a material circumstance in the present state of universal disquietude and dissatisfaction that prevailed, not to provoke a hostile discussion between the representatives of the people and the people themselves, and not to call down on the House of Commons reproach by understating the distress and difficulty of the time. The best course to be adopted in order to meet and overcome these difficulties was to look at and avow them fairly. He was not one of those who thought the difficulties so great as they had been represented in many quarters—he did not despair of seeing the country restored to a situation of prosperity; but from all the information he possessed, he felt satisfied that there now existed that degree of pressure on the productive classes generally, which, were it to be permanent or long continued, would be incompatible with their continuous existence. [*hear*] He was of opinion that the country, as far as the productive classes were concerned, was in an unsatisfactory and suffering, but he trusted and believed not in a decaying and falling state. If parliament looked at the subject properly, and acted as a part of the Speech recommended, they would find themselves fully competent to cope with the existing difficulties, and to overcome them. But it was by studying to benefit, to the utmost, the industrious classes that we could alone lay any solid foundation of public happiness, or revive prosperity. There were many things difficult to be accounted for in our present condition, but which parliament would do well to attend to. Some gentlemen attributed the distress to a supposed deficiency in the currency,—a proposition which he thought it would be difficult to maintain, for we now saw money more abundant in this metropolis than at any former period; we saw Exchequer-bills producing two-and a-quarter per cent interest, selling at a premium of 75*s*., and we saw the low rate at which money was every day borrowed. The fact was, there was a stagnation in several parts of our productive industry, and an overflow of capital in others. It was cause of satisfaction to observe, that the produce of our exports last year exceeded the exports of any preceding year, but at the same time we knew that the capital and property so employed had in many instances been unproductive. It would be difficult to reconcile the two facts of a deficient currency and a low rate of profit. In almost all branches of productive industry the profits were so small as not to compensate for the amount of capital employed, or afford sufficient support to the individuals whose labour was required. There must be some irregularity of action in our condition. Circumstanced as we were, to propose to increase the currency would be similar to recommending an individual, subject to too great and rapid an action of the blood, to drink a quantity of brandy. He would not support the hon. baronet's motion if by so doing he should be thought to imply an assent to some of the doctrines urged by its supporters. So far was he from concurring in those doctrines, that he had heard with satisfaction what fell from the chancellor of the Exchequer in answer to them. He was satisfied that among the causes of disquietude and dissatisfaction that existed, were the delusive hopes, the unfounded apprehensions, and general anxiety, that must prevail in a country, so long as that which formed the measure of value with respect to property was subject to doubt and change. If then we had even been in error (which he was far from admitting, but maintained the contrary) in 1819, 1825, or 1826, it would be better to persevere than to unsettle the state of the country, by again tampering with the currency. [*hear*] It was to other means that the country must look for relief. An unsettled state of the public mind was one of the greatest evils that could befall a country. He did not collect from the speech of the hon. baronet, that any member was required to commit himself to particular measures if he supported the amendment. His right hon. friend hinted that distress was not so general as the amendment would make it appear; but all his ingenuity could not prove that the distress was confined to some particular parts of the country, as the Address stated. The productive classes generally were in a state of distress. He believed that this was owing to causes, to many of which it was beyond the power of parliament to apply a remedy; but it was in their power to satisfy the country as to what the causes were, and to afford partial relief by giving a better direction to the capital of the country; upon that point he differed materially from the hon. seconder of the address. The hon. member seemed to hint that the reduction of the rate of interest in some of the higher denominations of the public securities would operate favourably, but it appeared to him that even that reduction was far from being an unmixed good. The amendment had been described to be a "milk-and-water amendment," but that rather recommended it to his support [*hear and laughter.*] He did not wish to enter into the large field of foreign politics, but he might observe, in passing, that his Majesty's Speech merely stated that the war between Russia and Turkey had terminated. This was the statement of a fact, it had been said, before known; but such statements were not uncommon in speeches from the throne. For his part, he was glad that it was stated simply that the war had terminated, without any explanation of the mode by which that termination had been effected. [*hear and laughter*] It was a received principle, that the independence of Turkey was necessary to the maintenance of a just balance of power in Europe, and that circumstance did throw upon government the *onus* of showing that there was nothing in the treaty between Turkey and Russia contrary to this principle. However, when the documents were before the House, it would be time enough for them to discuss how far the spirit of the treaty of the 6th July had been preserved. Up to the arrival of the Russians in Adrianople, no great progress appeared to have been made in the cause of the Greeks. With respect to Portugal, whatever disposition there had been, during the two last sessions, to abstain from looking into the question of our foreign relations, he hoped that we should no longer avoid an inquiry which it was necessary for the character of the country to make [*hear*]. A recognition of Don Miguel had been hinted at, but if it was carried into effect we ought to receive more information on the subject than we had obtained last session. Till we had obtained further information, we were not in a situation to investigate whether (not merely in reference to the question of legal right, but with regard to the honour of the country, and our ancient alliance with Portugal) we had properly discharged all our obligations. He had witnessed with great regret in his Majesty's Speech, which ought to advert to all matters of general interest, an omission of all reference to wars waging in another hemisphere. There was a treaty of peace and amity between this country and Mexico, and he should have thought that the efforts made to prevent the industry of that country from taking a natural direction, that the attempts at a predatory warfare, inconsistent with the revival of industry in Mexico and other states of the new continent, inconsistent with the interests of commerce and navigation, hostile to the proper management of the mines of South America, which it was our interest to have as productive as possible,—he thought that these were matters which required some notice, and he should have been glad to hear that his majesty continued to use endeavours for the restoration of peace, tranquillity, and security in the new states, in the prosperity of which this country had the greatest possible interest. It was not the interests of trade and commerce that were alone concerned, the matter did not relate to this country only. Europe had the greatest possible interest that South America should be in a state of tranquillity and independence, and that those states should be made valuable and useful civilized societies. There was a time when these states looked up to this country as a power ready to rescue them from impending dangers, not by military demonstrations, but by its good offices, of which they were worthy as far as they could be exerted, if not in reference to their peace and tranquillity, yet with reference to our own interest. The omissions of the Speech had been complained of—it did not advert to Ireland. He did not pretend to know with any degree of accuracy the state of Ireland. He should have thought, that after the great act of justice of last session, we might have been told whether that measure had produced all the benefits which he for one had anticipated. He believed it had produced great benefits: he believed that such had been the effect of that great measure of justice, conciliation, and relief, which was so strongly recommended in the royal Speech of last session. It was not matter of surprise with him, therefore, that Ireland did not hold so prominent a position as some gentlemen appeared to suppose it ought; but it was matter of surprise to him that the effect of this measure had not been mentioned. He concluded by declaring that he felt himself bound in justice to support the amendment, because it expressed the facts of the case with more justice to the feelings of the House, and to the duty which the throne and the country had a right to expect from them, than the original amendment.

Mr. Sec. *Peel* said, he certainly was not surprised to hear his right hon. friend say, that the chief recommendation of the hon. baronet's amendment in his eyes consisted in its being "a milk-and-water amendment," because when he recollected the votes uniformly given by his right hon. friend, and the doctrines which he had uniformly held, he must say, that the smallest possible infusion of milk in the water was precisely that which would best suit the right hon. gentleman's constitution. [*hear and laughter*] The doctrine of his right hon. friend (Mr. Huskisson) had been, on former occasions, when changes were called for, "beware how you excite fallacious hopes—trust to the native energy—the natural elasticity of our resources, by which we have so often triumphed; and do not risk the permanent interests of the country by rash experiments on the capital and industry of our fellow-subjects." The right hon. gentleman had not only resisted practical measures, but committees of inquiry, lest he should excite false expectations; and now, hearing an amendment proposed, on principles from which he totally dissents, he is, nevertheless, prepared to support it, because he thinks the exposition of facts contained in the amendment better than that in the Speech from the throne. What course did the right hon. gentleman take with regard to the committee moved for to inquire into the state of the currency? He resisted its appointment to the last, lest its appointment should unsettle men's minds, and upon the same principle he resisted the inquiry into the state of the silk trade last session. [*hear*] However, it would have been more consistent if his right hon. friend had waited till he heard what specific measures were to be proposed, before he opposed his majesty's government. It would have been better if he had not endeavoured to raise the expectations of the country, as they must be raised, if we admitted the existence of universal distress, and dissented from the Speech from the throne, stating that his majesty's ministers had been misinformed —that all our interests were suffering under no ordinary pressure, and that we would direct our efforts to provide relief. Depend upon it, if you vote the amendment now proposed, and if it shall turn out that your efforts to relieve the distress are vain, you will have done more harm than good, and you will have raised expectations which it will be impossible to fulfil. The amendment was not correct; the expressions contained in it narrowed the sentiments of the king's Speech instead of extending them; it spoke of distress "in particular places;" the Speech mentioned "some parts of the United Kingdom" as being distressed, a wider and more comprehensive expression. As to the omission of certain topics in the Speech and among the rest, the omission of all mention of Ireland, he certainly did think, that after the completion of that measure in which Ireland took such a deep interest,—after that country had been placed on a footing of equality with the rest of the empire,—there existed no necessity for making special mention of a part of the kingdom which had no longer any thing to distinguish it from the remainder. Since the passing of that measure it might be said of the two countries—

> ———— "Paribus se legibus ambæ
> "Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant."

The quotation had been applied by Mr. Pitt to the expected effect of the Union, and certainly it was not less appropriate when used with reference to the measure recently accomplished. Under such circumstances, it might fairly be said, that the time had arrived when we might consider the condition of Ireland the same as that of the other parts of the United Kingdom, and except the occurrence of special circumstances required it, Ireland need not be particularly mentioned. It was now to be looked upon as England or Scotland. He would say, however, that the condition of Ireland was now much better and more satisfactory than it had been previous to the last session of parliament. An hon. gentleman had drawn a comparison, unfavourable to the latter, between the American President's Message and his Majesty's Speech. Whatever might be that gentleman's satisfaction at the tenor of the American message, his was as great. The manner in which England was mentioned by the president gave his majesty's government, in common with all other classes of their fellow-subjects, the sincerest pleasure; and he was glad of that opportunity to repeat the expressions of amity and friendship used by that distinguished man when speaking of this country. His words were these:—"With Great Britain, alike distinguished in peace and war, we may look forward to years of peaceful, honourable, and elevated competition. Every thing in the condition and history of the two nations is calculated to inspire sentiments of mutual respect, and to carry conviction to the minds of both, that it is their policy to preserve the most cordial relations. Such are my own views, and it is not to be doubted that such are also the prevailing sentiments of our constituents." He re-echoed these sentiments:—May all the competition between the two countries be the competition of industry, civilization, and peace!—May the foolish sentiments of individual hostility entertained by some in both countries, gradually vanish before the influence of good sense and right feeling: and, as both nations possess a common language, and are derived from a common source, may they be united in lasting relations of goodwill and amity! He gladly took this opportunity, on the part of the English government, of re-echoing, with respect to America, those kindly sentiments which her President had expressed towards us. But in contrasting the two Speeches, the hon. gentleman began by complaining of the mention made in his majesty's Message of so notorious a fact as the termination of hostilities between Russia and Turkey. As his majesty had announced to parliament the breaking out of the war between these powers, it was proper that he should mention its termination. The hon. gentleman also complained of our treatment of Don Miguel, and spoke of the supposed feelings of America if she had received such a Speech as the English parliament had received on the subject. But the fact was, that the American President recognized Don Miguel, as was apparent from this passage of his message: "During the recess of Congress, our diplomatic relations with Portugal have been resumed. The peculiar state of things in that country caused a suspension of the recognition of the representative who presented himself, until an opportunity was had to obtain from our official organ their information regarding the actual, and as far as practicable prospective, condition of the authority by which the representative in question was appointed. This information being received, the application of the established rule of our government in like cases was no longer withheld." [*hear, hear*] The hon. gentleman attributed all our distresses to misgovernment, and to defects in our representative system; but, unfortunately for his hypothesis, the same distress which we complained of in England existed in America, where the representation was constructed on the basis of universal suffrage. [*hear*] What said President Jackson on this subject?—"No very considerable change has occurred during the recess of Congress, in the condition of either our agriculture, commerce, or manufactures. The operation of the tariff has not proved so injurious to the two former, nor as beneficial to the latter, as was anticipated. Importations of foreign goods have not been sensibly diminished, while domestic competition, under an illusive excitement, has increased the production much beyond the demand for home consumption. The consequences have been low prices, temporary embarrassment, and partial loss. That such of our manufacturing establishments as are based upon capital, and are prudently managed, will survive the shock, and be ultimately profitable, there is no good reason to doubt." With respect to the amendment, during the last thirty years there had been no occasion upon which an amendment to an Address had been carried;*—that in nineteen years out of the thirty no amendment was proposed;—and that the present was an Address in respect of which no objection could be made, with the exception of the omission of two or three topics. A gentleman complained of the policy of late governments in adding to the House of Peers; but from this charge the duke of Wellington, who had made only one peer since he became prime minister, was free. The Speech stated the increase of exports in the last year; and it was said we inferred from thence that our trade and commerce were in a flourishing condition. But we inferred no such thing; we only stated facts; and, notwithstanding the increased exports, his majesty regretted the prevalence of distress in some parts of the kingdom. It was said ministers had not stated facts correctly, and that they were indifferent to the distress, because they recommended no remedy. Where was the proof that the Speech from the throne mis-stated facts? Was the House prepared at once, without inquiry, and without the necessary information before it, to sanction by its vote the allegation made in the amendment of the hon. baronet, that the distress was universal, and existed throughout all parts of the country? The hon. baronet's amendment stated that all the productive interests of the country were suffering severely under a general depression. There was no qualification whatever in the statement. Was the House prepared, in the face of Europe, to sanction such a statement? [*hear*] "Distress exists in my own neighbourhood," argued the hon. baronet and those who support him, "therefore I am bound to conclude that the distress is universal amongst all the productive interests of the country." Should not the House pause before it founded a statement as to such an important matter upon evidence of such description? Should not the House pause before it took for granted any such statement, the more particularly when it found this important fact mentioned in the Speech from the throne, namely—that the exports of British produce during the last year had far exceeded those of any former year? It was rather extraordinary, with such a gratifying statement in his majesty's Speech, to find an amendment proposed, which declares, that all the productive interests of the country are labouring under severe depression. The House should therefore hesitate before it adopted such a proposition. [*cheers*] But it might be said, that this was no proof of the prosperity of the country, and perhaps it would be added, that all these exports were sold at a loss, and that no return was made from them. But was it to be supposed that, year after year, from the year 1819,—for that was the period from which the distress was dated, —was it to be imagined that year after year, from that time, the manufacturers of this country had continued manufacturing and exporting at a positive loss? [*hear*] Was it probable that such a thing could have occurred? But then it was asserted, that let the amount of our foreign exports be what they might, our home market was depressed; and that while an increase had taken place in our exports to foreign countries, a great and corresponding decline had taken place in our home consumption. He would at once meet and deny that assertion. [*hear*] No corresponding decline in our home consumption had taken place at all to be put in contradistinction to the increase in our foreign exports. The allegation was, that the distress existed universally throughout England, Ireland and Scotand. He held in his hand returns to disprove to a great extent the truth of that assertion. He was compelled to refer to matters of detail to furnish arguments to induce the House to pause before it adopted the proposition of the hon. baronet. He was prepared to show, from documents in his possession, that there had not been the falling-off that had been stated in the internal consumption of the country. He had been furnished with comparative statements of the amount of tons carried, and of the tonnage duties received, upon the principal canals, for a certain number of years, and the important fact which they established should be well weighed by the House before it pledged itself to the opinion of the hon. baronet, so contradictory as it was to the statement made from the throne. These statements exhibited a comparative increase year after year in the amount of business done on the principal canals. He would take a cipher as the foundation of his respective statements, which would furnish no indication of the comparative business of one canal compared with that of another; but which would actually show at the the same time the general increase of business done on those canals, proving an increase in the internal consumption of the country. These returns commenced with the year 1820,—that year when the bill which he (Mr. Peel) would never disclaim, though so much obloquy had been thrown upon it—he meant the bill for regulating the metallic standard, and restoring the currency, took effect. He had expressly desired that they should be made out that year, for he well remembered, that when that bill came into operation, prophecies without number were propounded, that the commercial transactions and concerns of this country were so complicated and so multiplied, that any attempt to carry such a measure into effect would tend to cramp and depress the energies of the country. He was ready to take his stand by what had occurred in our foreign trade; but he would fortify himself by proofs of an increase also in our home consumption. The returns which he had procured were from the Forth and Clyde canals, from the duke of Bridgewater's Canal, from the Grand Junction Canal, from the Kennet and Avon, and from the Berkeley and Gloucester Canals. In the year 1820, the amount of tons on the Forth and Clyde Canal was three thousand two hundred and ninety; in the year 1821, four thousand and twenty-eight; in 1822, four thousand four hundred and sixty; in 1823, four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four; in 1824, four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four; in 1825, five thousand eight hundred and four; in 1826, five thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight; in 1827, five thousand eight hundred and eighteen; and, in 1828 (the last year to which the accounts were made up,) five thousand nine hundred and seventy. Thus, in the year 1828, the amount of tons was five thousand nine hundred and seventy, while the average of the eight preceding years was four thousand eight hundred and forty-three, giving an increase in the year 1828 to the amount of one thousand tons upon this canal. Upon all the other canals a similar progressive increase had taken place in their business, from the year 1819 till the year 1828. On the duke of Bridgewater's canal, in the year ending the 1st of January, 1830, the average amount of tonnage was one thousand five hundred and eighty-six, while, in the year 1829, the average was one thousand one hundred and fourteen; so that it appeared that the average amount of tonnage on that canal for the last year exceeded that of the former year by nearly five hundred tons. It might here be said that though the tonnage had increased, the tonnage duties had not. Now he had expressly inquired as to the amount of duties received, and this was the result. Upon the Grand Junction Canal, the average amount of the tonnage duties received for the eight preceding years was 8,606*l*., last year the average had risen to 9,000*l*. On the Grand Trunk Canal, the average of the eight preceding years was 8,001*l*. last year it had risen to 14,049*l*. Upon the Kennet and Avon the average for the same period was 1,699*l*., last year it amounted to 2,190*l*. The average amount of tonnage duties upon the river Avon for the same period was 1,547*l*.; last year it had mounted to 1,706*l*. The average amount upon the Berkeley and Gloucester Canal for the seven years preceding 1828, was 1,069*l*. It had increased in 1828 to 2,235*l*.; and last year, to 2,360*l*. Here, on this canal, the average was more than doubled in the course of two years. These facts should induce the House to pause before it sanctioned the statement that universal irremediable distress prevailed throughout the country. These facts applied to England; but let the House recollect, that if any part of England, Scotland, or Ireland should be proved not to have been subject to the depression spoken of, the statement of the hon. baronet must fall to the ground. Now, with regard to Ireland, an hon. gentleman said, that great distress prevailed in the city of Dublin. He was ready to admit that distress did exist in the Liberties of that city, but as long as he had been acquainted with Ireland he never knew a period when the manufacturers in that irreclaimable part of Dublin were not in distress,—so much so, that scarcely a year passed without appeals being made on their behalf to the charity of the public. No doubt distress prevailed in Ireland, and God grant that some measure might be devised to remedy it; but was there any proof before the House, that the agricultural interests of Ireland were suffering under universal distress and depression? Could it be said that universal distress existed amongst the agriculturists of Scotland? He doubted that such was the fact, and before the House asserted it, he would call upon it to employ due precaution in forming its opinion. He would maintain that the Address, in answer to the Speech, gave a truer description of the state of the country than the amendment proposed by the hon. baronet. It was perfectly consistent, on the part of his majesty's ministers, while they felt sincere sympathy for the distress which did exist, to be extremely cautious as to the adoption of rash experiments with a view to its alleviation. [*hear*] The distress which did exist had originated in causes over which government had no control; and it should be borne in mind, that it was not exclusively confined to the dominions of his majesty. The agricultural interests had also experienced similar depression in America, and in other countries. In France, for instance, the distress had been in many places as severe as in any part of this country. In parts of the United States, the distress had been equally as great as with us. In Russia, at this moment, a proclamation had been issued for lowering the rate of interest, with a view to remedy the agricultural distress prevailing there; therefore the causes whatever they might be, which had operated to produce this distress were not confined to this country. Great weight was certainly due to the effects produced by unfavourable seasons. He believed that the expense incurred by the agricultural interest, both in cultivating the soil, and collecting the harvest, had never been so great as in the last two years, owing to the extreme wetness of the seasons. That was sufficient to account in some degree for the depression experienced by the agricultural interest; and, besides, he did not think that due weight had been assigned to the effect of the importations from Ireland. That was a cause beyond remedy or control. Ireland was fairly entitled to a free access to the markets of this country, and no man would be mad enough to propose to restrict the importations from that country. He held in his hand an account of the amount of importations from Ireland into the port of Liverpool during the last year. During that period there had been imported into Liverpool from Ireland, forty-nine thousand oxen, thirteen thousand calves, eighteen thousand pigs, one hundred and eleven thousand sheep, one thousand three hundred lambs; and the total value of agricultural produce thus imported amounted to 1,270,000*l.* exclusive of corn. [*hear*] It was impossible to deny that such immense importations from Ireland had the effect of depressing the agricultural interests of this country. The same argument applied to Scotland. The Crown, he therefore conceived, was quite justified in entreating the House to use extreme caution before it should attempt to remedy, by legislative interference, the distress that existed. The ministers had been taunted as if they were influenced by a species of false pride, as if they were so determined to adhere to declarations formerly made respecting the currency, as blindly to close their eyes to the real distresses of the country. It was said, that they were afraid to expose themselves to the charge of inconsistency, and this followed close upon the charge which had been made against them from the same quarter last session, when they were accused of departing from those principles to which they stood pledged, in bringing forward a measure which they had uniformly opposed. It was then said, that they were actuated by a corrupt desire to maintain themselves in office, and the charge now was, that they were so wilfully and perversely determined to adhere to the present currency system, that they would hear of no change in it whatever. Now he would say upon this occasion, as he did when assailed by a contrary charge last session, that he was ready to abandon his opinions respecting the currency, to which he was supposed to be so unalterably pledged, if he could bring himself to believe that his so doing would be productive of any real and permanent benefit to the interests of the country. [*hear*] It was no imputation on the part of a public man to recede from opinions which he had maintained, when he found others better adapted to the circumstances of the country. From his experience of public life, he was never more convinced of any thing than of the arrogance of binding one's-self to any set of opinions respecting matters of this nature. [*hear*] To him it appeared much better to act upon the principle avowed by the hon. baronet who had proposed the amendment, and to look at every measure solely in reference to its merits, uninfluenced by the ties of any party, or by any preconceived opinions on the subject. He was ready to adopt that principle; he should be always ready to abandon opinions when proved to be wrong: and, on the contrary he should always support those which he conceived to be right. As he said before, he could not see any change of opinions on the part of a public-man in receding from those which he had hitherto maintained when the interests of the country called upon him to do so. Now, with regard to the currency, after the best deliberation which his majesty's ministers could give to the subject, they were determined to adhere to the present system, being convinced that if any error had been committed in establishing that system, we should only be exposed to still greater evils than those we had suffered by again doing any thing to unsettle the currency of the country. [*hear*] His majesty's ministers were not indifferent to the distress in the country; they did not deny that distress existed, they were not wanting in sympathy on account of its existence, nor in a sincere desire for its alleviation; but at the same time they were determined to adhere to a cautious policy in dealing with it. He would warn the House to beware of making rash experiments. It was because his majesty's ministers believed that any rash experiment with the currency would, while it might possibly give some immediate benefit, only be productive of more permanent evils than those from which we had been relieved, that they had come to the determination of maintaining the present system, and exposing themselves to whatever obloquy might be attached to the course which they had resolved to pursue. [*hear, hear*]

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* It had probably escaped Mr. Peel's recollection, that upon one occasion, [Sess. 1812; see Hansard's Parl. Deb. vol xxi, p. 17, first series] sir Francis Burdett by immediately rising upon the Lords Commissioners Speech having been read, and first catching the eye of the Speaker, who therefore decided that the hon. baronet was in possession of the House, moved an Address which would otherwise have been proposed as an amendment, so that the ministerial intended Address was necessarily proposed as the Amendment, by Lord Jocelyn, and so carried.

Lord *Althorp* said, he admitted that the present administration had done more good for the country than any other government that had preceded it; but having stated that as his opinion, he, at the same time, claimed his right generally to exercise his judgment in reference to any measures which they might introduce, and to object to, or oppose, any thing emanating from them as he might think proper. He had come down to the House that evening to hear the Speech from the throne, and he could not conceal his surprise at hearing the assertion contained in it, that distress existed "in some parts of the United Kingdom." His impression was, that the distress existed throughout the country. He should feel great satisfaction in hearing that he was mistaken in that opinion; he should feel still greater if that statement of the Speech were proved to be correct. [*hear*] The hon. baronet's amendment stated, that the distress existed universally. His noble friend, who moved the Address, stated, in opposition to the Speech, that the distress was general; and the hon. gentleman who seconded it made a somewhat similar admission. Until the chancellor of the Exchequer rose, no contradiction was given to the statement as to the universality of the distress, and that right hon. gentleman said that it did not exist in Ireland. But the hon. member for Clare stated that there was distress in Dublin—that he knew distress existed in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster, and that he heard it had extended to Ulster. To that assertion no contradiction had been given by any hon. gentleman from Ireland. He had, therefore, waited anxiously to hear what the right hon. gentleman opposite had to say, as he hoped he would produce some facts to induce him (Lord Althorp) not to vote, as he was conscientiously determined to do, for the amendment. But no such facts had been stated by the right hon. gentleman; and under these circumstances he (lord Althorp) though unwilling to give a vote that might have the appearance of joining those who opposed his majesty's government for carrying a measure that he (lord Althorp) strongly approved of, [*cries of "no, no," from Sir Edward Knatchbull and others,*] he felt it his duty to vote for the amendment.

Mr. *W. Whitmore.*—Though he believed the distress to be general, and whatever reluctance he might have to adopt the statement in the address on that subject, yet as he was not prepared to go the length of those who proposed the amendment, he should vote against it.

Lord *Howick* said, he conceived that the statement in the Speech and the Address undervalued the distress which he was convinced extended generally throughout the country. The facts which the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel) had mentioned might be met by the statement, which he believed was the case, that many of the operations of our internal trade were carried on at a loss. But while he (lord Howick) regretted to see such a statement in the Speech, as he knew that the distress was general, he could not concur in the amendment proposed by the hon. baronet. He was anxious to wait to see what would be done or proposed by the government. He condemned the system of referring to a committee, consisting of twenty-three gentlemen of that House, the task of examining into every branch of our enormous establishments. It was in his opinion absurd, and likely to end as it had ended, in disappointment. The Address did not pledge hon. members.

Lord *F. Leveson Gower* said, he must contend that the terms of his majesty's Speech had not been treated fairly in the amendment proposed by the hon. baronet. In his opinion the terms of his majesty's Speech, as far as they had reference to Ireland, were even more logically true than the terms of the hon. baronet's amendment. He thought too that unjust advantage had been taken of the speech of his right hon. friend the chancellor of the Exchequer. His right hon. friend had not said that there was no distress in Ireland. He should like to see the man who would venture to say that there ever had been a period from the time of bishop Boulter, down to the present, in which no distress existed in Ireland. [*hear*] If he had understood his right hon. friend rightly, he had only spoken of the non-existence of distress among the agricultural classes in Ireland. It was likewise true that distress existed among the manufacturing population of the Liberties in Dublin—but when had it been otherwise since the days of lord Chesterfield? The noble member for Northamptonshire said that no gentleman from Ireland had risen to deny the statements as to distress in Ireland. He would not take upon himself to say that there was no distress in that country; but he would take upon himself to deny that it was universal. In reference to the complaint which had been made, that there was, in the royal Speech an omission of all opinion respecting the existing state of Ireland, he had only to say, that, in his opinion, there was in that royal silence more eloquence than if his majesty had entered into a lengthened discussion of the benefits which had been derived, far beyond all expectation, from the measure of last session. [*cheers*] To that measure the country owed this advantage, that if distress did exist in Ireland, it was distress without those moral evils and disquietudes which had too often previously attended it. [*hear*] Whatever might be the event of this motion, which was evidently made with the intention of unseating the government, in office or out of office it would always be to him a consolation to have lent his feeble aid to a measure which had been attended with such complete success. [*hear, hear*]

Mr. *W. Smith* said, it was his intention to support the original Address; though he was of opinion that the distress of the country was more general than any one would imagine from reading the words of the royal Speech which stated it to be confined to some parts of the United Kingdom. He opposed the amendment, because it found verbal fault with the Address, in order to displace an administration, for which the movers of the amendment wished to substitute another not near so advantageous to the country. [*hear, hear*] He could not separate this session from the last; and considering the unmeasured warmth and violence with which some gentlemen had then attacked the ministry, and the course which they were now again pursuing for the attainment of the same object, he could not help marvelling how it was, that they had not cooled themselves down a little during their residence in the country.

With respect to the distress in Ireland he had only one word to say. When the measure of Catholic relief, of which he had always been a sincere supporter, was under discussion, it was repeatedly asked "Will it be a panacea for all her evils?" He had never supposed that generations and ages of bad government, and all the evils which they had necessarily produced, could be cured by it instantly, or even in a single year. The advantage of that measure was, that with all the distress of England pressing upon us, we had not the disquiet and discontent of Ireland to contend with. [*hear*] It was his intention on the present occasion to support the ministry. If giving this vote in their favour prevented him from giving his vote in support of any one measure of reform or retrenchment, he would rather cut off his hand than give it; but hoping to vote for reduction to the utmost in the course of the present session, he still felt himself at liberty to vote in favour of ministers against a proposition which made a covert and not a direct attack upon their conduct.

Mr. *Mildmay* supported the Address, because he considered the amendment a mere quibble upon words. [*hear*] One of his reasons for supporting the Address was, that he could not consent to abandon a ministry which had done so much for Ireland; [*hear*] and one of his reasons for opposing the amendment was, that he should be sorry to give a vote in favour of that party which endeavoured to throw a clog around them when they were on their march to improvement. [*hear*] He was content with the admission of ministers that there was great distress in the country; for after making that admission, they would be guilty of a gross abandonment of their duty if they did not exert every means in their power to remove it.

Mr. *Duncombe* said, it was his intention to support the amendment, because it painted the distress of the country correctly, which the Address did not. The right hon. Secretary for the Home Department had called upon the House not to support the amendment, until it had further evidence of the distress which pervaded all classes. He was at a loss to conceive what evidence the right hon. gentleman would have, if he were not content with that which he had got already. He had the evidence of the noble lord who moved the Address, and of the hon. member for the city of London who seconded it—he had the evidence of two other members for the city of London— he had the evidence of his right hon. friend, the member for Liverpool—he had the evidence of the hon. and learned member for Clare—in short, he had the evidence of every man in the House, whose opinion on such a subject was worth having —and yet the right hon. gentleman, with all that evidence, hoped that the House would not adopt the amendment of his hon. friend the member for Kent, without receiving still more evidence. [*hear*] If the right hon. gentleman really required such evidence, he had it in the various meetings which had taken place in different parts of the country—in the addresses which had been sent up from various public bodies to the head of the government; and in the petitions which had been agreed to in every large town in the kingdom, and which would soon be presented to the consideration of the House. It appeared to him, that look into whatever quarter of the country a man might, he could not fail to find sufficient evidence of the severe distress which pervaded it from one end of it to another. [*hear*] Perhaps the eyes of the right hon. gentleman were now at length opened,—for he really was of opinion, that before that night the government was not impressed with any idea of the extent of the prevailing distress. He therefore thought, that as such was the case, it should lose no time in entering into an immediate investigation of the state of the country. With regard to the imputations which had been cast on his motives, and on the motives of those with whom he acted, he would merely observe, that he scorned them, and that he would on all occasions treat them with the contempt which they merited. [*hear*] He had no other motive in the course which he was then pursuing than to discharge his duty to the best of his poor ability to his distressed and afflicted countrymen. In conclusion, he must express a hope that a system of the most rigorous economy would be adopted by ministers, and that, instead of merely reducing the salaries of subordinate clerks, they would begin with the reduction of their own incomes.

Mr. *Rice* said, if he could bring himself to believe that upon the issue of this debate the continuance of the present ministers in office was to depend, so grateful was he to them for the great benefit which they had conferred upon Ireland by acceding to the measure of last session, that he would gladly give them all the assistance within his feeble power. But that was not the issue which the House had to try. The House had simply to decide whether the distress of the country was confined to some particular parts of it, or whether it was general throughout the country. If there were any doubt upon the point,—and he was afraid that there was not,—he should support the latter opinion, because it would at any rate show the people that their representatives were inclined to look upon their sufferings with an eye of sympathy. Under his present impressions he was inclined to support the amendment: but if any country members would get up and state to the House that their constituents were not distressed, he would immediately give his vote in favour of the original Address. He did not look upon this question as one which involved a mere quibble about words—he considered it as a question of far deeper importance. His hon. friend had intimated that he could not agree to this amendment, because it came from, and was supported by, a party with whom he was not in the habit of acting. With all deference to his hon. friend, that was a principle upon which he, as a public man, could never consent to act. Upon political subjects he generally differed from the hon. baronet who had moved the amendment, but he should indeed be ashamed of himself if that general difference of opinion should lead him to dissent from any useful and salutary proposition which the hon. baronet might bring forward. He should regret that his vote on this occasion was mistaken; he gave it to the influence of truth, in his comparative examination of two propositions which were before him. He believed, indeed, that the distress, although pressing hard upon parts of Ireland, was less there than it was found, generally speaking, in England. Enough was, however, apparent in the state of both countries to call for sympathy, and he felt himself, therefore, under the necessity of voting for that declaratory resolution which was more expressive of the degree of distress he believed to exist in the community.

Lord *Tullamore* said, he was satisfied, from personal observation and documentary evidence, that the representations regarding distress were exaggerated; he alluded particularly to the districts round Liverpool and Manchester; and he referred to an accurate table with which he had been furnished, shewing that between 1825 and 1828, both inclusive, the manufacture of cotton goods had increased from fifty-seven millions of yards to ninety-eight millions of yards. The increase had been in the following ratio:—

1825 . . .	57,000,000 of yards
1826 . . .	70,000,000
1827 . . .	96,000,000
1828 . . .	98,000,000

He believed that several other branches of manufacture were also in a much more flourishing condition than had been represented.

Mr. *R. Palmer* said, his knowledge of the existence of very general distress compelled him with great regret to vote for the amendment.

Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald.*—If the support of the Address could imply that any inquiry into the existing state of distress were denied, or even not likely to be inquired into, by the government or that House, he would evince a readiness to entertain the Amendment; but when he thought the contrary was the fact, he could not bring himself to the same conclusion as his hon. friends near him. Respecting the omission of Ireland in the Address, he wished to give a hint to the hon. member for Clare, an old debater in public life elsewhere, though young in that House; and it was to caution him against affording his prompt assistance to the hon. members for whom he had this night tendered his vote. There was certainly great distress in Ireland, but nothing equal to the extent in which it pervaded England. Let his hon. friend therefore take care how he gave his support to men, under the notion that he was serving Ireland, who might hereafter turn round and object to the importation of Irish produce, which ought to have as free an admission into the English market as that of Scotland, or of the counties of England, and propose their measures of poor-laws, or others of a similar nature, for the sister kingdom.

Colonel *Wood* said, he should vote in favour of the Address, which had described the prevailing distress, but had not encouraged exaggerated estimates of it, while it left every thing open for fair and distinct consideration. He entreated the House to consider what the impression would be of sending forth to the public an amendment of the kind proposed, the supporters of which did not agree in any single view of what was necessary for the ultimate attainment of their own object.

Mr. *Brougham.*—I only rise to state in a few words my reasons for voting for the Amendment, and thereby to guard myself against misconstruction. I feel great regret, and I say it most unfeignedly, at the course I am obliged to take; and I may say with the hon. member for Northamptonshire (lord Althorp), that I never came into the House with less expectation of being driven to vote for an Amendment than this night. If I could persuade myself that the difference between the Address and the Amendment was only a matter of words and form, and not of important sense and substance, in the present state of the country I should unhesitatingly have supported the Address. I deplore extremely the expressions which ministers have thought fit to introduce into the king's Speech. Whether they were or were not aware of it at the time it was framed I know not; but I can only ask myself this question — In what sense will these words be taken by the suffering, the deeply suffering, people of this empire! [*hear*] Is it possible that they can put more than one meaning upon them; and what is that meaning? That the distress is admitted by the government to a certain degree; but that, after all, it amounts to very little; for the king is made to say only that he regrets the distress prevailing among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the country. In plain common sense, this is the meaning of those words; there may be distress, but there is not much of it. I, for one, cannot bring myself to sanction such a statement by my vote; and when, by a debate in this House, the question has arisen and it is put to me, "will you vote for that which is a misrepresentation, or will you support that which comes much nearer the truth," I cannot hesitate, though my vote is wrung from me most reluctantly. The intention with which this Amendment has been brought forward, has been distinctly disavowed by the hon. baronet, the member for Kent; but whatever might be his intention, or the intention of those who have supported him, even if I thought that its tendency was to displace the present government, I protest that at all events I would vote against it. [*hear, hear*] I should vote against the Amendment equally if I could believe that it tended in the slightest degree to pledge me to a single step towards that line of policy which it is understood many of those who favour the Amendment are inclined to pursue. I mean as to rescinding our decisions on questions of commercial policy, and, above all, tampering with the currency. If I could dream that the vote I am about, so painfully to myself, to give, which is literally extorted from me, would have the slightest tendency to pledge me to either of those courses, bad as the alternative would be, I would prefer voting for the Address. I shall detain the House no longer than once more to state, that I never in my life gave a vote with greater regret than on the present occasion.

Question put, "That those words (sir E. Knatchbull's Amendment) be inserted." The House divided: the numbers were, Ayes 105; Noes 158: Majority against the Amendment 53.

List of the Minority.

Althorp, viscount
Attwood, W.
Blandford, marquis of
Beaumont, T. W.
Baring, sir T.
Brownlow, C.
Bastard, E. P.
Burdett, sir F.
Bankes, H.
Bankes, W.
Bernal, R.
Bright, H.
Bentinck, lord G.
Brougham, H.
Baring, F.
Cripps, J.
Calvert, N.
Calvert, C.
Cavendish, W.
Clinton, F.
Canning, rt. hn. sir S.
Carter, J. Bonham
Dawkins, H.
Duncombe, hon. W.
Duncombe, T.
Davenport, E.
Dick, Q.
Denison, J. E.
Encombe, viscount
Fergusson, R. C.
Fazakerley, J. N.
Fyler, T. B.
Fane, J.
Grant, rt. hon. C.
Grant, R.
Gascoyne, R. general
Gordon, K.
Guest, J. J.
Graham, sir J. G. C.
Howard, H.
Harvey, D. W.
Heathcote, sir W.
Huskisson, rt. hon. W.
Inglis, sir R. H.
Knatchbull, sir E.
Kemp, T. R.
King, hon. gen.
Lamb, hon. G.
Lushington, Dr.
Labouchere, H.
Lester, B.
Langston, J. H.
Marjoribanks, S.
Macdonald, sir J.
Morpeth, viscount
Mundy, F.
Mackintosh, rt. hn. sir J.
Marshall, J.
Maberly, J.
Normanby, viscount
Norton, G.
Osborne, lord F. W.
O'Connell, D.
Ord, W.
Palmer, R.
Pallmer, C. N.
Palmer, F.
Palmerston, viscount
Phillimore, Dr.
Peachy, general
Protheroe, E.
Russell, lord J.
Rice, S.
Robarts, A. W.
Rickford, W.
Robinson, G.
Sefton, earl of
Scott, hon. W.

Smith, S.
Smith, A.
Smith, hon. R.
Stanley, hon. E. G.
Seabright, sir J.
Sadler, M. T.
Trant, W. H.
Thomson, C. P.
Trevor, hon. R.
Tynte, C. K. K.
Tennyson, C.
Uxbridge, earl of
Vivian, sir R. R.
Wodehouse, E.
Warrender, sir G.
Wall, C. B.
Wyvill, M.
Wood, ald.
Wood, C.
Wetherell, sir C.
Wells, J.
Westenra, hon. R.
Whitbread, W. H.
Western, C. C.
Wilson, sir R. T.
Waithman, ald.

The main question was then put and agreed to, and the following Committee appointed "to draw up an Address to be presented to his Majesty upon the said Resolution:"—The Earl of Darlington, Mr. Ward, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Peel, Mr. Courtenay, Lord Leveson Gower, Sir George Clerk, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Planta, Sir Alexander Grant, or any five of them.

The ADDRESS *upon the Lords Commissioners Speech.*] The following is an official copy of the Address referred to in page 7.

Die Jovis, 4° Februarii 1830.

Most Gracious Sovereign;

WE, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to approach Your Majesty, to return to Your Majesty our most humble Thanks for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has directed the Lords Commissioners to deliver to both Houses of Parliament.

WE beg leave to express to Your Majesty our grateful Acknowledgment of the Communication, that Your Majesty has received from all Foreign Powers the strongest Assurances of their Desire to maintain and cultivate the most friendly Relations with this Country.

WE assure Your Majesty that we participate in the Satisfaction with which Your Majesty has seen that the War between Russia and the Ottoman Porte has been brought to a Conclusion.

WE offer our humble Thanks to Your Majesty for Your unremitted Efforts to accomplish the main Objects of the Treaty of the 6th of July 1827.

WE humbly assure Your Majesty of the sincere Satisfaction with which we have learned that Your Majesty, having recently concerted with Your Allies Measures for the Pacification and final Settlement of Greece, trust that You shall be enabled, at an early Period, to communicate to Your Parliament the particulars of this Arrangement, with such Information as may explain the Course which Your Majesty has pursued thoughout the Progress of these important Transactions.

WE cannot but express our Concern that Your Majesty is unable to announce the Prospect of a Reconciliation between the Princes of the House of Braganza.

WE thank Your Majesty for the Communication, that You have not yet deemed it expedient to re-establish, upon their ancient Footing, Your Majesty's Diplomatic Relations with the Kingdom of Portugal; and to express our grateful Sense of the Assurance, that the numerous Embarrassments arising from the continued Interruption of those Relations increase Your Majesty's Desire to effect the termination of so serious an Evil.

WE offer to Your Majesty our humble Thanks for having acquainted us, that Your Majesty's Attention has been of late earnestly directed to the various important Considerations connected with Improvements in the general Administration of the Law; and for the Directions which Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to give, that measures shall be submitted to the Deliberation of Parliament, of which some are calculated, in the Opinion of Your Majesty, to facilitate and expedite the Course of Justice in different Parts of the United Kingdom, and others appear to be necessary Preliminaries to a Revision of the Practice and Proceedings of the Superior Courts.

WE assure Your Majesty that we are impressed with a due Sense of the Confidence Your Majesty justly reposes in us, that we will give our best Attention and Assistance to Subjects of such deep and lasting Concern to the Well-being of Your Majesty's People.

We desire to express the Satisfaction with which we have received the Information which Your Majesty has commanded to be given to us, that the Export in the last Year of British Produce and Manufactures has exceeded that of any former Year; and to assure Your Majesty that we deeply lament that, notwithstanding this Indication of active Commerce, Distress should prevail among the Agricultural and Manufacturing Classes of some Parts of the United Kingdom.

We assure Your Majesty of our sincere Belief that it would be highly gratifying to the paternal Feelings of Your Majesty to be enabled to propose for the Consideration of Parliament, Measures calculated to remove the Difficulties of any portion of Your Subjects, and at the same time compatible with the general and permanent Interests of Your People.

We beg leave to offer to Your Majesty our humble Thanks for the deep Solicitude Your Majesty feels for those Interests, and to express our Conviction of the Necessity with which Your Majesty is impressed of acting with extreme Caution in reference to this important Subject.

We assure Your Majesty that we shall concur with Your Majesty in assigning its due Weight to the Effect of unfavourable Seasons, and the Operation of other Causes which are beyond the Reach of Legislative Control or Remedy.

We offer the Assurance of our Gratitude for the Conviction Your Majesty is graciously pleased to express, that no Pressure of temporary Difficulty will induce this House to relax the Determination it has constantly manifested to maintain Public Credit inviolate, and thus to uphold the high Character and the permanent Welfare of the Country.

On Monday following was presented His Majesty's most gracious Answer :—

My Lords; I thank you for your loyal and dutiful Address.—I rely with just Confidence on your zealous Co-operation in all Measures calculated to improve the Condition of My Subjects, and to maintain the Honour and high Character of the Country.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, February 5.

Minutes.] James Barlow Hay, Esq. took the Oaths and his Seat for Southampton.—Mr. D. W. Harvey gave notice, that on the 25th February he should move for a Committee on the Crown Revenues, and the means of rendering them most available to the exigencies of the country.—The Solicitor General moved for a return of the several persons who were "confined for contempt under process issuing out of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer," on the 7th March 1827 (the date of the last return made by order of this House); and also, of those who have been committed since that period; stating what persons have died, or been discharged from their contempts, since the said 7th March 1827, and how many now remain in custody for contempt—ordered.

East India Charter and Judicature—Lord Ellenborough's Letter.] Mr. S. Rice presented a petition from Mr. V. Hunt, Mayor of Limerick, and Chairman of a meeting of the Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of the City of Limerick, against a renewal of the East India Charter.—Having stated the object of the petition, he said he would take that opportunity to put a question to his hon. and learned friend opposite (Mr. G. Bankes), who had, at least till a late period, been connected with the administration of the affairs of India. The subject to which he was about to allude was of such an important nature, that it was highly necessary that the public and parliament should know what answer his learned friend would give—if he were to give any answer—to the question which he was about to propose, relative to a matter that was certainly deserving of explanation. A letter had recently appeared in the public prints of this country,*

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* The following is the Letter alluded to, as it appeared in The Times London journal:

"India Board, Feb. 21.

"Sir,—I had not intended to write to you until I could communicate to you the opinion of the law-officers of the Crown upon the difference which appears to have taken place between you and the Supreme Court of Bombay; but the Chairs have just informed me which was stated to have been received by an official individual in India, from the noble President of the Board of Control, and which letter contained statements of the utmost importance respecting the administration of justice in India, and the intentions of his majesty's government with regard to the renewal of the East

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that they wrote to you by a vessel which sails to-day, and I am unwilling that you should not receive a letter from me at the same time.

"I believe there is but one opinion in this country as to the conduct of the Supreme Court. Their law is considered bad law; but then errors in matters of law are nothing in comparison with those they have committed in the tenour of their speeches from the bench. Had sir C. Chambers lived, I think he must have been displaced. Sir J. Grant seems to have confined himself more strictly to a legal argument. He may have been led by his erring chief: still there is much to censure in his conduct, and although I think it will probably not be considered necessary to recall him, his case is by no means decided upon. I am to have some conversation upon it with the Chancellor in a few days. We are so much occupied with our Roman Catholic Relief-bill at present, that we have little time for other matters, however important: to this circumstance must be attributed the delay which has occurred on the part of the law-officers. There was none in sending the case to them. In the mean time the King has, on my recommendation, made your Advocate-general, Mr. Dewar, Chief Justice. I advised this appointment because that gentleman appears to have shown ability and discretion during the late conflict with the Supreme Court, and because he appears to take a right view of the law, and to be on terms of confidence with you.

"I thought the putting him over sir J. Grant's head would do more to notify public opinion than any other measure I could at once adopt; and you have him in action two months sooner than you could have any other sent from here. I hope this arrangement will be satisfactory to you.

"The Puisne Judge appointed in the room of sir C. Chambers, is Mr. William Seymour, of the Chancery bar. The Lord Chancellor has a very good opinion of him, and generally, I think, he appeared to have higher claims than any other candidate. He is a gentleman in his manners, and a man of cultivated mind. He seems to have right notions of his duty, and of the law which has been so strangely misinterpreted. He will rather support Government than use the authority of the Supreme Court as a means of raising opposition. At least, if he is not all this, I have been deceived in him. He will embark in less than two months. He will probably be knighted before he sails; and as it will not be right that the Chief Justice alone should not be knighted, we must consider in what manner that can be best effected. I believe it may be done by patent; but my present idea is to empower you, as Governor, to confer the honour of knighthood on Mr. Dewar. This will evidently place the Governor above the Court. It will mark you out as the King's representative: you may make the ceremony as imposing as you please. I have written to the Heralds'-office to know if the thing could be done according to precedents.

"It is as yet undecided, the law-officers not having as yet given their opinion as to the law, whether a declaratory act will be required. Perhaps the opinions of the law-officers, and those which I may obtain of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice, may be sufficient to induce sir J. Grant to revise his notions of law. At any rate, no more mischief can happen, as he will be like a wild elephant led away between two tame ones.

"As we may not impossibly renew the Charter next year, we may take that opportunity of rectifying the expressions of the act of Parliament, should they require it. Many persons think it would be inexpedient to open a discussion on Indian matters this year, if it could be avoided. But, as I tell you, no decision is yet come to.

"You will see that there is no intention of deserting you. You have acted with much firmness and prudence. I entirely agree in the view you have expressed of the dangerous consequences which would result from the extension beyond the limits of the Precedency of the powers claimed by the Supreme Court. Orders have been given for expediting the patent of the Chief Judge.

"It is with deep regret that I have heard that the Company and the country are so soon to lose your services in India. I could not ask you to stay one hour to the danger of your valuable life: but I am confident you will stay till you have re-established the authority of Government in the opinion of the natives. I trust, indeed, that the unbending firmness you have displayed will have prevented much of the evil which might have been expected to flow from the conduct of the judges.

"I feel satisfied that you will act with the same firmness under all circumstances, and at the same time with moderation and discretion. You may thus depend upon the support of the Board of Control, which I have the honour of presiding over. I have, &c.

(Signed) "ELLENBOROUGH.

"Sir J. Malcolm, G.C.B.

"I am going to send you a very excellent new Bishop, whenever Dr. James resigns—Mr. J. M. Turner. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and indeed all the Bishops I have seen, are quite satisfied that Mr. Turner is as fit a man as could have been selected. He will be mild and firm. He is a very good and pious man, without worldly notions, and really devoted to his high calling.

"E."

India Company's charter. He would not more particularly advert to the letter, but he had said enough, he conceived, to indicate to the hon. gentleman the letter to which he alluded. Now, the question which he wished to put was, whether or not that letter was genuine, and if it were genuine, whether there would be any difficulty in laying a copy of it before Parliament?

Mr. *G. Bankes* said, he felt no hesitation whatever in communicating all the information which it was in his power to give respecting the letter to which the hon. member for Limerick had directed attention. He begged to be allowed to say, that, owing to the circumstance of a melancholy occurrence in the family of the noble Lord (Ellenborough) alluded to, [the recent death of his lordship's son at Worthing,] he (Mr. Bankes) had not had an opportunity, these many days, of seeing him; but he understood from the noble Lord that the letter in question was written in the shape of a strictly private and confidential communication from him to the individual to whom it was addressed, and that it was never intended to meet the public eye. He could state, that while acting as Secretary to the India Board, he had never seen a copy of this letter, and he believed that it was not in the power of the noble lord himself to say whether or not the letter which had been published in the papers was a correct copy of the private letter he had written to sir John Malcolm. The fact was, that the noble lord had kept no copy of that letter, as it was a strictly private and confidential one, and one which was never intended to meet the public eye. Sir John Malcolm had since expressed his deepest regret that it should have come before the public, and had stated, that a deliberate and shameful breach of confidence was the only means by which such a document could have been brought before the public. He had already mentioned that his noble friend was not able to state whether or not it was a completely correct copy of his letter that had appeared in the papers of this country, as he had kept no copy whatever of that letter, it being intended as a mere private and confidential communication. He was ready to afford any other information he possessed, if the hon. member should wish to put any further questions on this subject.

Mr. *Brougham* thought the appearance of such a letter, taking it to be genuine, was forcibly calculated to give rise to doubts as to the capacity of the writer of such a letter for the situation of important trust which he at present filled. [*hear, hear*] He could not avoid entering his protest against the jurisdiction which appeared to be assumed by the writer of that letter over the independence of the judicial order in India. He should not enter further at present into this discussion, but would simply content himself with expressing his regret at reading such a document, and his surprise that a noble lord at the head of such an important department connected with India could have permitted himself to indulge in the expression of such opinions regarding the judicial office in that country.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor*.—If the letter were genuine, it was indeed a most extraordinary document, and he had read it with regret.

Mr. *Bankes* said, he could only reiterate the statement he had already made as to the noble lord having no copy of the original letter in his possession, and his consequent inability to state whether or not the copy published in the papers was correct. It was transmitted as a private confidential communication, and it could only have been through a base violation of confidence that it was ever made public.

Mr. *Trant* said, he could not but strongly condemn the practice of making documents of such a description public. It was calculated altogether to put an end to confidential correspondence between individuals in this country and their friends in India. He would give no opinion as to the letter itself, but he would enter his protest against founding any public proceeding upon a private letter written in confidence from one gentleman to another, and the publication of which could have occurred only through a gross violation of confidence.

Mr. *S. Rice* said, he knew nothing of the manner in which this letter had been made public, but seeing it in the public prints, he took the liberty of putting the question to his hon. friend, and he did not think he could have asked him a kinder question, as it afforded him the opportunity for the explanation he had given, and which would have been more satisfactory if he could have denied altogether the genuineness of the letter. Let the disgrace of publishing the letter attach to the individual by whom it had been made public; but the letter was now before the public, and it could only be treated as a public document. [*hear*] It was said to be a private letter, but what kind of a private letter was it, that a minister, filling an important office in this country, thus sends to a civil and military governor in India, in which he advises him as to the mode of dealing with judges, refers to other matters connected with his government, and speaks of the renewal of the company's charter? [*hear*] Was such a communication to be viewed in the light of a private letter between one gentleman and another?

Mr. *Hume* said, if the doctrine of the hon. Secretary to the India Board were to be adopted, we should remain in total ignorance of the administration of affairs there, for a large portion of the business between this country and India was uniformly transacted in the way of private communications either from the heads of the Board of Control, or the directors of the East-India company, explaining the way in which the official individuals were to act. He had received a copy of this letter from Calcutta. He believed it had been published in every newspaper in Bombay, and thus an opportunity was given to sir John Malcolm to triumph over the King's Court there, which no longer could be considered as affording that protection to the natives for which it had been established. Mr. Dewar, it appeared, was considered fit to fill the office of judge there because he would truckle to the government. Thus the confidence of the natives was destroyed, and the letter of the noble lord had spread dismay throughout the whole of Bombay. The subserviency of two of the judges, it seems, could now be reckoned upon; and then, if sir J. Grant should be refractory, why, according to the noble lord, no mischief would accrue, for he "would be like a wild elephant, led away between two tame ones" [*loud laughter*]. He trusted, that his learned friend below him (Mr. Brougham) would bring this subject under the consideration of parliament. [*hear*]

Mr. *G. Bankes* explained.—He had laid down no doctrine but that to which every man of right feeling would assent; namely, that private and confidential letters should not be violated. The hon. member (Mr. Hume) had stated, that a copy of the letter had been forwarded to him from Calcutta. The letter he (Mr. Bankes) believed had appeared first in the *Calcutta Journal*, and it differed materially from the copy which had been published in the London papers, while the noble lord, not having a copy in his possession, was unable to say which of these was the more accurate.

Lord *Ashley* would contend that the letter was a private communication, and that even supposing the copy published was a genuine one, it was rather hard that an individual should be judged according to what he had written in a hurry and in private confidence to another. He knew that no man was more anxious than the noble lord in question to see a complete independence preserved to the court in Bombay, and he should not, therefore, be judged by a momentary effusion in a private letter.

Mr. *Brougham* said, whether the letter was private and confidential or not, it had all the forms of an official despatch, although the substance of it was certainly contrary to all the official despatches he had ever seen. [*hear, and a laugh*] When they looked at its contents, could they regard it as a mere private and confidential letter? Here was the minister for India affairs describing to the governor of Bombay the way for insuring the strict dependence of the judges upon him. A subserviency to the views of the governor, it seemed, was to be taken as the rule of selection of judges for the court there; and that was stated in a letter, described as private and confidential, from the President of the India Board to sir John Malcolm. He disapproved of the publication of that letter as much as any one could; and he by no means meant to attribute the publication of it to sir John Malcolm; but he had a suspicion that the publication was not the act of an enemy to sir John Malcolm, but rather that of a friend. He had a suspicion that its publication might have been brought about in this way—sir J. Grant might have said, 'depend upon it, the government in England always stand by the independence of the judges, and your case is a bad one.' 'No,' replies the governor, 'you are wrong, and I'll show you that it is not.' It was probable that in this way sir J. Malcolm might have shown the letter to a friend, and it might in that manner have got before the public. But whatever blame attached to the individual who committed the breach of confidence, that did not at all alter the case, or excuse the noble lord for having written such a letter.

Mr. *Peel.*—Different versions had been circulated in India of this letter, which he understood were very different from the one published in this country. He had asked his noble friend respecting it when the letter was published here. The noble lord acknowledged that he had written a letter of that description, but he could not say whether that was a correct copy of it, and it was moreover a letter written hastily, and inadvertently. He did not mean to say, that a public officer had a right to write letters to public functionaries upon public subjects, and afterwards to screen himself from animadversion on the plea that his letters were private [*hear*]. In such a case, a public officer might produce copies of despatches which he had transmitted to a colonial functionary, while at the same time he had given in private letters very different instructions to the same individual. But the case was different where a public officer, as in this instance, writes a private letter hastily and inadvertently; and the expression which occurred in this letter as to the wild and tame elephants was sufficient to show that there existed no deliberate intention on the part of the writer to interfere with the independence of the judges. In this case, no doubt, his noble friend had written a hasty letter, and no such inference should be drawn from such a letter, as that any intention existed on the part of the government to control the independence of the judges in India. [*hear*] If such a construction should be put on his noble friend's letter, no man would regret it more than his noble friend. He was not prepared to admit that the copy published of this letter was a correct one, as there was no means of ascertaining that at present; but he would only submit, that the whole tenor of his noble friend's official conduct should free him from the charge of seeking to lessen the independence of the judicial bench in India. The expression as to the wild and tame elephants was but a hasty and inconsiderate joke hazarded in a private letter, and it should not be set against the public tenor of his noble friend's life.

Lord *J. Russell* said, no satisfactory explanation of this matter had been given, and that the House should consider whether the individual who could write such a letter was fitted to fill the office which he occupied. He thought that the defence was a bad one; on such a subject inconsiderate and joking letters ought not to be written: whatever the noble lord had done, this letter was a strong item against such public service.

Mr. *Brougham* inquired whether the case of sir J. Grant, to which allusion was made in the letter, was yet decided?

Mr. *Bankes* was not sure whether sir J. Grant's case was as yet decided upon.

Sir *J. Mackintosh* said, he condemned in the strongest terms the sentiments contained in the letter to which the attention of the House had been directed. He could not look upon a letter from the President of the India Board to a governor in India, treating on public subjects, as a private letter. In writing this letter, the noble lord seemed to forget what was due to his situation. The secret opinions of those who administered the affairs of India were, when made known to the public, of the greatest importance to it, because they displayed the real opinions of those who governed the public both in England and in India. He would say that, if the noble lord should now come forward, and, in a manner which could not be mistaken, and which could not be concealed, disavow the sentiments of that letter, supposing it to be genuine, such a disavowal, so made and so published, would be, in his eyes, a great reparation of the original fault which he had committed. If he could understand that any thing of that kind was in contemplation, he should be glad to receive it; but it was treating a matter of first rate importance with far too much levity, to say merely, that the noble lord had forgotten what he might have said respecting it. Was the character of a judge such a trifle in any man's eyes, that he could easily forget what he had said respecting the mode of that judge's performing his high and important functions?—Was the administration of justice to be treated with such scornful negligence—was it, in short, to be matter of such utter indifference to the noble lord, that he could write about it with such inconsiderate haste, as not to be able, at the end of nine months, to recollect even the substance of what he had then written? Those stale jests which the letter contained, about employing a tame elephant as a decoy for the wild ones, were not likely to be forgotten soon by the reader, and were in all probability engraven deeply in the memory of the writer. It was extraordinary that any public functionary should have written such a letter; but it was still more extraordinary that any public functionary should say that he could not recollect whether he had written that letter or not. In point of fact, it did appear to him, that the noble lord, in saying that he had forgotten what he had written, had been guilty of an aggravation of his original offence. The tendency of the letter was most dangerous. It had struck a most important blow at the independence of British Judges in India.

Sir *R. H. Inglis.*—As it appeared from the public newspapers that a terrible domestic calamity had been inflicted upon the noble lord within the last few days, some indulgence ought to be extended to him, if in the confusion of the moment he had stated that he did not recollect what he had written in a letter which he had sent to India nine months before, and of which he had kept no copy. He did not intend to enter at that moment into a consideration of the letter itself. If the document, consistently with the forms of parliament, could be laid upon the table of the House, he should be anxious to say a word or two upon it, when it came before them in a regular form. At present he would submit to his hon. and learned friend, whether the noble lord was not entitled to some indulgence for the reasons which he had just stated.

Mr. *G. Bankes* said, as so much allusion had been made to the forgetfulness of the noble lord, he would only say that the friends of that noble lord would have ill-served him if they had rested his defence entirely upon that ground. His forgetfulness was intended to apply only to particular expressions in the letter; and really those expressions appeared to him to have been very much misinterpreted by the newspapers.

Mr. *Rice* said, his reason for bringing this matter forward at this early period was, that the letter stated the intentions of government with regard to the East-India Company's charter. He had therefore thought it right to ascertain whether the statements of the letter were true or not.

Petition ordered to be printed.

WEST INDIES AND THE UNITED STATES.] Mr. *Robinson.*—As I have a question to put to the right hon. Secretary of the Home Department of great importance, I trust that he will give me such a reply as will remove the uneasiness which exists in England, in Canada, and elsewhere upon the subject. The question is, whether any negotiations are now pending between the government of England and that of the United States, for the purpose of renewing the direct intercourse between the United States and our colonies in the West Indies.

Mr. *Peel.*—My answer is, that a communication upon that subject has been received by his majesty's government from the minister of the United States, and that that communication is still under consideration.

MALT DUTIES.] Lord *F. Osborne* gave notice that on the 1st May, or as early as possible after the recess, he should move for a committee of the whole House, on the Beer and Malt Duties; at the same time he should be glad if some proceeding of the government rendered his motion unnecessary.

COMMONS GALLERY—ADMISSION OF STRANGERS.] Mr. *Planta* moved the usual sessional orders and resolutions.

On that relative to "Strangers," which is in the following words—"That the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do, from time to time, take into his custody any Stranger or Strangers that he shall see, or be informed of to be, in the House or Gallery, while the House, or any Committee of the whole House, is sitting; and that no person, so taken into custody, be discharged out of custody without the special order of the House,"

Mr. *Hume* said, he wished to call the attention of the House to this particular order. It was an order of very old standing; indeed it was so ancient, that it was disregarded in practice; and he therefore put it to the House whether they had not now arrived at the time when they could avowedly admit the public to hear what passed within their walls, a privilege which it substantially possessed already, although liable to certain penalties for exercising it. It was well known that, if any member wished the gallery to be cleared, he had only to intimate that "Strangers" were present, and the gallery must be cleared without any debate. Last year, as a gallant friend of his (colonel Davis), whom he had not the pleasure to see in his place, was making a statement relative to the conduct of Mr. Nash, and the expenditure incurred in the erection of Buckingham Palace, to the manner in which the public money had been squandered upon it, and to the degree in which a public board, appointed to control the expense, had neglected its duty, an hon. member rose, and, in order to prevent the truth from getting before the public, had the gallery cleared. Now, so long as this was one of their standing orders, no one could object to such a proceeding. He considered it, however, as a great hardship—he considered it as shutting the door upon all the beneficial results which arose from publicity. Indeed, when he saw what passed in that House, he saw enough to convince him that if their debates did not go before the country, it would be much better that the country should have no House of Commons; indeed that had long been his opinion. He therefore submitted to the House, that it should allow, for one year, the suspension of this order, and see whether any evil was likely to arise from it. It would be open to the House on any occasion when the question was raised 'that the gallery be cleared,' to determine, from the character of the proposition under discussion, how far it was fitting that the debate should be concealed from the public. Thus they would at any time be able to prevent improper disclosures from being made, whilst, by opening their doors widely to the public, they would show that they were not averse to have their conduct known and examined. He was sorry to say, that even if that were done, the accommodation for the public would remain so inconvenient, that he should much wish to see it corrected. He therefore suggested the propriety of not pressing this order at present, but of suspending it for this session. He thought that no regulation ought to be made by the House which it was not intended to carry into effect; and that when any regulation which was never carried into effect was regularly brought under their consideration, it ought to be repealed.

Mr. *Peel;* by no means acquiesced in the proposition which had just been made by the hon. member for Aberdeen. The proposal to abandon so important a privilege as the present, was one of those matters on which the House ought not to decide instantly and without due notice. The speech of the hon. member for Aberdeen proved that there was no necessity for the alteration which he recommended, for the hon. member admitted that the order was a dead letter. No practical inconvenience resulted from its standing on their order-book; for the good sense of hon. members was a sufficient security that it would not be enforced without due cause [*hear*]. With all the pains which he had taken, the hon. member for Aberdeen had only been able to remember one instance in which this order had been acted upon. Every body knew that full and regular publicity was given to the debates which took place in that House. What might be the consequences of the right of unlimitted publicity, he would not venture to predict [*hear*]: but he doubted whether the present uninterrupted decorum of their proceedings could be maintained concurrently with unlimited publicity.

Mr. *Hume.*—"Perhaps the House will let this order stand over for a few days, in order to enable me to give the notice which the right hon. gentleman seems to think necessary. I should hope that the further consideration of this order may be postponed for a week." [*Cries of* "*no no*"]

Mr. *Peel* could not consent to that proposal, because it would seem to call in question the propriety of the existing order. The passing of that order now would not prevent the hon. member for Aberdeen from calling the attention of the House to it on a future occasion. He hoped, however, that the House would pause before it parted with the power of clearing the gallery. [*hear*]

Mr. *Hume* said, he would not press his objection to the resolution at present, but would take another opportunity of bringing it under consideration.—The order was then agreed to.

UNREPRESENTED TOWNS.] Lord *John Russell* gave notice that on the 23rd he should move for leave to bring in a bill to enable or allow Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, to send Members to Parliament. [*cheers*]

CORK CITY ELECTION.] Mr Speaker acquainted the House, that he had received from the Deputy to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland a petition of Daniel Meagher, and others, electors of the city of Cork, complaining of an undue election and return for the said city.—A petition was then presented from Daniel Meagher, and others, electors of the city of Cork, complaining of that election:—Ordered to be taken into consideration upon Thursday the 25th day of this instant February, at three of the clock in the afternoon; and Mr. Speaker to issue his warrants for persons papers and records.—The petition set forth, "That, at the last election of a Citizen to serve in Parliament for the city of Cork, in the room of sir Nicholas Conway Colthurst, baronet, deceased, Gerard Callaghan, of the city of Cork, merchant, and sir Augustus Warren, of Warren's Court, in the county of Cork, baronet, were candidates, being duly put in nomination; that, before and at the time of the test of the writ directed to Samuel Perry, junior, and James John Cummins, esquires, sheriffs of the said city, to return a citizen to serve in parliament for the said city, and during the execution of the said writ, and at the time of the return hereinafter mentioned being made on the same, the said Gerard Callaghan was a person who directly or indirectly, by himself or by some person or persons in trust for him, or for his use or benefit, or on his account, was concerned in the execution of a certain contract or agreement entered into with the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, or with some other person or persons, for or on account of the public service; by reason of which premises the said Gerard Callaghan was rendered incapable of being elected or chosen a member of the House of Commons of Great Britain and Ireland" [*See Appendix*, *Commons Votes*, *No.* 6.]

PRIVATE BILLS.] The following Resolutions were adopted as standing orders for the session;—That this House will not receive any petition for private bills, after Friday the 19th day of this instant February;—That no private bill be read the first time after Monday the 8th day of March next; and—That this House will not receive any report of such private bill, after Monday the 3rd day of May next.

REPORT OF THE ADDRESS ON THE SPEECH.] The Earl of *Darlington* appeared at the bar with the Report of the committee appointed to prepare the Address on the Lords Commissioners Speech. The Address being read a second time,

Lord *Palmerston* rose.—He understood that some amendments were to be proposed, and he wished to make some observations before that stage arrived. He had voted for the Amendment of the preceding evening (sir E. Knatchbull's) because it appeared to him to embrace a fair statement of facts. But he wished not to be understood by his vote on that occasion as either despairing of the situation of the country, or binding himself to a concurrence in those measures with which some individuals might think it proper that the Amendment should be followed up. He did not look with despondency on the situation of the country; for when he saw twenty millions of active and industrious men enjoying the blessings of such a constitution as we possessed, placed on a fine and fertile soil, and having the power to avail themselves of all the local advantages of commerce, it was impossible but that ultimately the condition of the country would be improved. His opinion was, that the distress arose, in a great degree, from the measures taken with respect to the currency; and he thought, if any man who voted for these measures did not, at the same time, perceive that they must produce very considerable alterations, that he could not have understood the subject. It was clear, that the return to a metallic standard was likely to be attended with certain difficulties; but if they would contrast the difficulties of the present day with those scenes of distress and bankruptcy which were created by various panics, he thought it would be found that the pressure occasioned by the return to a sound currency was infinitely less than the mischief occasioned by the alterations incidental to the old system. [*hear*] They were, when the change was made, in the condition of a patient labouring under a severe disorder, without any chance of cure, except by undergoing an operation; and who, if he had not the spirit to bear that operation, would suffer much more pain from the endurance of the disorder itself. For his own part, he thought there was no salvation for the country but in the establishment of a permanent and unchangeable standard; [*hear, hear*] and there was no mode of establishing it, except by proceeding as the government had done. He therefore concurred, with great satisfaction, in that part of his majesty's Speech in which a determination to adhere to the present system was clearly expressed. [*hear*] Having stated his opinion on this point, he felt himself called on to say, that there were other topics connected with the Speech which did not give him so much satisfaction. He thought that the principles on which the foreign policy of the country had been conducted were exceedingly unfortunate, and that not to express such opinion now, would be to have his silence construed into acquiescence. He was of opinion that they were alike injurious to the honour and interests of the empire. That opinion, he believed, was not confined to himself; and he would ask those gentlemen who had recently passed beyond the limits of this country, what were the feelings entertained in other states on this subject? A time would, however, come for discussing in detail those interesting topics, and therefore it was not his intention to go into them at length at present. He was, nevertheless, anxious to enter his protest on this occasion, because he feared that if this Address were passed in general silence, it might be argued, that it had received general acquiescence; and he thought it would be mischievous if it went out to the world that that House entirely approved of the foreign policy of ministers. With respect to the first passage of the Speech on that subject, he might say, that it proved that ministers, if not successful negociators, were, at least, useful allies. He did not know that the permanent continuance of a Mussulman garrison in Europe was absolutely necessary for the security of the Christian world; but certainly he did not wish to see that garrison replaced by a Russian garrison. He did not approve of the Russian frontier being extended on that side, and means ought to have been taken to prevent it. It would remain to be seen, when those papers were produced which government had promised, whether ministers had felt it impossible to prevent a war between Russia and Turkey; and whether before they desisted from interference, they had made every effort to dissuade Turkey from entering into the contest. The Speech stated, that the government had done their utmost to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty of London, of July 6th, and that they would lay before parliament papers to show the progress of those negotiations. He hoped, when they were produced, that they would be unlike the documents laid before parliament at the end of last session, that their contents would not be partial, meagre, and unsatisfactory—that they would not be confined merely to the correspondence of the negociating parties, but that they would indicate the views and policy of government during the whole of the long and important transaction. He trusted that they would prove that the government had laboured to carry the stipulations of the treaty of London into effect, in a clear, fair, and proper manner; that they had not marred that treaty by narrowing and confining the Greek states, and thus preventing them from exercising their energies; and that their conduct had not prevented the pacification of the East by any pertinacious adherence to points that were not likely to be conceded; for it appeared by the statements in the Speech that those matters were still under consideration. It was most important to Great Britain, in the settlement of Greece, that that state should be decidedly able to maintain itself; and that it should not, by a crooked course of policy, be driven into the arms of that power which, since the termination of the war with Turkey, might turn her ambitious views towards that quarter. It was the interest of Great Britain to give Greece the means of keeping up her establishments, and to prevent her from becoming the victim of military coercion. He now came to that part of the Speech which related to the recognition of Don Miguel. He did not here mean to discuss the propriety of not recognizing a sovereign who was such *de facto*, merely because he had not mounted the throne legitimately. He had nothing to do with that question. This was a different case, and one which affected the honour of this country. The circumstances connected with it must be fresh in the minds of the members of that House; and, when the question of the recognition to which he alluded came to be considered, he certainly should resist it, unless it could be clearly shown that the act would not affect the honour of the country. Don Miguel could not be viewed as an undisputed sovereign, exercising his sway quietly and without opposition. If he had returned the sword which he had been using against his people, to the scabbard,—if he had opened the dungeons where he had confined thousands of persons who were obnoxious to his fears, his views and his suspicions,—if he had been the undoubted and unmolested sovereign, there might have been reasons for recognizing him. But let it be recollected, that the differences of the princes of the House of Braganza had not been settled,—let it be recollected that a war was now going on in Portugal itself,—let it be recollected that there was a military government in the island of Terceira, (an integral part of Portugal) in favour of the queen Donna Maria, and therefore Don Miguel could not be viewed in the light of an undisputed sovereign. This question must come under the consideration of the House: and therefore he should merely express his hope that government would pause long and well before they took a step that could not be retracted. There was one subject which he thought it necessary to advert to here—he alluded to the attack of the Spaniards on Mexico. The expedition which sailed against it was several years in preparation. The government of Mexico, knowing that prevention was easier than cure, determined to frustrate the plans of their enemies by a descent on Cuba; but England would not allow that island to be then and so attacked. If, then, on the one hand, England, at the instance of the ambassador of Spain, prevented the Mexicans from invading Cuba, she ought to have dealt out an equal measure of justice to the other party. England ought to have said, "You, Mexico, shall not attack Cuba, and you, Spain, shall not collect forces at Cuba to attack Mexico." But the proceeding of this government was partial, and contrary to the principle on which they had promised to act. As these questions would hereafter come under the consideration of the House, he would not make any further observations on them now, but he could not lose the opportunity which presented itself to him of stating his dissent from the system on which the foreign policy of the country had been conducted.

Mr. *Peel* said, he agreed with his noble friend, that this was not the fit occasion for entering on so important a subject. In the first place, its importance entitled it to separate and serious consideration: and as his majesty had stated, that when the proper time arrived, the necessary documents would be laid before the House, he did not think it right, in the absence of such information, that any discussion should be provoked. By approving of the Address, no gentleman pledged himself in any degree to approve of the course taken with respect to our foreign policy. By agreeing to it, no one would be precluded from hereafter expressing his opinion on that foreign policy. With respect to his noble friend's policy,—that policy which his noble friend advocated so ably and so eloquently,—it would, if adopted, involve the country in war. [*hear*] The noble lord took the same course last session. His noble friend did not exactly avow that such was the scope of his policy; but he was certain that if the doctrine his noble friend maintained, with respect to foreign governments, were acted on, in six months this country, and all Europe, would be involved in general war. [*hear*] The policy of the present government had this recommendation,—that it had maintained peace and secured peace consistently with the preservation of the power and the honour of England [*hear*]. His noble friend had made an allusion with respect to the necessity of preserving Turkey, on account of the well-being of Europe. He (Mr. Peel) apprehended that, in the present situation of Europe, the integrity and independence of so great a power should be supported; but those who held that doctrine did not, therefore, approve of the system of government by which the internal affairs of Turkey were regulated. Did his noble friend recollect, that it had been an object of great interest, with reference to the state of Europe, to guarantee the integrity of Turkey? Did he recollect that in 1799 this country did guarantee the integrity of Turkey? Mr. Pitt, who then presided over the destinies of this empire, did not take that step because he admired the government of Turkey, but because he thought that the dismemberment of such a power would be attended with disastrous consequences. Now they might entertain fears of the consequences that would ensue from the dismemberment of any portion of Europe; but were they on every occasion of that kind to act with Quixotic feeling and immediately to proceed to war? When Turkey gave Russia a fair justification for hostilities, on what account could we interfere? His noble friend asked "why did you not before the termination of the war, or before it had broken out,—why did you not counsel concession?" That was exactly what ministers did. The government asked Turkey to do that which Russia had a right to compel her to do—namely, to fulfil a treaty; but Turkey had no right to expect that we should espouse her cause by going to war on account of the caprices of the divan. The interference and proffer of advice and good offices only could be required. His noble friend had asked, why that advice was not offered sooner? Now his noble friend was in the cabinet at the time, and he must know that ministers had not an opportunity of giving it. He must be aware that some time previous to the breaking out of the war, our ambassador was removed from Constantinople; and therefore we had not the means of conveying the sentiments of this government; but, by every mode in which that advice could be given, it was imparted to Turkey. The success of the Turks in the first campaign did not alter the views of ministers. After that campaign, which Turkey thought a complete failure on the part of Russia, our advice to Turkey was, to do that at a period of victory which she ought to have done before it. That advice was rejected; and whatever his noble friend's idea might be, he thought that those who refused at that time to go to war for Turkey, acted for the real and permanent interest of this country. As to Greece, (continued Mr. Peel) my noble friend says he hopes to see the treaty of London carried into full effect. I can assure him, that in the course of events that have followed, we have laboured diligently in the strict execution of the treaty, and in no instance has there been a deviation from that treaty, unless it was in favour of Greece. He will find this statement fully borne out by the official documents. My noble friend intimates that, in the present state of Turkey, one island or another valley are of very little importance to her, and may be granted to Greece. My noble friend's principles seem somewhat lax here: it may be a convenient doctrine to apply to a great power in an abject state; but we have never aided Greece in any measure not in conformity with those principles of honour and justice which we have always regarded. With respect to Portugal, my noble friend has only repeated what he urged last session; but his advocacy meant, if anything, "Go to war for the purpose of dispossessing Don Miguel." But if the population of the country cared nothing about the possessor of the throne, why were we to interfere? If, at the period that may be selected, we should determine on his recognition, it will be a pure question with relation to the treaties between the countries. In his majesty's Speech it is said there are some parts which evidently contemplate the recognition of Don Miguel. I have never concealed my opinion of the conduct of Don Miguel. He did not keep the faith he plighted to this government. But it is an important question whether his personal character will alone justify us in refusing to recognize him. Don Miguel practically exercises the powers of government in Portugal, and his rule takes place apparently with the general consent; every attempt to dispossess him has failed; at an early period he called together the ancient Cortes, and had their assent to his accession. This was a body venerable for its antiquity, and its decision gave his title a sanction in the eyes of the people. They looked on that decision as the expression of the general will. The island of Terceira is a military garrison, which has declared for the young queen Maria; but it is a small island, far detached from Portugal, and not in the slightest degree influencing that kingdom. Would that fact authorise us to force a sovereign on the people of Portugal? We desire that she may ascend the throne in obedience to her father's will; but if the people of Portugal will not support her claim, it must fall to the ground. There were great doubts whether Don Pedro had the right to give the crown to his daughter; and all the Portuguese lawyers have decided in favour of Don Miguel. Higher considerations than those of mere personal character must rule the course of policy which a country like this will follow. We are not authorised to force a rejected sovereign on any country. Don Miguel is in no shape subject to our authority. If we once commence a "war of opinion," we can never circumscribe its scope. My noble friend, however, is so anxious, that he asks in reality why we have not fitted out an armament to prevent Spain from invading Mexico? Now really he must take leave to say, that if the principle of interference required by his noble friend was to be carried into full operation, it would involve this country in wars with almost every nation with which it was allied or bound by treaties. The noble lord had, however, asserted that the government of this country should have interfered to have prevented the invasion of Mexico by the Spaniards from the island of Cuba. Now he recollected very well that his right hon. friend (Mr. Canning), at the time he put forth those able and powerful state papers which were demanded from him in the fulfilment of his duty as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, always admitted the right of Spain to fit out and undertake any expedition she pleased for the conquest of her colonies, although he denied to other nations the right of interference, which might be exerted, not for the purpose of re-assuming the legitimate authority of the parent state, but for the purpose of assisting either party, as it might suit their interests to obtain an advantage over the other. This he was satisfied was the tenor of the principle laid down by that right hon. friend, and recognized by the House. But then the noble lord asserts, that although the right of interference was not exercised by the government to protect Mexico from the Spaniards, it was exercised on a former occasion to preserve Cuba from the attacks of the Mexicans [*hear*]. Did the noble lord, however, not understand that there might be some circumstances so peculiar, and some considerations of such overwhelming importance, with regard to the connections and relations of England with the isle of Cuba, as to justify a great departure from the rules which governed other portions of her policy, and not to be defended on general principles. [*hear*] The noble lord ought to have a thorough understanding of every thing connected with the peculiar situation of this country and Cuba before he ventured to illustrate his argument by a reference to the case of Cuba. On every other occasion, he repeated, that the government had invariably governed itself by the principles which it had recognized; and although they had not, as the noble lord seemed to think they were bound to do, gone to war for the purpose of preventing every act of which they might disapprove, yet he trusted it would be found that they had not done any thing to forfeit the character or compromise the honour or station of the country. He should conclude with observing that he should not enter further into the various topics connected with our foreign policy, because the Address did not pledge the House in any manner to approve of, or adopt it; and if hon. members would but suspend their opinions until the papers connected with it were before them, they would have ample opportunity of expressing their opinions on its soundness and propriety. [*hear*]

Lord *Palmerston* explained. He denied that he counselled war, as the right hon. gentleman asserted. On that point he had been quite misconceived. All he wished to convey was, that by assuming a firmer and more decided tone, the country, without the slightest risk of war, might have secured advantages of which it has been deprived, and of which England's allies had been deprived.

Mr. *C. Grant* said, he thought that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel) had certainly, without intending it, very much misconstrued the nature of his noble friend's argument. His noble friend said, you profess neutrality to all parties, but I ask you, do you preserve it in the strict sense of the word,—he asks, is it true that when Spain threatened an attack on Mexico, and the Mexicans, in order to avert the consequences of that attack, threatened in their turn to make a descent on Cuba—he asks you, is it true that the government of this country interfered to protect Cuba and rescue it from the danger in which it was placed? His noble friend asked if that was the case; and he asks still further, if it be true that when the Spaniards at Cuba, rescued from the restraint and the shackles which the threats of this invasion had imposed on them, two years afterwards landed in Mexico, why it was that having interfered to protect Cuba from the Mexicans, you did not also interfere on the principle of reciprocal justice, and protect Mexico from the people of Cuba? The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel), however, assumes that there were certain circumstances connected with the interests and the welfare of England which placed the interference with respect to Cuba out of the ordinary principles. Now he would ask the right hon. gentleman, were there no circumstances connected with the prosperity or interests of England which called on the government to prevent, as far as was in its power, the return of Mexico or South America under the control of Spain? He confessed, that in the present situation of this country, he knew none whose prosperity in every point of view, whether commercial or political, ought to be viewed with greater anxiety than Mexico and South America; and when he considered that these countries had been for upwards of twenty years engaged in a struggle for the freedom they had now obtained, he confessed he could not contemplate with patience for a moment the prospect of their returning under the despotism from which they had freed themselves, nor restrain his feelings at any suggestions of the policy which sordid interest might be brought to justify in exclusion of those higher considerations which were to be found in a regard for national character and a desire to improve the condition of humanity [*hear*]. These were the questions which his noble friend had put to the right hon. gentleman and his majesty's government; and, he trusted, before the House was called on to sanction the policy which had been pursued, that an inquiry would be instituted so extensive as to satisfy all, that the imputations against this country were unfounded. The right hon. gentleman had attempted to contend, that the country must have been engaged in a war if it had attempted the interference required by the noble lord, and declared that it was the policy of this country to abstain most religiously from all interference with other states. But if this religious abstinence was to be observed, then he would ask how it was that they had interfered in one solitary instance, such as that alluded to by his noble friend? His noble friend had proved that they did not abstain from interference now; and in a speech of great power at the close of last session, which every member who heard it must have vividly impressed on his recollection, he had proved in another instance that the interference of this country had taken place in reference to the subjects of Portugal in a manner the most unjustifiable; and, he trusted, notwithstanding what had been said in justification of that act, that a further inquiry would produce something more satisfactory than any thing to be found in the meagre volume of papers produced last session to the House. From the few hints thrown out elsewhere, from the notes of preparations sounded in the other House—he apprehended, indeed, that the relations of this country with Portugal were about to undergo a great change. It was now whispered that the bloody usurper of his brother's rights had been the injured victim of family misfortunes—that his character had been grossly affected by that weight of scandal which always oppressed virtue [*a laugh*]; and it was even insinuated that this truly great and excellent prince would be received into the bosom of the European families, and ranked among the Potentates of Europe.

"——— Illum ego lucidas
Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
Succos, et ascribi quietis
Ordinibus patiar Deorum."

[*Hear*]. He did not ask now for information on this point; but he confessed he waited with anxiety for those documents which were to establish its truth or falsehood, and which would shew whether it was possible that the honour of England could come stainless from the explanation [*hear*]. Before he sat down he wished to advert to another portion of our foreign relations, which he conceived to be a little obscure. The independence of Greece was now acknowledged. Russia, it was said, had just demanded it; France, it was acknowledged, had secured it; but how came it that England, who was reported, and he hoped truly, to have given a sovereign to the new kingdom—how came it that it had managed so felicitously as scarcely to secure to itself one feeling of gratitude from the people whom it professed to make the object of its regard? How came it that the emancipation of Greece had been delayed for so many years? This was the question which was asked on the continent; and he feared that the answer would not prove advantageous to the character of England. On these and other points he required information. There was one point more with respect to Greece which excited his anxiety. What was to be the form of government imposed on the people? They were told it was to be a monarchy; but was it of a mixed kind, with the advantages of a constitution, or was it to merge into a pure and unmixed despotism? Were we to yield to the wishes of a power which dreaded even the shadow of freedom, and to acquiesce in subjecting the people of Greece to despotism as degrading as that from which we pretended to have relieved them? These, and many other topics which occurred to him, he should not now press on the attention of the House, but he trusted that the explanations which were promised would prove satisfactory, and obviate the necessity of inquiry.

Lord *John Russell* said, he rejoiced in the assertion that parliament was not pledged to approve of the foreign policy of the country by giving its assent to the Address; but at the same time he approved of the course pursued by his noble friend, because he thought that great benefit was derived from frequent discussions on the subject. The noble lord had complained of the conduct of the government with respect to Turkey, and the right hon. gentleman had asked what course could they pursue except to offer advice? His (lord John Russell's) answer was, that he would have given it at a different time. He would have told Turkey at the moment it persisted in carrying on hostilities with Russia, that the Allies would be under the necessity of enforcing to its utmost extent the treaty of the 6th of July; but instead of that, the Government pursued a course which, from all he had read of the proceedings of the Turkish cabinet, led them fully to imagine that at one time or another this country would be induced to take a part in the contest in their favour. If, however, the Government of this country had assumed that decided and manly tone which he contended they were bound to do, they would not have had the misfortune to see peace concluded in the plains of Adrianople. Had they shown a timely firmness of remonstrance, he was satisfied that peace might have been concluded before the Russians reached Varna, and they would not have had the regret of being considered participators in the triumphs of Russia, and seen her conclude a war which left the keys of the Turkish empire in her power, and gave her the conviction that she could pass the hitherto impregnable Balkan whenever it was her pleasure to invade the territories of her neighbour. If the demands of Russia, which he thought were fair, and reasonable, and which went only to secure the prosperity of her territories on the Black Sea, had been firmly pressed on the acceptance of Turkey, all those disasters might have been avoided. He agreed also with his noble friend (Palmerston), in what he had said with respect to the conduct of this country in our intercourse with Terceira and Don Miguel. If the government had never interfered at all in the affairs of Portugal, it might, without any violation of propriety, have (like the United States of America) recognized the authority of the king *de facto* on the throne; but, after it had proclaimed Donna Maria as the lawful sovereign, after it had supported her rights to the throne by the means of a British army, and after it had conveyed Don Miguel in a British frigate to rule over Portugal under certain conditions—after all these acts of interference, it was too late to draw back, and (contending for the propriety of upholding the principle of non-interference) declare that it did not matter a straw whether this or that sovereign occupied the throne of Portugal. When, with all this too, it was recollected that the authority of Miguel was, in the first instance, supported by a British army, whose presence enabled him to officer the troops of Portugal with creatures of his own; and that a person closely connected with the present government, and holding under it a high situation, was more than suspected of favouring these changes (lord G. Beresford)—and that by the consequences of these changes, thousands of deserving and honourable men were either sacrificed or compelled to abandon their country; he thought that the argument of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel), with respect to the righteousness of non-interference, would be found very difficult of support. He could not but allude to the instructions given by the government with respect to the landing at Terceira, and contend that they were without precedent in the laws of nations. Even the government seemed to be sensible that they were adopting a course most unusual; for in the Admiralty orders for the seizure of the Portuguese, these persons who sailed for Terceira were stated to be about to attack Terceira, although it was known that they recognised the authority of Donna Maria, and that they would be received with open arms by those who occupied the island. He did not wish, however, to descant more on these topics at the present moment, as the time for their consideration was rapidly approaching; and he would, therefore, conclude by expressing his opinion—and he feared it was an opinion but too prevalent on the continent of Europe—that the character of England had been diminished, and its honour tarnished, by these transactions. Portugal had been abandoned, after we had pledged ourselves to protect the government of the rightful sovereign. Turkey had been suffered to become a prey to Russia, or to be so crippled and weakened as to preclude the possibility of her making any future effectual efforts in her own defence.

Sir *Jos. Yorke* said, he was so hoarse

that he could hardly make himself heard, yet he felt unable to avoid expressing his admiration of the eloquent speeches of the noble lord (Palmerston) and his right hon. friend (Mr. Grant), who seemed to have divided between them the mantle of the orator who for nearly forty years had made such elegant speeches as were sufficient to excite the House to take part in any war which the government might think fit to undertake; [*hear! and a laugh*] and on his part, he gave just credit to the noble duke, to whom the consequences of war were personally so well known, for preserving the country in a state of peace, and for having refrained from the use of that high tone recommended by the noble lord (Palmerston); a tone which had conferred on us the inestimable blessing of eight hundred millions of debt! and through which all his predecessors in office had bamboozled the country almost to the brink of ruin. He thought, too, that the hon. member for Aberdeen (Mr. Hume) deserved great credit for having been the only man who had courage and honesty enough to oppose the expenditure of two millions, incurred by Mr. Canning, for the Portuguese expedition, and who advised the members to go home, and take counsel, and commune with their own hearts on its propriety, [*a laugh*] and then come back in the course of ten days, and express their opinions on the question, and thus keep out of a confounded scrape. [*a laugh*] For, having laboured to prevent that enormous sacrifice of money, he repeated that the member for Aberdeen deserved the thanks of the country. As to the arguments respecting the attack on Cuba by the Mexicans, he could not but observe, that although the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel) had not thought proper to express himself more fully, every one knew, that had the invasion of Cuba not been prevented, the island would at that hour have been in the possession of the United States of America! and Mr. President Jackson. [*a laugh*] This was a well known fact; although there seemed to be a something which prevented his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) from showing off to so much advantage on the subject as he (sir Joseph) was doing then. As to the omission of a sufficient mention of the distress in the Speech from the Throne, he did not think it necessary that the ministers should come down to the House dressed in new black coats—in most respectable mourning—and endeavour to give an exaggerated account of distresses they could not relieve. It was some consolation to know, however, that there was a place to which the distress did not extend, although the hon. member for Clare (Mr. O'Connell), when he heard that place was Ireland, had dropped his spectacles from his nose on the papers he was perusing at the time, and which were doubtlessly connected with the respectable county he represented, and exclaimed in affright, "Is this then the Oasis of the great Desert!" [*hear! and laughter*] The hon. member for Clare had said that there were seven thousand persons in Dublin living on three-half-pence a day. That was because there were no poor-rates in Ireland. Let them adopt Poor-laws, and matters would be otherwise. All we must do was to try to keep them from coming over to this country. He thought that it was quite right to leave Ireland altogether out of the Speech. Why should it be mentioned as if it were a separate country? Had the hon. member for Clare the vanity to suppose that it ever could be so? It was quite clear that it must always fall into the possession of some European nation. The hon. member must omit all blarney about the finest peasantry in the world, and so on, and come down in his tone to plain, solid, and substantial sense, ornamented as he well knew how to ornament it, with eloquence. As all the differences between Catholics and Protestants had been last Session removed, he (sir J. Yorke) thought that government were quite right in omitting Ireland in the king's Speech. Adverting to various opinions which had been delivered in the course of last night's debate, he must observe that the hon. member for Abingdon had declared that he could give the country such a solid sterling standard paper currency, as had never before been seen in the world. The hon. member had been formerly a contractor, and had shown that he knew very well how to cut his coat according to his cloth. [*a laugh*]—He would probably cut his paper as he had cut his cloth, stamping the sovereign's head on one side of a piece of paste-board, and his own tail on the other [*laughter and some murmurs*]. He had certainly heard the hon. member say that he could produce a standard paper circulation at least equal to the finest metallic circulation. He (sir Joseph Yorke) did not believe it. As to the circulation, the duke of Wellington said last night in the House of Lords. [*order, order*] It was very extraordinary, but there were members in that House who would never listen to the voice of the charmer, charm he ever so wisely. [*much laughter*] It had been said then, in another place, by a great personage, that the amount of the existing circulation was sixty-five millions. Surely that was quite sufficient. For his part he thought the Speech from the Throne very satisfactory; and that his majesty's government had done their duty to the Crown and the country. He hoped they would continue the cautious course they were pursuing; and he had no doubt that the existing difficulties would soon pass away.

Dr. *Lushington* said, he deprecated war; but at the same time maintained that if the honour and policy of the country required us to commence it, we ought not to hesitate to engage in it. Adverting to Portugal, he wished that we had preserved a strict neutrality towards the different parties in that country. The fact was, however, that while the British government had in outward appearance conducted itself towards Donna Maria with civility and courtesy, on all great matters it had leant to the individual who now sat on the throne of Portugal. So far as he was possessed of information on the subject (for one of the extraordinary qualities of the present administration was the darkness in which its proceedings were shrouded), he was compelled to conclude that Don Miguel had been enabled to maintain his seat on the Portuguese throne by the countenance of this country, by which it seemed probable that he was about to be formally recognized. It was true that there was no passage to that express effect in his majesty's Speech, but the intimation appeared to him to be clearly conveyed in it. He strongly condemned the conduct of government in preventing Mexico from attacking Cuba, but allowing Spain to attack Mexico from Cuba. Indeed he never reflected on the course which this country had of late pursued towards the Spanish states of South America without pain. It was a course replete with inconsistencies and anomalies. About twenty years ago lord Castlereagh had held out to the Spanish provinces in South America promises of support, if they would detach themselves from the mother country. Yet, in 1814, he put his signature to one of the most infamous treaties which ever disgraced diplomacy, whereby this country was made to express its earnest desire that those very states, then achieving their independence by their blood and their courage would return to their allegiance to Spain. [*hear*] Then came the bill of 1818, preventing the exportation of arms to South America. When Mr. Canning became Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, he found himself involved in great difficulties on this subject. He had always thought that that right hon. gentleman's conduct, in acknowledging the independence of the Spanish colonies, was one of the brightest jewels in the crown of glory which encircled his political character. If it were true that Great Britain had permitted the expedition from Cuba to Mexico, and when Mexico had prepared in defence a counter-expedition, had declared that it should not stir, we had pursued a course contrary to every principle of justice. He should be very glad to hear any explanation of this conduct by which it might be shown that the honour of the country (which he valued above every other consideration) would be cleared of this imputation. He regretted exceedingly that he had been compelled to vote last night as he had done, as it might seem to imply a disposition, which he was far from entertaining, to annoy his majesty's government; but he really felt that he had no alternative.

Mr. *Maberly.*—He felt obliged to advert to what had dropped from the hon. member for Ryegate (sir J. Yorke) with respect to himself, and must observe that it appeared to him to be scarcely consistent with common courtesy or the regulations of the House [*hear*]. If the hon. member meant to throw any imputation on his character and station in life, he hurled such imputation back on him with contempt. What did the hon. member mean? Did he mean any thing personal? He had thought it necessary to say what he had said as due to the honour and character of that House, and he apologized to the House for having intruded upon them.

Sir *J. Yorke.*—If he had been unparliamentary in his expressions, he ought to have been called to order. He disclaimed all personality towards the hon. gentleman, and was sorry if he had offended him, having a great respect for the hon. gentleman. [*hear*]

Mr. *Maberly* expressed himself perfectly satisfied with this explanation.

Mr. *Sadler* begged now to be allowed to say a few words, as no opportunity had occurred last night for expressing his sentiments on the various topics which had been discussed. He should not, indeed, have now risen, had it not been for the levity with which the distresses of the country had been treated by a right. hon. gentleman. That was not the way in which they ought to be treated. He would not advert to the questions connected with our foreign policy. The Speech delivered in his majesty's name, dissatisfied him, however, on those points as well as on others, — on the points which had been omitted as well as on the points which had been introduced. But the overwhelming topic of interest, that which affected the heart of every thinking man in the country, was the universal distress which prevailed throughout the United Kingdom. The passage in the Speech which referred to that distress, was introduced by a declaration relative to the increase of our exports. This was supported by the comments of the right hon. Secretary of State for the Home Department, and he had argued, by some documents about canals, from an increase of activity, proof of prosperity in our home occupation. The Speech allowed that distress did certainly prevail in some parts of the United Kingdom; but the terms of the statement were evidently intended to imply that the distress was by no means extensive. Truth was told, but not the whole truth. It was the duty of those who advised the Crown to advise it to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. When the commercial policy of this country was unhappily changed, the alteration was accompanied by glowing predictions of the prosperity that would ensue. He did not wish to taunt those who had indulged in such expectations; but he would ask them whether any one of those expectations had been realized? On the contrary, had they not all been most cruelly disappointed? At the opening of the last session, the House had been solemnly assured that the state of the revenue was exceedingly satisfactory; and that the comforts and happiness of the people were increasing; the fact being that the revenue was failing, and that the comforts and happiness of the people had disappeared. Through the whole of the session official men had endeavoured to show the existence of prosperity by statements which no man belonging to any practical class could sanction. They had the constantly repeated metaphor, that the sun of prosperity was diffusing its rays throughout the community. Hope was constantly held forth to the people. They could no longer, however, subsist on hope; they must have relief. Ministers had opened Pandora's box, and let loose all the evils which it contained; and the only consolation was, that Hope was at the bottom. The excuses for the distress were infinitely numerous. At one time the bankers were thought a convenient body to lay it on. At another time it was the traders. Now it was one industrious class of the community—then another. The declaimers were hard to please. The production was always either too great or too little. Of all the absurdities supposed, over-production was the greatest. What sort of political reasoning must that be which attributed distress to that which was the sole source of all prosperity! Besides, he totally denied the fact. Were there any signs of over-production in cloth, when, at this inclement season, so large a portion of the population were almost naked? Were there any signs of over-production in corn, when so many unhappy persons were almost destitute of food? When over-production would no longer do, the distress was laid upon Providence. It was attributed to the ordinations of Providence,—to wet seasons. Among other causes alleged for the agricultural distress was the influx of Irish labourers, although it was generally known, and they had it indeed on the authority of a report of the committee on the conduct of English labourers, that the harvest in this country could not be got in without the assistance of Irish labourers. The universality of the distress also was denied. Turn, however, to whatever interest they might, distress was but too apparent. In what situation was the shipping interest, the right arm of this country, the impenetrable shield of our defence? Ask the residents in any of the great ports. As to that vital sustaining-interest of the country, agriculture, it was well known that the labourers were suffering great distress, and that the farmers were very generally living on their capital. It was said that there was an increase in the export of goods. But did the manufacturers of those goods receive a remunerating price for them? Otherwise, the increase in their manufacture was only an increase of toil without an increase of benefit. No man who saw that all the elements of wealth and prosperity were thus oppressed, could say that this was a natural state of things. Hon. members had asserted that there was more traffic than formerly upon the canals; and from this they drew an inference that the country had increased in commerce and prosperity; but they omitted that there had been a decrease of traffic on many of the canals; and he denied that the tonnage upon the average of the whole had increased beyond the increase of population in a corresponding period. The only way to relieve the distress was to be acquainted with its nature and extent; and he was sorry to say that government had too long kept the word of promise to our ear and broken it to the sense. They were pursuing an *ignis fatuus*. Retrenchment had been promised; but if this were the only relief, why had not the country been indulged with it before? He came from a neighbourhood where tens of thousands could bear witness to the prevalence of the distress; and it had been proved that in one great county the distress had been and continued to be on the increase. The people, if they were thus treated, would become exasperated, and then the most fatal steps only would be taken. One great cause of the distress was the return to a value of money which had existed forty years ago, although, in the interim, they had incurred several hundred millions of debt. They had hired the public servants in paper, and they were paying them in gold, they had contracted enormous debt in depreciated paper, and they were to be paid in gold. [*hear*, *hear*]

Mr. *J. Wood* said, he had never known the country more impatient for relief; and the people had been taught to expect that the government would be prepared with some remedy; but how were their expectations to be gratified by the Speech or the Address? The Speech, in the first instance, doubted of the prevalence of distress, and it went to professions of economy, which in royal Speeches were as much a matter of course as the sessional orders, amongst which was that very sensible one, for the exclusion of strangers during the debate. A very large portion of the labouring classes were approaching to starvation; they wanted food and clothing; the best workmen could not find employment, or were obliged to apply to charitable distributions of food to eke out their existence. The large farmer was reduced to a small farmer, the small farmer was becoming a labourer, and the labourer was becoming a pauper. If every member would state what was the fact with respect to his own constituents, and what came under his own knowledge, the House would then go far to discharge its duty to the country. He reflected with gratitude on what had been done in the two last sessions, and he should lament if the ejected members of the late administration were to return to power, for their first efforts would be, to repeal the Catholic Relief-bill, and the second to impose additional restrictions on the importation of foreign grain. He could wish that the House would address his majesty to make his ministers inform them what those interests were which were not suffering [*hear*]. The remedy of the distress was in their own power, but the people were prevented by the monopoly of corn from trading with foreigners and procuring a return for their industry. If the House proceed as its predecessors had done, it would go on in extravagance till ruin ensued.

Mr. *Attwood* said, the Speech had asserted the exports of 1829 to amount to more than those of any former year; but he would say, that when the commerce of a country was not prosperous, the greater its extent the greater was its evil. It was absurd at the present moment in ministers to congratulate the country on the extent of its commerce. The distress was deeply felt, and it had spread over the whole productive classes of the community, and he would be glad to hear from any member of that House that there was any one branch of industry that could be pronounced in a tolerably satisfactory state—he meant in such a state that any man would wish to embark his capital in it, or in such a state as those who had embarked their capital would not wish to withdraw it. The chancellor of the Exchequer had said, that prosperity prevailed in Ireland; but in this he had been ably and circumstantially refuted by the hon. member for Clare. The speech of the right hon. Secretary of State was full of self-contradictions: he commenced by saying, that the words of his Majesty's Speech, relating to the distresses of the country, were not to be interpreted as inconsistent with a belief of the existence of great distress; but when he came to argue the subject more at length, the whole of the latter part of his argument went to prove that the more limited sense in which his Majesty had expressed himself was to be considered as the true sense. The people had assembled throughout the country, and had passed a correct judgment upon their own condition. Amidst the conflicting opinions of all classes, there was one uniform and concurrent consent in this—that a great, uniform, overwhelming, and appalling, intolerable, distress, extended itself to the labourer, the farmer, the manufacturer and merchant. If this were the case, if amidst the uniform cry of the country one voice alone was heard not in accordance with that cry, one voice alone which bore no sympathy with the sufferings around it, if this solitary voice were breathed from the lips of the king, and had proceeded from the counsels of the ministers, how was it consistent with the duty which those ministers owed to the Crown and to the country that they should put his majesty in a condition to contradict the voice of the people on a question on which the people were the sole and supreme judges? [*cheers*] Were the House to be told that there was any doubt of the accuracy of the uniform opinion of the people? Every man was a judge of his own sufferings, and the congregated opinion of the people confirmed it. To say the contrary, would be to maintain the proposition that the unanimous voice of the whole people was a gross imposition. This was not the character of the people of England, and it was a gross libel on them to say so. On what grounds did ministers put this language in the mouth of the king? Was it upon an increase of exportation? He would prove that the Custom-house documents were utterly worthless for any such calculation or purposes. [*hear*] They were useful documents for their own objects of revenue, but they did not show the prosperity or adversity of the trade which they registered. He held in his hand a document throwing some light upon the subject. It was an Address of the American President to the Congress. He spoke of a period of great distress in England, in which period, however, the Custom-house exports were brought forward to prove the prosperity of the kingdom. The President told the Congress that one great cause of the distress of America was the unusual amount of exports from England, which were forced into America by the distress of Great Britain, and which spread ruin among the American manufacturers. One statement showed an increase of exports from forty to fifty-two millions, but, out of this, thirty-three millions and a half turned out to be cotton exports, estimated at the value of cotton thirty-three years before, when cotton was probably a guinea a yard. During 1825, the commerce of the country was in a very depressed state, almost every description of goods, whether raw or manufactured, was reduced to such a low rate in this country, that the grower or producer could not obtain a remunerating price; and they only went on from day to day in the hope of more favourable circumstances under which to carry on their trade. This was the character of the commercial transactions of the present day, and the more extensive they were, the more extensive would be the ruin of those who were engaged in them. The government asserted their determination not to change the currency; as far as the justice of the case, and duty to the country, were concerned, to that determination he would give at once the most positive contradiction. However firmly it might be expressed, he knew that such determination could not be persevered in. He asserted that it would be altered, and that many moons would not pass over the heads of those who now expressed that determination before they themselves altered it, at least if they should so long hold the reins of power. [*hear*] He was not guided in what he thus asserted merely by their expressions, but by their conduct. What they had done before, they would do again. During the last fifteen years there had been a perpetual tampering with the currency; the most extensive and violent effects had been produced by the changes; and those who had occasioned them were deeply reprehensible for the effects of those dreadful and destructive changes. The government might as well affect to state what would be the future harvest, or what the heat of the next summer, as to pretend their ability to assert that no circumstances would arise which would make them change their determination with respect to the currency. The very standard they had established contained in itself the principle of eternal change. It was not consistent with the present condition of the country that it should be permanent; and the government might rest assured, that while it continued to exist taxes to nearly sixty millions a-year could not long be levied. It was said that the country had returned to the high standard of 1792; but that was not the fact. The standard was now rather higher than it was at that time. It was said too that the changes between that time and the present were occasioned by the effects of the successful working of the mines of Mexico. He believed that the cause might be found much nearer home: it might be discovered in our own dishonest legislation; it was by the unwise and improper rejection of silver as a standard, and by taking away those laws by which the commerce of the country had been for so many years protected. All kinds of reasons were urged for the change which had taken place. What were the consequences?—why, low prices, low rents, and low profits [*hear*]. But, notwithstanding all these circumstances, it was announced to be the determination of the government to stand firm in their purpose, and not to be shaken by the distresses under which all classes of men were now suffering. They were ready to believe anything rather than the misery now so widely spread. They knew that such misery was the effect of their own acts, and that for it they were answerable. He calculated, however, not on these distresses to produce the effects he anticipated, but that there would come distresses of another kind; there would come financial distress—there would be an attack made on them by the landed interest—by those men whose presence in that House would give weight to their remonstrances. With the rents of 1792 a man of rank could not maintain his station in society, while the taxes were as high as at present. Such a man might hide his head in a foreign land, but before he did so he would demand that taxes should be reduced. They would demand that the Malt-tax should be taken off, and those on sugar and tea, and several others should be reduced. And they would justly urge those demands. The government were, no doubt, confident in their strength in that House; they were sure they could command votes enough to support them—they would keep up the Malt-tax; they would triumph; but their triumph would be their defeat—the attack would be continued—the war would be incessant; and if not this year, they would, in a few years, be obliged to make those reductions which for the time they might be able to oppose. Under these circumstances, what would the Ministers do?—With an empty exchequer would they retrench? No.—Would they refuse to pay the public creditor? He hoped not.—Would they refuse to accept their salaries? That he did not expect of them. [*a laugh*]—Would they diminish or refuse the pay of the soldiers? There would be a formidable objection to curtailing that pay.—What, then, would they do? They would do as they had repeatedly done—they would go to what had been truly called the State-bank, and they would borrow the state money. But that very borrowing would debase the currency they affected to keep up. They would debase the currency by quantity as much, and as certainly, as by introducing inferior metal, they could debase it by alloy; and then, when the distress was by these temporary means diminished, they would perhaps again have recourse to a rigid enforcement of a gold currency, and again talk of keeping the faith of the country with a standard of increased value.

The next fifteen years would be like the last, at least if Parliament and the country would permit it. They would be told, no doubt, that the alterations were unavoidable; various excuses would be made, and there would be no end of the discussion, as there would be no end of resorting to expedients, till the House took the question fully into their own consideration, and settled it upon an honest, a firm, and practicable basis—on a basis that would do justice to all parties, and produce permanent benefit to the country. The right hon. Secretary had said that in 1819 there were individuals who had uttered gloomy predictions. He was one of them, and he would take the responsibility of the predictions he had uttered. The right hon. gentleman, as a proof of the prosperity of the country, had mentioned the increased tonnage of several canals; but he did not think that fact was to be relied on for the purpose for which it was mentioned, since he believed it would be found that the greatest increase had been occasioned by the importation of foreign grain at a time when the high prices of our markets justified its introduction. The noble duke at the head of the government had said that the distress could not be so great as it was imagined, because the people paid, in customs and excise, a greater amount of taxation than during the war, although the taxes on certain articles had been reduced. That might be true; but it should be remembered that the population had much increased, and that more mouths were to be fed, and consequently that a greater amount of taxes on consumable articles would be paid. There had been a great degree of distress in 1822, and how was it met? Not by any measures that were consistent with security. The measures then adopted were not only not the cause of the prosperity of 1824 and 1825, but could not be co-existent with it under the money standard of 1792. At the period when the bill to re-establish a gold currency came into full effect, there was a tremendous degree of suffering; and when the operation of that bill was partly abolished, prosperity returned, but only for a time; and when the act of 1819 was afterwards consolidated with another statute, that distress arose in which the country was now placed—a great mass of capital was said to be congregated together in the country; and an hon. member, in alluding to measures which he thought necessary for the relief of the country, had hinted at some plan by which that capital was to be dispersed. If that hon. member had been present, he would have shewn him that, in making that observation, he had confounded two things most distinct from each other—capital and currency [*hear*]. There might be an excess of capital, and at the same time a scarcity of the circulating medium [*hear, hear*]. Nay more; one was actually the consequence of the other. What did great capital congregated together produce? Low prices; and it drew into the hands of a few men the whole productive industry of the country. He expected to have heard that the dispersion of that capital was to have been effected by means which neither he nor the hon. member would think of recommending; namely, by an equal, or what had been termed an equitable adjustment [*hear*]. That adjustment could not be procured unless and until that currency was altered, which the House had been told was from that day to be secured. If the government were determined to stand by the present system of the currency, they must take it together with all its consequences. He had been mistaken by those who alluded to his opinions. He had never meant to say that all classes of the community were suffering distress. He had stated that a great portion of the population were suffering now, but were in a more prosperous state than ever, if that prosperity was secure. That portion was composed of those who were called the unproductive classes—the annuitants, and those who lived on fixed incomes. All these were enjoying a state of prosperity; but their advantage was not one which proceeded simultaneously from that of the community at large. The possession of a fixed income gave them a command over the productions of all kinds; but he would submit to the right hon. gentleman, the Secretary for the Home Department, that as the high value of the currency gave to the unproductive classes a greater power over the productions of the national industry than was possessed by other men, he would find in that circumstance an explanation of that amount of the public income which had given such confidence to the royal mind, but which proved no increase of prosperous commerce in the country. The manufacturer, the farmer, and the labourer, were all suffering from that change which, by altering the value of money, had imposed on them a greater tribute than ever. The burdens on the industry of the country were not only great, but were greater than the country could bear, and they were rapidly pressing it down. The trader was no longer paid from the profits of his business, but proceeded in it by gradually exhausting his capital itself; and what was drawn from the labourer was not a tax on his wages, which he could fairly contribute to the state, but was a tax wrung from his absolute necessities; he had no longer the means of supporting his family by his industry. He would shew on a future occasion that the present measures of the government were neither wise nor cautious, but were opposed to both wisdom and caution; that they could not be continued with security; and that while they did continue nothing could be secure, from the throne of the sovereign to the hovel of the peasant. He opposed the Address because it did not carry to the foot of the throne a true picture of the condition of the country. It was an inadequate description of existing distresses; it was incapable of being directed to any intelligible conclusion, and in every way it was unworthy of that House [*hear*].

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.—He thought, when he had yesterday stated that he considered the great object of those who moved the amendment was connected with an alteration of the standard of value, that he had been met, on their parts, with the disclaimer of any such intention.—He therefore thanked the right hon. member who had just resumed his seat, for the clear and explicit statement given of his objections to that system which, after a full consideration of the matter, parliament had thought proper to adopt. That hon. gentleman had drawn a fearful picture of what he considered would be the consequences of an adherence to that system; but if parliament had ever determined to have changed that system, he would indeed have had an opportunity of describing distresses, not only as dreadful, but more real, than those on which he had been recently dilating. Did the hon. Member forget that the system of which he complained had been ten years established? and could he be ignorant of the fact that in a community like this, distinguished, perhaps, above all others for the variety and extent of its engagements and pecuniary transactions, occurring from day to day—could he, in such a community, forbear to see how large a proportion of transactions must have taken place within that period, under the standard which he now proposed to get rid of? [*hear*] If so, did he not see that that which was, perhaps, practicable in 1820 or 1821 was utterly impracticable now? [*hear*] Whatever might be the difficulties and distress occasioned by adhering to the present system, it would not only be highly inconvenient but improper for parliament now to attempt to change it. Did the hon. Member think, that if he were now in possession of power he would ever be able to carry through that House a measure for the reduction of the standard of value? If he ever made the attempt he must do it in the usual way, and the delays which the forms of parliament would interpose would offer opportunities for petitions and remonstrances to pour in from all quarters, and there would be such a general mass of confusion that it would be impossible for parliament to carry the measure of alteration into effect. The hon. member had denied that the augmented commerce of any particular year afforded any evidence of the prosperity of those engaged in it. He would admit that, in one particular year, commerce might not have been profitably carried on; but was that the first occasion on which the hon. member had told them that the trade of the country was carried on at a sacrifice by the traders? They had heard that statement at least during the last five or six years from the hon. Member; and though he might be inclined to admit that for one year, or even for two years, such was the fact, he would ask whether they could deem it possible, that for a series of years, individuals would embark in commercial, trading, and manufacturing concerns in which they could suffer nothing but continual loss? The hon. Member had alluded to the official returns as delusive; but he must have known, if he understood them at all, that the returns were always made up, not on their actual value, which would constantly vary, and could never therefore give, for a long period, an accurate idea of the matter, but upon a standard which every one at all acquainted with official business perfectly understood, and which gave a just and proper estimate of their increase or decrease during any particular period. Now the increase for the last three years had been progressive; and their amount during that which had just expired was greater than in any of the antecedent years. Surely this increase could not have proceeded on the sacrifice of the capital of those who were engaged in the trade. The hon. member encouraged the opinion that the government were insensible to the distresses of the country. He denied the fact they were as deeply sensible of those distresses as the hon. Member; but they did not think it a good proof of the sympathy they felt to withdraw the expression of all hope of amendment when they thought that good grounds for that hope still existed. They rather felt it to be more consistent (what the people, who were both rational and sensible, required) to state fairly the opinion they entertained. In conclusion, he begged to remind hon. members that by concurring with the Address they did not pledge themselves to any one mode of proceeding with respec to the distresses or to the remedies that might be proposed.

Mr. *Trant* wished very briefly to state his opinion on this subject, and he could not but say that the distress called for a more decided expression of sympathy than that which was contained in the Address.—All the evil predictions of 1819, when the currency question was discussed, had been verified; that alone required immediate revision, independent of the great subject of the national debt. He was himself a public creditor, but for one, he did not wish to receive a farthing more than was just, with relation to the rest of the community. He did not pretend to be a philosopher, but he kept his eyes and ears open, and let him go where he would, he heard everybody complaining that the legislature had pursued a wrong course. He begged to ask, whether, since the year 1819, the country had enjoyed anything like even an average state of prosperity? and the admitted great falling-off in the Excise showed that the people had not the means of buying the most ordinary luxuries. Nobody denied the amount of distress, and ministers themselves, when pressed, were obliged to admit it. If, then, for the last ten years, parliament had pursued an erroneous system, it was fit at once to avow it, and to set about the adoption of a remedy; for one, instead of opposing Government, he should be most happy to lend it every assistance, and to endeavour to re-establish this House in particular in the confidence of the country. [*hear*]

Mr. Alderman *Waithman.*—He did not rise to answer the speech of the hon. member for Callington, which was one of the most powerful in argument and eloquence he had heard for many years. He wished merely to set the House right on a matter of fact, which would shew the fallacy of what was called 'the official value of exports.' He denied that the exports were increased, and he was astonished that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should this night have repeated so fallacious a statement. Looking at the real value, he could establish, that within the last twenty years the exports of the country had fallen off to a frightful amount, and in the last five years only they had been lessened on the average to the extent of nine millions sterling, without taking into account colonial and foreign produce. The principle he contended for had been adopted by Mr. Pitt, whose practice it was to quote the real, and not the official, value, when that minister had estimated the returns to the revenue. During the lapse of nine years there was a real diminution of nine millions annually, and yet the public was officially told that there had been an increase of a considerable amount. An accession of twelve millions during three years was set forth in the official documents, instead of which there was found to be a real decrease of more than sixteen millions, and the official returns of the last year had exceeded those of all the years that preceded it. He thought it right to state these facts to the House, and entertained no doubt but the information hereafter to be elicited would obviate many gross mistakes which had gone abroad on the subject, and satisfy to conviction every man who understood arithmetic, or was guided by common sense. By a motion, of which he had given notice for Tuesday, he should obtain documents which would prove, as clearly as arithmetic could prove anything, that the grossest deception had been practised upon this subject: and he undertook to make the matter clear even to the humblest clerk in any merchant's counting-house.

The Report was then brought up and read. On the question that it be agreed to,

Mr. *Hume* begged to state, that it had been his intention to move an amendment, to supply a great defect in the Address, and to direct the attention of his Majesty to the only real means of giving efficient relief,—a reduction of expenditure and a consequent diminution of taxation. As they could not raise prices, they ought to reduce taxes. After, however, the discussion the subject had undergone, and at that late hour, he was not disposed to press it, especially as he intended to give a notice for the 12th instant, for a humble Address to the Throne, praying that his Majesty would order such a reduction in the national expenditure as would enable the House to make a reduction of taxation proportioned to the alteration of the currency. It had been stated by Ministers, and in his opinion very wisely, that to alter the present standard of value would occasion greater evils than any benefits that could be anticipated from that alteration. [*hear*]

Mr. *Maberly.*—He was desirous of taking this opportunity of redeeming the pledge he had given last session, and which had been adverted to by the gallant

Admiral (Sir J. Yorke)—that of pointing out a mode in which a deficiency in the circulating medium might be supplied by a paper currency, which should be safe, invariable, and incapable of depreciation. What he should say on this occasion was merely dictated by a wish to remove the scepticism of a gallant admiral opposite, and others who had seemed to doubt the possibility of realizing the plan that he had to propose. There appeared to be an impression very generally entertained, that it was the object of many on his side of the House to effect an immediate change, no matter at what risk, in the currency of the kingdom. Whatever opinions other hon. Gentlemen might hold on such a question, he could answer for himself, that he was not one of those individuals. [*hear, hear*] But he desired to abstain from offering any remarks respecting a deficient currency at present. It was known that there existed such a circulating medium as Exchequer-bills, of which eight, nine, or ten millions were usually deposited in the hands of the Bank of England, and could not, therefore, be circulated; there was, therefore, that amount of unavailable circulation; in 1825 the directors had attempted to dispose of them, and had failed in that attempt; and hence that amount was unavailable to the Bank at the time of need, and of corresponding detriment to the public. The rest of the whole amount of Exchequer-bills formed a circulating medium which did not usually travel far beyond the limits of the metropolis. What he wished was, that a portion of this government-currency should be converted into small Exchequer-bills, even as low as one pound, to the extent of three, four, or five millions. It would be in the power of parliament to limit and control this currency in every way, yet at the same time providing that it should be received in payment for taxes, and in all respects made legal tender. Such a currency not being exchangeable for gold, would circulate freely at the worst of junctures, even in time of famine itself, all over the empire, and would prove incapable of depreciation. Several advantages would unavoidably accrue from the arrangement. One would be the disconnection of government from the Bank of England, and thenceforward a cessation of the injury which their intercourse had hitherto been to the productive public. It would also cause a saving of three or four hundred thousand a year, which in times like the present was by no means to be overlooked; he meant of charge for management of the debt. He had taken an opportunity to mention this proposal to the Secretary for the Home Department, but he did not require the right hon. Gentleman at present to express any opinion upon it, but merely to turn it over in his mind, and with his colleagues consult upon its practicability. The important benefit of taking the government entirely out of the hands of the Bank, and enabling it to act with decision and independence against that powerful establishment, could not fail to be admitted by all. It might be said that the Bank currency would be displaced in proportion as this new government currency was issued; if so, he thought that this, instead of being an objection, would be an additional recommendation of the scheme, for the Exchequer Bill would circulate at least as freely as the Bank Note. Neither did he think it any objection to the plan that it was, in fact, issuing a government currency; and if it were urged that in time it might amount to the whole sum of the taxation of the kingdom, his answer was, that it would be under the control and sanction of parliament: too extensive an issue might be an abuse of the system, but it did not follow that it was the error of it. If only for the sake of economy, dismissing all other considerations, what he had suggested ought to be adopted; at all events, he trusted that it would be considered by the government.

The Marquis of *Blandford*.—He should trespass but a few moments on the indulgence of the House, but would request their most serious attention to a topic of the greatest importance to the interests of the country, and one which could never be too earnestly impressed on the mind of their Sovereign, however unaccountably it had been neglected hitherto. He alluded to the present pernicious state of the popular representation. [*hear, hear*] In the debate of Thursday evening, the hon. and learned member for Clare had expressed sentiments on this momentous topic, in which he most cordially concurred. He was happy to see that hon. gentleman devote his talents to the reprobation of so execrable a system, and he could assure him that he would gladly join heart and hand with so efficient a coadjutor in procuring its abolition. Meantime he begged leave to move, with permission of the House, that wholesome admonition to the Throne be appended to their Address in answer to his Majesty's gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament. He had therefore to propose an amendment, which was plain and straightforward, proceeding upon no verbal quibble; and upon which, if he were fortunate enough to have it seconded, he should take the sense of the House.

The original Address having been read a second time, his lordship's Amendment thereto was proposed to be made, by adding at the end thereof the words, "That this House feels itself called upon, in the awful and alarming state of universal distress into which the landed, commercial, and all the great productive interests of the country are at this moment plunged, to take care that your Majesty shall not be the only person in your dominions ignorant of such an astounding fact, as well as of the consequent impending danger to the throne, and other great national institutions, established by the wisdom of our ancestors, for the protection and benefit of the people over whom your majesty has been called to preside.

"That this House is at no loss to indicate the real cause of this most unnatural state of things, and, in justice to your Majesty and the whole nation, it can no longer hesitate to proclaim that cause to the world.

"It is a fact, already too notorious, that this House, which was intended by our ancient and admirable constitution to be the guardian of the nation's purse, has, from causes now unnecessary to be detailed, been nominated, for the greater part, by a few proprietors of close and decayed boroughs, and by a few other individuals, who, by the mere power of money employed in means absolutely and positively forbidden by the laws, have obtained a domination, also expressly forbidden by act of parliament, over certain other cities and boroughs in the United Kingdom.

"That in consequence of this departure from the wisdom of our ancestors, the nation has been deprived of its natural guardian, and has, in consequence, become so burthened with expensive establishments of all kinds, that, in a period much shorter than the life of man, the taxation has increased from nine millions to nearly sixty millions a-year; and the poor-rates, or parochial assessments during the same period, have augmented from one and a half millions to eight millions annually.

"That to render such a mass of taxation, so disproportionate to the whole wealth of the kingdom, in any degree supportable, recourse has been had, either from ignorance or design, to the most monstrous schemes in tampering with the currency, or circulating money of the country; at one time by greatly diminishing the value of the same, and at another time by greatly augmenting such value; and at each and every of such changes, which have been but too often repeated, one class of the community after another has been plunged into poverty, misery, and ruin, while the sufferers, without any fault or folly of their own, have been hardly able to perceive from what hand these calamities have come upon them.

"That, under such circumstances, and with this knowledge before its eyes, this House would consider itself lost to every sense of duty towards your Majesty, and guilty of treason towards the people, if it did not seize this opportunity of declaring to your majesty its solemn conviction that the state is at this moment in the most imminent danger, and that no effectual measures of salvation will or can be adopted until the people shall be restored to their rightful share in the legislation of the country; that is, to their undoubted right, according to the true meaning of the constitution, of choosing the members of this House."

Mr. *O'Connell*.—I beg leave to second the noble Lord's amendment.

Sir *Francis Burdett*.—It must be unnecessary for him to say, that the sentiments of this amendment corresponded with those of his own mind; but it was a question of such magnitude, such general and paramount importance, that he found himself quite unable to do justice to it, brought forward as it was without sufficient time having been given adequately to consider it, and he hoped the noble lord would see that more effect would be given to his proposition, to which he (sir Francis Burdett) was most anxious to give his support, were he to bring it forward on some future occasion. He felt great hopes from the circumstance, when he saw gentlemen, in the situation of the noble lord, becoming sensible to the evils under which the country suffered, and coming forward boldly and manfully, as the noble lord had done, with the true spirit of an Englishman, and with a full understanding of the subject, to bring under the consideration of the House the only measure that could effectually relieve the distress. When such individuals were convinced of the real evils that bore down the country there was hope. He was anxious to express the obligation he felt to the noble Lord, for taking up a subject of such paramount importance, which embraced every discussion that had been entered into on the Address, and which was in itself, in his estimation, of far superior importance to any subject that could be involved in any ordinary Address to the Crown, under the present situation of the country. But the noble Lord would hardly, he hoped, then press the measure, which was brought forward quite unexpectedly, and when the House was so thinly attended. He hoped the noble Lord would reconsider the question, and not then press it to a division, but bring it forward when he himself, and the House, would be able to do it more justice than on the present occasion. He felt considerable alarm about the management of the country's affairs from what had passed in another place, of which, he believed, they all had some knowledge; when he had seen the prime minister display, what to his mind was a total apathy and insensibility to, and a complete unacquaintance with, the interest of the country; [*cheers*] with a disposition not to acknowledge the difficulties and distress now existing; but, on the contrary, with a disposition to stifle all complaint and inquiry, and to persuade the public that the universal calamity which was felt in every part of the country [*hear, hear*] was only partial, temporary, and slight—of a nature to cure itself, and not requiring the attention of the legislature. He felt alarm when he knew that this distress was attributed to improvement in our machinery—to the application of steam [*hear, and a laugh*]—to those other ingenious contrivances to which all scientific men justly attributed all the prosperity of the country—when he saw that an opinion of that nature was entertained by the prime minister. [*hear, hear*] Whatever respect he might have for the noble Duke's talents in the field (and no man had a greater respect) he could form no other opinion of him as a minister for this country, than he himself had formed a short time, a little month, he believed, before the noble Duke accepted his present situation, when he said —in language to which he hardly knew how to allude—that he should consider himself destitute of common reason, and fit only for another place, if he could entertain the idea of filling the office of prime minister. The noble Duke might not then have done justice to himself; but after such opinions, he could hardly dissent from the fitness of the language used, and that it was not required to form a different opinion of the noble Duke's qualifications. [*hear, and a laugh*] He would not then go into the merits of another question which the noble Duke had discussed—a question which pressed on the consideration of every man, which was of vital importance, and affected the interests of all classes—the question of the currency; [*hear, hear*] but he might, at least, say that question could not be got rid of very easily. Parliament might by its votes negative whatever propositions might be submitted to it on the subject of reform—that might be got rid of, but the question of currency would press itself on their attention, because the country could not bear the pressure of the difficulties, of which it was the cause, which were said to be temporary, but which had now continued for fifteen years, increasing every year, and being now greater than they were at the beginning. He was astonished when he knew that the Government stated that the circulating medium was now greater than it was at any time of the depreciated currency. This was an assertion not to be met by argument, not by any statement of facts, but by the assertion that it was not true, and that it was impossible that it could be true. [*hear, hear*] This was borne out by a statement that there were 28 millions of gold in circulation. He professed that it seemed to him impossible that any man at all acquainted with the subject, any man who had read the works in which that question had been discussed with transcendent ability out of the House—it was impossible that any man acquainted with the subject could maintain that there were 28 millions of gold in circulation in this country. These things shewed him that it was necessary for the House of Commons not to place too much confidence in the prime minister who could make such statements. They had long forborne, out of tenderness to the noble Duke, to scrutinise his measures, regarding the noble Duke as the means of conferring the greatest benefit on this country which ever a man had conferred, and which he only of all the men in England could have carried into effect, producing the greatest amelioration in our situation; but let it be remembered, that if the services were great, the benefits were commensurate. The noble Duke had been amply repaid in returns of confidence and approbation: but after what they had heard, the confidence that had been bestowed on the noble Duke must be resumed; they must have confidence in themselves, for the time was come when many other things must be done [*hear, hear*]. The country could not stand still. Not half a century ago there was no hope of carrying that measure which had now been providentially carried; he said providentially, considering that it had been brought about by means which surpassed all expectation, and seemed not within the ordinary scope of human means; but the state of the country had become such, that doing justice could not be longer deferred, and the government had no other choice than to do justice, or involve the country in civil contention. He gave due credit to the noble Duke that he was sensible to the alteration which had taken place, and that if he should adopt any other measure the government could not be carried on, unless by means they must all shudder to contemplate. The state of the Representation was the evil; the Representation of the House of Commons,—which was miscalled the House of Commons, for it was not the House of the Commons of England, but a House of Representatives of certain Peers, contrary to the Law, and contrary to the Constitution—a House of Commons in which, of the supposed representatives of the people, eight or nine represented the noble Lord whose son (the Earl of Darlington) had last night moved the Address [*hear, hear*]—a House of Commons, which was stated to be most corrupt, and of which the corruption stared them so much in the face, that they themselves had been obliged to wink at it; a corruption, too, which was known all over the country, of which the whole world was aware, and the House of Commons knew that all the world knew it—*id scitis, et quod vos scitis omnes sciunt*—and a House of Commons which could not possibly be long suffered, when the people were contending with bold and increasing freedom for their privileges, they would not long tamely submit to a grievance which was the root of all other grievances, and which enabled the ministers to govern the country by means of the subserviency of the House of Commons; and if they would submit, it was what he would not submit to under these circumstances; and with such a House of Commons he knew no single subject of equal importance which could come before them. But he hoped, and he implored the noble Lord—(assuring him that no man would give him a more sincere support than he would, at a proper time, and that no man was more anxious than he was to bring the subject fairly before them—and therefore he hoped the noble Lord would give him credit for his good intentions, and for having no other wish than to procure for the subject a full consideration, and not from any motives of personal convenience)—he implored the noble Lord not then to press the subject. He would most readily place himself under his Lordship's banner, because of his frankness and manly conduct. He assured the noble Lord that in giving his advice he was convinced he was promoting the great object which both had in view, to which indeed he could not but regret his inability to do justice. He trusted the noble Lord would, on another more convenient occasion, bring the question again before the House, affording by the short delay time to have its general bearings more maturely considered by the noble lord himself and the other hon. members. It was not fair play to those who, unacquainted with the noble Lord's intention, were then absent, but who, if present, would undoubtedly give the proposition their most cordial support, to thus suddenly press so important a matter to a division. He was sure that many then not in their places would be anxious to vote with the noble Lord on a future occasion. He therefore trusted the amendment would not be pressed to a division in the unprepared state of the House; but that the noble Lord would take the sense of that branch of the legislature at a no distant occasion, when he might depend upon it he (sir F. Burdett) would, even if his were the only other vote, give the proposition his most earnest support. [*hear, hear*]

The Marquis of *Blandford*.—He had the most unfeigned respect for the personal character of the hon. Baronet, and would yield the most willing deference to his experience in that House, particularly in relation to a measure tending to improve our Representative system; but still he felt that he should be neglecting the dictates of his own sense of duty to the question, and would ill discharge his duty to the country, if he did not press his motion to an immediate division. He must press the amendment upon the House.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, though he agreed fully in the importance of the measure, and was anxious that it should be considered, he could not support the noble Lord's motion. He wished the question to be brought fairly before the House; and if the motion were then pressed to a division he must vote against the noble Lord.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he did not rise to provoke discussion on a question of such importance. Differing entirely from the hon. Baronet in the view he took of the merits of the question, yet he cordially concurred with him in thinking that the time chosen for its discussion was most improper. Whatever might be the opinions of Members on the merits of the question, all agreed that it could not then be properly discussed. [*hear, hear*] He rose principally to express his regret that the rule generally laid down for their proceedings—of not remarking on what had passed elsewhere—should have been departed from. He regretted that the hon. Baronet should have referred to anything that had occurred in the other House. He conceived that what had fallen from the hon. Baronet must have proved the expediency of the rule of not making any such remarks, for he could not break through it without committing injustice and without attacking a person who was not present to defend himself. The noble Baronet, unintentionally he was sure, had misrepresented the observations of his noble friend in another place. He was satisfied that his noble friend never meant to impute the general distress to the use of machinery and the application of steam to assist labour. [*hear*] His noble friend, he was satisfied, did not mean to say that the distress was caused by those improvements which were the great elements of ll our general prosperity. [*hear*] He believed his noble friend, lamenting that distress, had never attributed it to scientific improvements, which his noble friend was satisfied were the cause of our commercial and manufacturing greatness, and by which alone that greatness could be preserved. But his noble friend had probably lamented that the use of these improvements should have in some cases caused partial distress. His noble friend probably alluded to the effects of introducing the power-loom. His noble friend, at the same time that he imputed our manufacturing improvements to the discovery and employment of new agents and new powers, yet regretted that these improvements could not always be introduced without diminishing the demand for labour. Was it fair to say of the prime minister, that he imputed the distress of the country, of the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests, to the improvements and discoveries of science? No; he rejoiced in those improvements, and he felt their immense importance to the manufacturers of this country.

Mr. *Protheroe* said, he should feel himself compelled to vote against the noble Lord's amendment if he then pressed it to a division, though he had himself proposed resolutions of the same tendency. Every man was partial to his own progeny; he therefore was not surprised at the noble Marquis's attachment to his; but as he (Mr. P.) had sacrificed his parental affection last evening, he thought the noble Marquis might make some little sacrifice on the present occasion.

Mr. *Western* said, he would give the noble Marquis his best support on the 18th, the day on which he had given notice of his intention to bring the subject substantively before the House, but would vote against him that evening should he injudiciously press a division.

Mr. *E. Davenport* said, he also must vote against the noble Marquis's motion, should he then take the sense of the House on it. He trusted, however, the noble Marquis would not injure the cause of which he had put himself forward as the advocate, by leaving it to the country to infer that there were but some half dozen members of that House who were friendly to a reform of the present system of Representation. He (Mr. E. Davenport) had for years urged the necessity of such a measure, and therefore should not like to see it injured through the indiscretion of the noble Marquis on the present occasion.

Question put, that those words (the Marquis of Blandford's Amendment) be added. The House divided: Ayes 11; Noes 96.—Majority 85.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, February 8.

MINUTES.] The LORD CHANCELLOR gave notice, that it was his intention to lay on their lordship's table, in a few days, a Bill respecting the Court of Chancery.—The EARL of SHAFTESBURY moved, that no Petition or Private Bill be received after Wednesday, March 25; and that no Report from the Judges be received after Monday, April 21.—Ordered.

GREECE.] Lord *Holland*, perceiving from his Majesty's Speech that the final settlement of the affairs of Greece was not yet accomplished, should take an early opportunity to call on their Lordships to express an opinion on the subject; and he then rose to give notice of his intention, and to move that their Lordships should be summoned for Friday next. If he consulted his own convenience he should fix a more distant day; but as he apprehended the settlement would soon be accomplished, to do justice to the motion it was necessary to submit it to their Lordships on an early day. He had not yet settled in his own mind what would be the words of his motion, but it would be in the form of a resolution to this effect:—"Resolved, That no plan for the pacification of Greece can be approved as advantageous, or as honourable to his Majesty's Crown, which does not give to that country a territory sufficient to maintain a national defence, and such a system of Government as is consistent with the wishes of the people, and calculated to be secured against the control of foreign Governments."

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.] The Duke of *Montrose* presented his Majesty's Answer to their Lordships Address; it was as follows:—

"*My Lords:—I thank your Lordships, for your loyal and dutiful Address; and I rely with great confidence upon your zealous co-operation in all measures calculated to improve the condition of my subjects, and to maintain the honour and high character of the country.*"

The Address, on the motion of the Duke of Wellington, was ordered to be printed and published.

CONDITION OF THE SLAVES IN THE WEST INDIES.] Earl Bathurst, by command of his Majesty, presented the following ORDER of the KING IN COUNCIL for consolidating the several laws recently made for improving the condition of the Slaves in his Majesty's Colonies of Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius.

At the Court at Windsor, the 2nd of February, 1830,

PRESENT,

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

1. [*Recital and repeal of all the laws for improving the condition of slaves, made in the crown colonies since the Trinidad order in council of the 10th of March, 1824, including that order. The repeal not to bar prosecutions for past offences, nor to destroy any vested rights.*] WHEREAS, on the 10th of March, 1824, an order was made by his majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council, making provision for the religious instruction of the Slaves in his majesty's Island of Trinidad, and for the improvement of their condition: And whereas, on the 7th day of September, 1825, an ordinance for the religious instruction of Slaves in his majesty's united colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, was enacted by the lieutenant-governor and court of policy of the said colonies: And whereas, on the 25th day of September, 1826, an ordinance for promoting the religious instruction, and bettering the state and condition of the Slave-population in his majesty's colony of Berbice, was enacted by the lieutenant-governor, and the council of government of that colony: And whereas, on the 8th February, 1826, an ordinance was enacted by the governor of his majesty's Island of St. Lucia, with the advice of the council of government of the said Island, for the better government of Slaves in St. Lucia, and for improving their condition: And whereas, on the 19th day of June, 1826, an ordinance was enacted by the lieutenant-governor of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in council, for improving the condition of the Slaves at the Cape of Good Hope: and whereas, on the 7th day of February, 1829, an ordinance was passed and enacted by the governor of his majesty's Island of Mauritius in council, for improving the condition of Slaves in that Island, and its dependencies: And whereas, in the said colonies, or some of them, laws and ordinances, or proclamations have been enacted for the explanation or amendment of the order of his majesty in council, and the several ordinances hereinbefore mentioned, or some of them: And whereas, on the 5th day of February, 1827, there were laid before his majesty in council, four petitions from various proprietors and mortgagees of estates in the colonies of Demerara and Berbice, praying that no

order in council might issue, allowing the Slaves in Demerara, to purchase their freedom without the concurrence of their masters; and that so much of the order so passed as aforesaid by the lieutenant-governor and council in Berbice, as allows Slaves so to do in that colony, might be rescinded: And whereas, on the said 5th day of February, 1827, his majesty was pleased to refer the consideration of the said petitions to a committee of his privy council, and the said committee having proceeded to take the said petitions into their consideration, and having heard what was alleged on the behalf of the said petitioners, did, on the 18th day of March, 1829, report to his majesty in council their opinion that no sufficient cause had been shewn why his majesty should rescind so much of the said ordinance of the said lieutenant-governor of Berbice in council, as enables the Slaves within the said colony to effect the purchase of their freedom upon an appraisement in cases where the owners of any such Slaves might not be consenting, or by reason of some legal disability, might be unable to give any valid consent to such purchase, and that it might be expedient for his majesty in his privy council to issue an order confirming and giving effect to the said ordinance of the said lieutenant-governor in council, with such modifications with a view to the more effectual execution thereof, as might appear advisable, regard being had to the laws of the said colony, which laws his majesty had been graciously pleased to preserve and maintain: And whereas, on the 18th day of March, 1829, his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, was graciously pleased to confirm and approve the said report: And whereas, it is expedient that the laws for improving the condition of the Slaves within the said several colonies should be uniform, so far as may be practicable, due regard being had to the local circumstances and peculiar laws of the said colonies respectively; and it is therefore expedient to revoke the said order of his majesty in council of the 10th day of March, 1824, and the several laws, ordinances, and proclamations so passed and enacted as aforesaid in the said several colonies, and to consolidate and bring into one law applicable to all the said colonies, such provisions as it is necessary to make for improving the condition of the Slaves therein: it is therefore hereby ordered by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, that the said order of his majesty in council of the 10th day of March, 1824, and the said ordinance of the lieutenant-governor and court of policy of Demerara of the 7th day of September 1825, and the said ordinance of the lieutenant-governor and council of the colony of Berbice of the 25th day of September 1826, and the said ordinance of the governor in council of Saint Lucia of the 8th day of February 1826, and the said ordinance of the lieutenant-governor of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope of the 19th day of June 1826, and the said ordinance of the governor in council of Mauritius of the 7th day of February 1829, together with all laws, ordinances, and proclamations, passed, enacted, or promulgated within the said several colonies, or any of them, for the explanation or amendment of the said order in council of the 10th day of March, 1824, and of the said several ordinances, or any of them, shall be, and the same are hereby respectively revoked, repealed, and annulled: Provided nevertheless, that the said repeal shall not take effect within any of the said colonies until this present order shall in manner hereinafter mentioned, have been duly promulgated and made known in such colony: Provided also, that notwithstanding the repeal of the said order in council of the 10th of March, 1824, and of the several ordinances, laws, and proclamations, aforesaid, all crimes or offences committed against the same, or any of them, and all fines, penalties, and forfeitures incurred under the same, or any of them, shall continue liable to be punished, sued for, recovered and applied in such and the same manner as if this present order had not been made; and that all rights of what nature or kind soever, which under and by virtue of the said order in council of the 10th of March, 1824, and of the said several ordinances, laws, and proclamations, or any of them, had actually accrued to, and become invested in, any Slave or Slaves, or other person or persons, before or at the time of such repeal as aforesaid, shall be preserved to and continue vested in such Slave or Slaves, or other person or persons, as fully and effectually in all respects as though this present order had not been made.

II. [*The appointment of a protector of slaves in each of the crown colonies, saving existing offices.*] And it is further ordered that within each of the said several colonies of Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius, there shall be an officer to be called the Protector of Slaves, who shall hold such his office at his majesty's pleasure, and shall from time to time be appointed to the same by his majesty: Provided nevertheless, that any person now holding the office of Protector of Slaves in any of the said colonies, under the said order in council of the 10th March, 1824, or under the said ordinances or any of them, shall without any new or further appointment be and become the Protector of Slaves in such colony, as fully to all intents and purposes, as if he had been appointed to such his office, under and in pursuance of this present order.

III. [*The salary of protectors of slaves, and the oaths to be taken by them.*] And it is further ordered that each of the said Protectors of Slaves shall receive such a salary as his majesty shall be pleased to appoint, and that before any such Protector shall enter upon the duties of such his office, he shall appear before the governor of the colony to which he may be so appointed, in whose presence he shall take and subscribe an Oath, which such governor is hereby required to administer in the following terms; "I, A. B. do swear that I will, to the best of my knowledge

" and ability, faithfully execute and perform the duties of the office of Protector of Slaves in " the colony of without fear, favour, or partiality. So help me God."

IV. [*The protectors to keep offices, the hours of their attendance, and the custody of their records.*] And it is further ordered, that the said protector of slaves shall establish and keep an office in the principal town or seat of government in each of the said colonies respectively, and shall regularly attend at such office on such days, and during such hours of the day, as the governor of the colony, by any general or special order to be by him for that purpose issued, may appoint; and shall at such office, and not elsewhere, keep, deposit, and preserve the several records, books, papers, and writings hereinafter directed to be kept by him.

V. [*The protectors not to be owners or managers of slaves on paying of a forfeiture of office. Until that forfeiture is publicly declared, all intermediate acts are to be valid. The protector may hire slaves for his domestic service if unable to hire free servants.*] And it is further ordered, that no such protector of slaves shall himself be the owner of any slave, nor have any share or interest in, or any mortgage or security upon, any slave, nor be the proprietor of, nor have any share, or interest, or mortgage, or security, upon any land, cultivated by the labour of slaves, and he is hereby declared to be incompetent to be, or to act as the manager, overseer, agent, or attorney, of, for, or upon any plantation, or estate within the colony to which he may be so appointed; and in case any such protector of slaves shall acquire, have, hold, or possess, either in his own right, or in right of his wife, or as guardian of, or in trust for, any other person or persons, any slave, or any land, cultivated by the labour of slaves, or any share or interest in, or any mortgage or security upon any such land or slaves, or shall act as such manager, overseer, agent, attorney, guardian, trustee or executor as aforesaid, he shall thenceforth, *de facto,* cease to be such protector of slaves, and forfeit such his salary, and some other fit and proper person shall forthwith be appointed to succeed to his said office: Provided nevertheless, that all acts which may be done by or by the order of any such protector of slaves, after any such avoidance as aforesaid of such his office, and before the same shall, by public notice in the Gazette of the colony to which he had been appointed, be declared void, shall be as valid and effectual in the law as if no such avoidance had occurred: Provided that nothing herein contained, shall prevent any such protector of slaves from hiring, and employing any number of such hired slaves, for and in the domestic service of himself or any members of his family, if it shall be first made to appear by such protector, to the satisfaction of the governor of the colony to which he may belong, that it is not in his power to hire free persons to perform such domestic services.

VI. [*The protectors to be constantly resident except by the licence of the secretary of state. In case of sickness the governor may grant a leave of absence for a limited time.*] And it is further ordered, that every such protector of slaves shall, at all times, be resident within the colony to which he shall have been appointed, and shall not quit the same without a special licence to be granted for that purpose by his Majesty, through one of his principal secretaries of state: Provided, nevertheless, that if it shall be made to appear to the governor of any such colony, as aforesaid, that the absence of the protector of slaves of such colony is essential to his health, then, and not otherwise, such governor may grant to such protector a leave of absence for any time not exceeding twelve months in the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, nor exceeding six months in the colonies of Trinidad, Saint Lucia, Demerara, and Berbice.

VII. [*On the death of protectors or other avoidance of office, temporary assistants to be appointed with salaries, and to be qualified (if possible) in the same manner as the principals.*] And it is further ordered, that upon the death, suspension, removal, or resignation of any such protector of slaves, or in the event of the bodily or mental incapacity of any such protector, or during his absence from the colony to which he may have been appointed, it shall be lawful for the governor of such colony to appoint some other person to act as protector of slaves until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known, and in any such interim protector shall receive such allowance, to be deducted from the salary of the protector, if living, as the governor for the time being of such colony shall appoint: Provided always, that no person shall be so appointed or shall act in any of the colonies aforesaid, by virtue of such appointment, who, according to the provisions of this order, would be incompetent to act as protector of slaves, unless it shall appear to the governor of such colony that a proper person, duly qualified and willing to act as such, cannot be found: And all persons so appointed shall, during their continuance in any such office, have, exercise, and enjoy, all and every the powers hereby vested in the protectors of slaves, and shall be subject and liable to all such rules, regulations, and penalties, as are hereby made and provided with respect to such protectors . Provided also, that all protectors of slaves in the said colonies, shall at all times perform their duty in person, and not by deputy.

VIII. [*Assistant protectors to be appointed to execute all lawful instructions of the protector.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that assistant protectors of slaves shall be appointed by the governors of the said several colonies respectively, in each of the districts thereof, and such assistant protectors shall and are hereby required, in their several districts, to be assisting to the respective protectors of slaves of the said colonies, in the execution of the powers hereby committed to them, and for that purpose to obey and carry into execution such lawful instructions as they may, from time to time, receive from such protectors of slaves respectively, in relation to the matters herein contained, or any of them.

IX. [*In cases of complaints by or against slaves, the protector or assistant protector cannot act as a magistrate.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that no protector, or assistant protector of slaves, within the said colonies, shall be competent to act as a magistrate or otherwise, for the decision of any complaint preferred by or against a slave, or for the punishment of any offence committed by or against any slave.

X. [*The protector or assistant protector is to have notice of all prosecutions against slaves in capital or transportable cases, and of suits affecting their freedom and property, and of prosecutions for offences against their persons, and is to attend on behalf of the slave.*] And it is further ordered, that in all actions, suits, and prosecutions, which may at any time hereafter be brought or commenced in any tribunal or court of justice, within any of the said colonies wherein any slave may be charged with any offence punishable by death or transportation, or wherein any question may arise as to the right of any alleged slave to freedom, or wherein any person may be charged with the murder of any slave, or with any offence against the person of any slave, or wherein any question may arise respecting the right of any slave to any such property, as he or she is hereinafter declared competent to acquire; then, and in every such case such notice shall be given to the protector, or assistant protector of slaves for the district in which such accused slave may be resident, of every such action, suit, or prosecution, as according to the law of such colony would be given to the said slave, if he or she were of free condition; and such protector or assistant protector, shall and is hereby required, to be present at the trial and all other the proceedings in every such action, suit, or prosecution as the protector of such slave, and on his or her behalf.

XI. [*The protector or assistant protector on receiving notice of an injury done to a slave is to inquire into the case, and, if necessary, is to sue or prosecute the wrong-doer.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that if complaint shall be made to any such protector or assistant protector as aforesaid, of any wrong or injury inflicted upon, or received by, any slave within the respective colonies aforesaid, or if it shall come to his knowledge that any such wrong or injury hath been so inflicted or received, it shall be the duty of such protector or assistant protector, to inquire into the circumstances of the case, and if in the result of such inquiry it shall appear expedient to such protector or assistant protector, that a civil action be brought, or a criminal proceeding instituted, against any person or persons in respect of any such wrong or injury, it shall be his duty and he is hereby required, to institute a civil action or a criminal proceeding, as the case may be, against any such offender or wrong-doer, and to conduct such action or proceeding to its close by himself or any advocate or solicitor to be by him employed for that purpose.

XII. [*Sunday markets absolutely prohibited.*] And whereas the custom of holding public markets on Sunday hath prevailed in the said colonies, or some of them, it is hereby declared that such markets are unlawful, and that the same shall henceforth absolutely cease and determine.

XIII. [*Proceedings to be had for the dispersion of markets holden on the Sunday.*] And it is further ordered, that if any free persons or slaves shall on any Sunday hold any market, or assemble for the purpose of holding any market, in any town or other place within any of the said colonies, it shall be the duty of the officers of police acting in and for any such town or place, and they are hereby required to make proclamation calling upon all persons present at any such market or assemblage forthwith to disperse, and any person who after such proclamation made shall continue present at any such market or assemblage, or shall return thither for the purpose of holding any such market as aforesaid, shall forfeit a sum not less than five, nor exceeding twenty shillings for every such offence.

XIV. [*The prohibition of the public sale of goods on Sunday in shops or elsewhere.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that if any slave or slaves, or free person or persons, shall, at any place within any of the said colonies, sell or expose for sale, on Sunday, any merchandize, goods, or effects whatever, it shall be lawful for any officer of the Police of such colonies respectively to seize any such merchandize, goods, and effects, and cause them to be taken before any judge or magistrate of police of such colony, who, upon view of the articles so seized, shall either order the same to be sold, or cause the same to be tendered to the person or persons from whom they were so taken, and restored to them, him, or her, upon payment, by any such person or persons, of a sum not less than ten, nor more than twenty shillings; and the proceeds of every such sale, or the money so to be paid for the redemption of any such goods, shall be applied, one half for the benefit of the poor of the town or place in which such seizure shall be made, and the other half shall be paid to the person or persons making such seizure.

XV. [*The sale of certain perishable articles permitted, except during divine service.*] Provided always, and it is further ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent the sale of medicines, or of provisions for consumption in any inns or victualling houses, on Sunday, nor to prevent the sale of milk, fresh meat, fish, or turtle, in any shop or store on Sunday, between the hours set apart for the celebration of divine service on that day.

XVI. [*The governor is to appoint one market day in each week.*] And it is hereby ordered, that it shall be lawful for the governor of each of the said colonies respectively, and he is hereby required by a public proclamation or proclamations, to be by him from time to time for that purpose issued, to appoint one day in each week for holding markets, at all places within the said colony, at which it hath heretofore been customary to hold markets on Sunday, and to determine the hours of the day during which such markets shall be holden; and from time to time, as occasion may require, to alter the day, or the hours of the day, so to be appointed, as aforesaid; and on any such weekly market-day it shall not be lawful to seize in execution, under any civil process whatever, any slave resorting to, or being at, or returning from any such market, but every such seizure shall be absolutely null and void to all intents and purposes.

XVII. [*Prohibition of labour on Sunday.*] And it is further ordered, that no slave within any of the colonies aforesaid, shall be liable, except as hereinafter excepted, to labour for the benefit, profit, or advantage of his or her owner or manager, or of any person or persons whatsoever, on any Sunday throughout the year.

XVIII. [*Penalty on persons working their slaves on Sunday.*] And it is further ordered, that if any person shall compel, or shall by any means hire or induce any slave to perform or engage in any labour on any Sunday, except in the cases hereinafter excepted, the person so offending shall, in respect of every such slave, incur a fine of not less than twenty shillings, nor more than three pounds.

XIX. [*Exception of the labour of domestic servants.*] Provided nevertheless, and it is further ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any domestic work or labour which may be performed on Sunday, by any slave usually employed as a domestic, nor to any labour performed by any slave in the tending or care of cattle.

XX. [*Slaves may be employed on Sunday in works of necessity. The governor, by proclamation, to define what works are necessary. Notice to be given to the protector of every such employment of slaves.*] Provided also and it is further ordered, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the employment of slaves, in any of the colonies aforesaid, on Sunday for the performance of any work of necessity. But for the prevention of abuses herein, it is further ordered that the governors of the said colonies respectively, shall from time to time, by proclamations to be by them for that purpose issued, define, with all possible precision, every work of necessity in which any such slave may be so employed on Sunday, and restrict and limit any such employment by such conditions as to them respectively may seem just: and every person who, on the ground of any such necessity, shall employ any slave or slaves to labour on Sunday, shall give to the protector or assistant-protector of the district in which such slave or slaves shall be resident, a previous notice in writing of his or her intention so to employ such slaves; or, if by reason of any unforeseen emergency it shall not be possible to give such notice previously to the actual employment of such slave or slaves, then a notice in writing that any such slave or slaves hath or have been so employed, shall, within forty-eight hours next after such employment, be given to such protector or assistant-protector, and no person employing any slave to labour within any of the said colonies on Sunday, on the ground of necessity, shall be exempted from the penalties hereby imposed, unless such written notice as aforesaid be given within the time aforesaid to such protector or assistant-protector; nor unless the necessity shall be such as shall have been defined by a proclamation so issued by such governor as aforesaid, nor unless the conditions and restrictions in any such proclamation contained shall be observed and performed.

XXI. [*The whip may not be carried in the field as a stimulus to labour, nor as an emblem of authority, nor used except for the punishment of a fault previously committed.*] And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that it is and shall henceforth be illegal for any person or persons within any of the said colonies while superintending the labour of any slave or slaves in any agricultural or manufacturing operation, to carry any whip, cat, or other instrument, usually employed in the punishment of slaves, or to exhibit any such whip, cat, or other instrument, as a mark or emblem of the authority of the person or persons so carrying or exhibiting the same over any slaves or slave, or to strike, beat, or scourge any slave or slaves with any such whip, cat, or other instrument, unless for the punishment of some fault by such slave or slaves previously committed; and any person who in contravention hereof shall so carry, exhibit, or use any such whip, cat, or other instrument, or direct, authorize, procure, or be assisting in or towards the commission of any such offence, shall be and be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

XXII. [*Females may not be punished by whipping. Males may not receive more than twenty-five stripes for one offence, nor more than twenty-five lashes in one day, nor any whipping so long as any unhealed scars remain on the body, nor unless one free witness, or six slaves, be present.*] And it is further declared and ordered, that it is, and shall be illegal to correct or punish any female slave within any of the said colonies by the flogging, whipping, scourging, or beating of her person, and that it is and shall henceforth be illegal to correct or punish any male slave within any of the said colonies by the flogging, whipping, scourging, or beating of his person, if the whole number of stripes inflicted on such male slave for any one offence, shall exceed twenty-five, or if by any number of successive punishments, more than twenty-five stripes in the whole be inflicted on any such male slave, within twenty-four hours; or, if at the time of inflicting any such punishment there shall be on the person of such slave, any unhealed wound or laceration occasioned by any former punishment; or, if some one person of free condition, not being either the person inflicting, or the person authorizing the said punishment, be not present at and witnessing the infliction of such punishment, or in cases where the attendance of no such free witness can be procured, then if six adult slaves at the least, be not present at, and witnessing the infliction of such punishment; and any person or persons who, in contravention hereof shall correct or punish any female slave by the flogging, whipping, scourging or beating of her person, or inflict upon any male slave any punishment to an amount or under circumstances so prohibited and declared illegal as aforesaid, or direct, authorize, or procure, or be assisting in or towards the commission of any such offence, shall be and be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

XXIII. [*Exception of judicial punishment.*] Provided nevertheless, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any punishment which may be inflicted upon any male slave by virtue of the sentence of any court of competent jurisdiction within any of the colonies aforesaid.

XXIV. [*Punishments of female slave children excepted, if not more severe than punishments legally inflicted in schools on children of free condition.*] Provided also, that nothing herein contained, extends, or shall be construed to extend, to prevent the owner or manager of any female slave under the age of ten years, from causing her to be punished for any fault by her committed, in the same manner, and to the same extent, as any female child of free condition may lawfully be, and usually is punished in any schools for the education of youth in the said colonies respectively.

XXV. [*The governors authorized to prescribe the modes of punishment which in the case of female slaves are to be substituted for punishment by the whip.*] And whereas, it is necessary that effectual means should be adopted for the punishment of such offences as may hereafter be committed by female slaves within the said colonies, but regulations of that nature cannot conveniently be made, except by persons resident within the said colonies, it is therefore ordered, that any female slave, who shall commit any offence within any of the said colonies, which by the laws in force there, was heretofore punishable by whipping, shall, for such her offence, be subject and liable to imprisonment, or to confinement in the stocks, or to such other punishment as may be specially authorized by any proclamation or proclamations, from time to time to be for that purpose issued, by the governors of the said colonies respectively; and in such proclamations the said governors shall prescribe with all practicable precision, the nature and extent of the punishments so to be substituted for the punishment of whipping in the case of female slaves, and shall make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for preventing and punishing any abuses in the infliction of such substituted punishments.

XXVI. [*The protector in each colony is to deliver to every manager of slaves, annually a book for keeping a record of all punishments inflicted on plantation slaves.*] And it is further ordered, that the protector of slaves in each of the said colonies, and every assistant protector in his district, shall in the month of December, in each year, on application to him and them for that purpose made, deliver to every manager of slaves employed in any agricultural or manufacturing labour within the said colonies, a printed blank book to be called the Punishment-record Book, and to be made up for, and to be used during the year commencing on the 1st day of January then next ensuing; and for every such book, every such protector or assistant protector of slaves, as the case may be, shall be entitled to demand and receive the sum of one shilling, and no more; and every such manager of slaves shall, and is hereby required to supply himself with a copy of such printed blank book on payment of the sum aforesaid to such protector or assistant protector; and if any person shall at any time during the year next ensuing, upon any such month of December, and after the commencement of such year, enter upon the management of any slaves employed in any such labour as aforesaid, every such person shall, and is hereby required, to supply himself or herself with a copy of such printed blank book, on payment of the sum aforesaid to such protector or assistant protector.

XXVII. [*The manager is to insert in the books an account of every punishment, the age and sex of the slave, the offence, the time, and place where committed, the extent of punishment, by whom authorized and inflicted, and the witnesses present.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that every manager of slaves employed in agricultural or manufacturing labour, within any of the said colonies, shall insert in such printed blank book as aforesaid, an exact and true account of every punishment by him or her, or by his or her authority inflicted upon each and every such slave, specifying the age and sex of the slave so punished, and the nature of the offence in respect of which such punishment may have been inflicted, and the time at which, and the place where such offence was committed, and the time at which, and the place where such punishment was inflicted, and the nature and extent of the punishment; and the name of the person by whom, and by the authority of whom the punishment was inflicted, and the name or names of the witness or witnesses present and attending at the infliction of every such punishment; and in the cases of any male slaves, who shall be punished by whipping, the number of stripes actually inflicted upon the offender.

XXVIII. [*Penalties on omitting to make entries and on false or fraudulent entries, erasures, &c.*] And it is further ordered, that if the manager of any plantation slaves within any of the said colonies, shall neglect or omit to make in the said punishment-record book any entry which, according to the provisions of this order ought to have been made therein, or shall not make such entry within two days next after the infliction of the punishment to which such entry may refer, the persons so offending shall incur a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, nor less than two pounds: and if any person or persons shall wilfully or fraudulently make, or cause or procure to be made any false or fraudulent entry or erasure in any such punishment-record book, or shall wilfully or fraudulently burn, destroy, cancel, or obliterate the same, or any part thereof, he, she, or they shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanour.

XXIX. [*Half-yearly returns to be made of the entries in these books, on the oath of the manager.*] And it is further ordered, that every manager of any plantation-slaves within the said colonies, shall on or within five days next after the first Monday which shall happen next after the 5th day of April and the 29th day of September in each year, repair to the protector, or the assistant protector of slaves for the district in which such slaves shall then be resident, and shall then and there produce before him an exact transcript of every entry which, during the half-year next preceding, may have been made by such manager in his or her punishment-record book, and shall then and there take and subscribe before such protector or assistant protector, an affidavit to be annexed to the said transcript in the following words, that is to say—

"I, *A. B.* do make oath, and say, that the paper writing hereunto annexed contains a "true and exact copy of every entry, which, since the day of last, "hath been made in the punishment-record book of the plantation-slaves under my manage- "ment. And I do further swear, that the said punishment-record book hath been punctually "and accurately kept since the said day of in the manner by law "required, and that no fraudulent erasure or false entry hath been made therein by me or by "any person by my procurement, or with my consent, or to my knowledge and belief. So "help me God."

XXX. [*In cases where the manager cannot write, he may employ another person to keep the record, and is to be sworn in a different form.*] And whereas some persons having the management of plantation-slaves in the said colonies may be unable to write or keep such records as aforesaid, it is further ordered, that it shall and may be lawful for any such person to employ any other person to keep such record of punishments on his or her behalf, and to every such illiterate person as aforesaid, instead of the oath hereinbefore mentioned, the protector or assistant protector of slaves, as the case may be, shall, and is hereby authorized to administer an oath in the following words, viz.—

"I, *A. B.* do make oath and say, that I am unable to write. I do further swear, that the "punishment-record book of the plantation-slaves under my management, hath, to the best of "my belief, been punctually and accurately kept since the day of in the manner by law required, by *C. D.*, of whom I have employed for "that purpose: and I do swear, that no fraudulent erasure or false entry hath been made therein "by me, or by any person by my procurement, or with my consent, or to my knowledge or "belief. So help me God."

XXXI. [*In cases where no punishments have been inflicted during the half-year, a special return on oath to be made of that fact.*] And in case any such manager as aforesaid shall not, since the time of making his said last preceding return, have inflicted, or authorized to be inflicted, any such punishment as is hereinbefore required to be recorded in the said book, then, and in every such case, in lieu of the oath aforesaid, such owner or manager shall, at the time and place aforesaid, take and subscribe an oath in the following words, that is to say—

"I, *A. B.*, do swear, that since the day of now past, no "punishment hath been inflicted by me, or by my order or authority, or to my knowledge or "belief, upon any plantation-slave under my management. So help me God."

XXXII. [*The protector is to supply all managers with blank forms of returns, and to publish the time and place when he will attend to receive them. In case of sickness the manager to be attended at his own home.*] Provided always, and it is further ordered, that the protector or assistant protector of slaves, within each of the said colonies shall, fourteen days at the least before the time appointed for making the said returns, transmit to the manager of all plantation-slaves within their respective districts, a printed blank form of each of the before-mentioned affidavits, together with a notice of the time and place at which he will attend for the purpose of receiving the said returns, and administering the oaths aforesaid, and the said assistant protectors of slaves shall, and they are hereby required, to attend accordingly from day to day for six successive days, and no more, for the purposes aforesaid; and in case it shall be made to appear to any such protector or assistant protector, by the oath of any medical practitioner, which oath such protector or assistant protector is hereby authorized to administer, that any person liable to make such return is, by reason of sickness, incapable of attending for that purpose at the time and place so to be appointed as aforesaid, then, and in every such case, such assistant protector shall, and he is hereby required, to attend any person so incapacitated, at his or her place of abode, for the purpose of receiving the said returns, and administering such affidavits as aforesaid.

XXXIII. [*Penalties on persons omitting to make their Returns.*] And it is hereby ordered that if any person shall refuse or neglect to make any return hereby required of him or her, or to make or take and subscribe any oath which he or she is hereby required to take and subscribe, the person so offending shall incur a fine not less than ten pounds, and not exceeding fifty pounds.

XXXIV. [*The assistant protectors are to transmit their returns to the protector, with a list of defaulters, and the assistant protectors are to make their own returns to the protector himself.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that the assistant protector of slaves of each district within the said respective colonies, shall, and he is hereby required to transmit to the protector of slaves of such colony the whole of the returns so to be made to him as aforesaid, together with the original affidavits, thereunto annexed, within fourteen days next after the latest day so to be appointed as aforesaid for receiving the same, together with a list of all managers of slaves within the district to which such assistant protector may belong, who shall not have completed or made the returns required from them by law; and if any such assistant protector shall himself be the manager of any plantation slaves, he shall within such time as shall by the said protector of slaves be for that purpose appointed, deliver or transmit to the said protector, a transcript of the entries in his own punishment-record book, together with an affidavit to be by him sworn before the said protector of slaves or before any other person to be by such protector for that purpose appointed, in the manner and form herein prescribed, and under such and the like penalty as is hereinbefore mentioned in the case of other persons refusing or neglecting to make their returns or to take the beforementioned oaths.

XXXV. [*The protector may send back for correction returns improperly or irregularly made.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that if any such return as aforesaid shall be irregularly or improperly made, it shall be lawful for the protector or assistant protector of slaves to refuse to receive, or, having received, to send back such return for correction, and to limit the time within which such return shall be so corrected and sent back to him. And no return hereby required shall be deemed to have been made acccording to law until any such irregularity or impropriety as aforesaid shall first have been corrected by the person making the same: Provided that during the period so to be limited for correcting any such return, no penalty shall be incurred by the person making the same, by reason of any such irregularity or impropriety as aforesaid.

XXXVI. [*The protector is to enrol in books all the returns which he may receive.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that the said protector of slaves shall transcribe and record in books to be by him kept for that purpose, the whole of the returns so to be made to him, and shall keep and preserve in his office the said original returns and affidavits: And for the better and more convenient keeping of the said records, it is further ordered, that the said protectors of slaves shall keep distinct books for the different districts of the said colonies respectively, and shall therein transcribe each of the said returns in alphabetical order, according to the names of the persons making the same, and shall also keep full and exact indexes of the said books.

XXXVII. [*Slaves are declared competent to marry.*] And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that no person within the said colonies respectively is or shall be incapable in law of contracting marriage by reason that such person is in a state of slavery.

XXXVIII. [*A slave desiring to marry must apply for a licence to the protector, and produce the owner's consent. If the owner refuses, he is to be summoned before the protector; and if the protector is not satisfied that the marriage would be injurious to the slave, he is to grant a licence to any English, Scotch, or Roman Catholic clergyman, or Dissenting minister, to celebrate it.*] And it is further ordered, that any person in a state of slavery in any of the said colonies who may be desirous to contract a marriage, shall, at his or her election, apply either to the protector or to the assistant protector of slaves, of the district in which the woman may reside, for a marriage licence: and as an authority to him to grant the same, shall produce the consent, in writing, of the manager of any such slave, or of the managers of both of such slaves, if both parties shall be in a state of slavery, to the celebration thereof; but in case the manager or managers of either or both of such slaves, shall refuse to give such written consent for the celebration of any such marriage, then, and in every such case, the protector or assistant protector of slaves, as the case may be, shall forthwith issue a summons under his hand, requiring the manager or managers of such slave or slaves to appear before him, by themselves or their agents, at some convenient time and place, to be in such notice for that purpose appointed, such time being not more than fourteen days distant from the time when such application as aforesaid shall be received by such protector or assistant protector of slaves as aforesaid; and if on the appearance of such manager or managers, or in the absence of him, or them, after due citation by the delivery to him or them of such notice, no sufficient cause shall appear to satisfy such protector, or assistant protector, that such proposed marriage would be injurious to the said slaves, or either of them, then, and in every such case, the said protector or assistant protector of slaves shall, without fee or reward, issue a licence under his hand and seal for the solemnization of the marriage of the said slave or slaves, and it shall be lawful for any clergyman of the Established Church of England and Ireland, or any minister of the Kirk of Scotland, or any priest or curate professing the Roman Catholic religion, or any teacher of religion, within any such colony, carrying on there no other profession, business, or occupation of profit, except that of a schoolmaster, to solemnize the marriage of the said slave or slaves, and the same, when so solemnized, shall to all intents and purposes be binding, valid, and effectual in the law.

XXXIX. [*Marriages among slaves are not to be valid in cases prohibited by law among free persons.*] Provided nevertheless, and it is further ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to render any marriage between persons in a state of slavery, or between a slave and a free person, valid, or effectual, which would be illegal or void if both such persons were of free condition and had been intermarried by a priest in holy orders of the Church of England.

XL. [*Slaves are not, by marrying, to acquire rights inconsistent with the legal rights of the owner.*] Provided always, that no marriage which may be solemnized between any slaves in any of the said colonies, shall invest the parties contracting such marriage, or their progeny, with any rights at variance with the legal title of the owners or managers of such slaves, to the services of such slaves or their progeny, or with the duties which such slaves or their progeny are bound by law to render to such their owners or managers.

XLI. [*Registries to be kept of the marriages of slaves.*] And it is further ordered, that every person by whom any such marriage shall be solemnized, by virtue of any such licence as aforesaid, shall within fourteen days next after the solemnization thereof, under a penalty of not less than five pounds, nor more than twenty pounds, transmit to the said protector of slaves, and to the assistant-protector of the district in which the woman may reside respectively, certificates of the solemnization of such marriage; and the said protector of slaves, and the said assistant-protector respectively, shall register in books, to be by them kept for that purpose, every marriage which shall be so solemnized, with the date thereof, and the names, descriptions, and places of abode of the parties contracting, and of the persons solemnizing every such marriage.

XLII. [*Slaves may acquire property of any amount, and bring and defend actions for it.*] And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that no person within the said colonies being in a state of slavery, is or shall be deemed to be by reason or on account of, such his or her condition, incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, or enjoy, alienate, devise, or bequeath property of any amount or of any description whatsoever, not hereinafter excepted; but every such slave shall and is hereby declared to be competent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, enjoy, alienate, devise and bequeath property of any amount or of any description, not hereinafter excepted, and to bring, maintain, prosecute, and defend any action in any court of justice, for and in respect of any such property, as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as if he or she were of free condition.

XLIII. [*Slaves may not be proprietors of boats, ammunition, &c.*] Provided always, that no slave in any of the said colonies shall be competent to become the proprietor of, or to hold or retain any boats, or other craft or vessels, or any share or interest therein, or any gunpowder or other ammunition, fire arms, or military weapons, of whatever nature or kind soever.

XLIV. [*Slaves may not be proprietors of slaves.*] Provided also, and it is hereby further ordered, that no person in a state of slavery shall be competent in the law to acquire or possess any slave or slaves, or any interest in any slave or slaves.

XLV. [*Slaves may not be taken in execution in satisfaction of debts contracted by themselves.*] Provided also, and it is hereby further ordered, that no slave shall be liable to be taken in execution or detained in prison, or in any other confinement, upon any process issuing out of any court of justice in any of the said colonies, in any civil action against any such slave, or in any civil proceeding depending in any such court, to which any such slave may be a party.

XLVI. [*Slaves not to be separated under legal process if bearing to each other any of the relations herein-mentioned.*] And it is further ordered, that it shall not be lawful in the execution of any judgment, sentence, decree, or order, of any tribunal, or of any court of justice, within any of the said colonies, to seize or take in execution, or sell any slave separate and apart from any other slave to whom he or she may bear the relation of a husband or wife or the relation of parent or child, or to whom he or she shall be reputed to bear any of those relations, and who may also be the property of the person or persons against whom any such judgment, sentence, decree or order has been pronounced; but in the execution of every such judgment, sentence, decree or order, all slaves being the property of the same person or persons, and bearing to each other any such relation, or reputed relation, as aforesaid, shall be sold together, and in one and the same lot, and to the same person or persons; and if any slave shall be seized or sold in contravention hereof, every such seizure, execution, and sale, shall be, and the same is hereby declared to be absolutely null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, so far as respects any such slave or slaves.

XLVII. [*Separation of families are not to take place on the death of their owners intestate.*] And it is further ordered, that in the succession and inheritance to the estate of any person who may have died intestate, no severance shall be made of slaves bearing to each other either of the relations, or reputed relations, aforesaid; but, that if such slaves shall descend to different persons, the Supreme Court of civil justice for such colony shall, and is hereby required, on the application of the protector of slaves thereof, to make order for the sale of such slaves together and in one lot, and to the same person or persons, if it shall be made to appear to the said court that the separation of such slaves cannot otherwise be prevented; and the money arising from any such sale shall belong to and become the property of the persons entitled to the said slaves, and such court shall, on the summary application of any of the parties interested, make such order for the application of any such money as may be just.

XLVIII. [*Husbands and wives, parents and children, may not be separated from each other by conveyance, contract or will.*] And it is further ordered, that where any two or more slaves in the said colonies, belonging to the same owner or owners, shall bear to each other, any such relation or reputed relation as aforesaid, such slaves shall not be sold, alienated, or disposed of separate and apart from each other, and that any private contract, sale, conveyance, donation, will, or other mode of alienation whatsoever, whereby any such slave shall be sold, alienated or disposed of separate and apart from the slave to whom he or she may bear such relation or reputed relation, shall, as far as respects any such slave, or slaves be absolutely, and to all intents and purposes, null and void and of no effect.

XLIX. [*In cases where it is unknown or doubtful whether a slave has any such relations, the protector is to inquire into and certify the fact.*] Provided also, that if upon any intended contract, sale, conveyance, or alienation, or upon the intended seizure in execution under process of law, of any slave, it shall be unknown or doubtful whether such slave doth or doth not bear any such relation as aforesaid, to any other slave, being the property of the same owner or owners, it shall be lawful for any of the parties interested in any such contract, sale, or conveyance, alienation or seizure, to require the protector of slaves to inquire into and ascertain the fact, and such protector shall thereupon, by inquiries addressed to the slaves themselves, and by all other lawful ways, ascertain whether any such slave doth or doth not bear any such relation, or reputed relation, to any other slave or slaves being the property of the same owner or owners; and such protector shall deliver to the party or parties interested a certificate under his hand, of the result of any such inquiry; and if, in and by any such certificate, such protector shall certify that the slave respecting whom any such inquiry is made doth not, to the best of his, the said protector's belief, bear any such relation, or reputed relation, as aforesaid, to any other slave or slaves, being the property of the same owner or owners, nothing herein contained shall prevent, or be construed to prevent, any slave respecting whom any such certificate may be so given, from being separated from any other slave, or shall affect the validity of any contract, sale, conveyance, will, or other instrument or alienation which may be made, or of any legal process which may be executed for that purpose.

L. [*If Slaves standing in the prescribed relations to each other shall signify to the protector their willingness to be separated, and if the protectors should consider the separation neither injurious to the slaves, nor improper in itself, he may authorize the separation, except in the cases of husbands and wives.*] Provided also, that if any Slaves bearing to each other any such lawful or reputed relation as aforesaid, other than the relation of husband and wife, shall signify to the protector of slaves of the colony to which they belong, both parties being first privately examined by him, their full and free consent to any such separation as aforesaid, and if such protector of slaves shall be of opinion that such separation would not be injurious to the slaves themselves nor involve the violation of the duties owing by such slaves to each other, and if the said protector shall thereupon certify under his hand, his consent on the behalf of such slaves to such proposed separation, then and in that case, nothing herein contained shall prevent or be construed to prevent the separation of such slaves from each other, or affect the validity of any contract, sale, conveyance, or will, or other instrument or alienation which may be made, or of any legal process which may be executed for that purpose.

LI. [*Slave children above the age of* 16 *may be separated from their parents.*] Provided nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall prevent or extend to the separation of any child of the full age of sixteen years from his or her father or mother, or reputed father and mother.

LII. [*All fees of office and duties on manumissions abolished.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that no duty, tax, or impost, or fee of office, shall hereafter be levied, demanded, or payable, within any of the said colonies, upon, for, or on account, in respect of the manumission of any slave, or the enrolment or registration of any deed of manumission, save and except a fee not exceeding twenty shillings, which shall, by the said protector of slaves, be paid for enrolling and registering every such deed of manumission among the records of the Supreme Court of civil justice of every such colony, and which fee shall be repaid to such protector of slaves out of the public revenue of the colony to which he may belong; and, if any person in any of the said colonies shall hereafter demand, accept, or receive any such duty, tax, impost, or fee of office, save as aforesaid, the person so offending shall incur and become liable to the payment of a fine amounting to not less than 10*l.* nor more than 50*l.* over and above the amount of the tax, duty, impost, or fee, so by him received.

LIII. [*All persons may manumit slaves, belonging to them, with the concurrence of all the joint-owners.*] And for the prevention of doubts as to the power of the owners of slaves to manumit such slaves at their pleasure, it is hereby further ordered and declared, that subject to the regulations hereinafter made, any person being the owner of any slave in any of the said colonies, may, by his or her last will, or by deed under his or her hand and seal, at his or her pleasure, manumit, and set free any such slave, so far as relates to the interest of every such testator or grantor, and that every such manumission shall, as far as relates to the interest of the testator or grantor, as the case may be, but no further, or otherwise, be valid and effectual in the law for the perpetual enfranchisement of any such slave. Provided nevertheless, that no person having a partial or temporary interest in any slave, may, to the extent of such interest, effect his or her manumission gratuitously, unless all other persons having a partial, future, or reversionary interest, in such slave, shall consent, or be parties to such manumission, or unless such partial, future, or reversionary interests shall be purchased in the manner hereinafter provided.

LIV. [*If the slave is manumitted gratuitously, bond must be given for his maintenance if he be* *less than six or more than fifty years old, or in a state of disease.*] And, in order to prevent the fraudulent manumission of slaves incompetent from age or disease to earn their own living, it is further ordered, that in case any such deed of manumission shall be executed gratuitously and without any valuable consideration passing to the owner or other person effecting the same, the slave so to be manumitted shall, previously to the actual execution of any such deed, appear before the protector of slaves, or the assistant protector of slaves, for the district in which the slave is resident; and if it shall appear to the said protector or assistant protector, that such slave is under the age of six years, or above the age of fifty years, or is labouring under any habitual disease or infirmity of mind or body, the owner or person effecting such manumission shall, under his or her hand and seal, execute and deliver to the said protector or assistant protector, a bond to his majesty in the penal sum of 200*l.* with a condition thereunder written for the defeazance thereof, if such slave shall be properly fed, clothed, and maintained until the age of fourteen years in the case of infants, or during the term of his or her natural life in the case of adults of the age of fifty years, or labouring under any such sickness, disease, or infirmity as aforesaid; and no such gratuitous manumission shall be valid and effectual in the law, or shall be received for enrolment at such office of registry, until such bond as aforesaid shall be duly executed, registered, and deposited in the said office.

LV. [*The bond not necessary in case of testamentary manumissions, but the estate of the testator to remain liable as though such bond had been given.*] Provided nevertheless, and it is further ordered, that no such bond, as aforesaid, shall be required in the case of any manumission by will; but, if at the time of the death of the testator, the slave so manumitted shall be under the age of six years, or above the age of fifty years, or labouring under any such disease or infirmity, as aforesaid, the estate of every such testator shall be liable to, and chargeable with, the maintenance of such slave, until the age of fourteen years in the case of infants, or during the term of his or her natural life in the case of adults, or of slaves labouring under any such disease or infirmity, as fully as if the said testator had, in his or her life-time executed such bond as aforesaid.

LVI. [*With the concurrence of the protector, slaves may contract with their owners for the purchase of their freedom.*] And, to prevent ignorant slaves effecting the purchase of their freedom from persons unable to make any valid title to the same, it is further ordered and declared, that it is and shall be lawful for any person, being the owner of any slave in any of the said colonies, to contract with such slave, through the agency of the protector of slaves of such colony, acting for and on behalf of such slave, but not otherwise, for the manumission of the said slave, at a price to be agreed upon between the said owner and protector of slaves respectively; and, in case of any such contract, it shall be the duty of the said protector of slaves to obtain from the office of registry of slaves a certificate of the name or names of the person or persons by whom such slave was last registered as his, her, or their property; and it shall also be the duty of the said protector of slaves to give notice by advertisement in the public gazettee of such colony of such intended manumission, fourteen days, at the least, before the same is effected; and if from such certificate, as aforesaid, it shall appear that the person or persons proposing to contract for the manumission of any such slave, is, or are not, the registered owner or owners of such slave, or if any person shall give to the said protector of slaves notice that there exists any charge or mortgage upon or affecting (or alleged to be upon or to affect) such slave, or that any future or reversionary interest in such slave is vested in any person or persons who is, or are not, a party or parties to, or consenting to, such proposed manumission, the said protector shall, on behalf of such slave refuse to proceed with such contract. And it shall also be the duty of the said protector of slaves, on behalf of the said slave, to satisfy himself that the person proposing to effect the said manumission has good right and title in the law, and is competent to effect the same; and it shall also be the duty of the said protector of slaves, without fee or reward, to prepare, in every such case, the proper deed of manumission, which shall in all cases be executed in the presence of, and attested by the said protector of slaves, or some proper person to be especially appointed by him to be such witness thereto; and every such deed being so executed shall, by such protector of slaves, be enrolled in the supreme court of civil justice, in and for the colony to which he belongs, within one calendar month next after the date and execution thereof, on payment of a fee for such enrolment, to the person enrolling it, not exceeding the sum of twenty shillings; and in case any such deed shall not be so enrolled by the said protector of slaves, within the said period of one calendar month, the said protector of slaves shall incur, and be liable to the payment of a fine of not less than ten pounds, nor more than fifty pounds.

LVII. [*Slaves may effect the purchase of their freedom by a compulsory process. If the owner be unwilling or unable to effect the manumission, or labour under any incapacity, or if an excessive price be demanded, the chief judge is to cite all persons having an interest in the slave to attend him.*] And to provide for the manumission of slaves, in cases where the owners of such slaves may be unwilling or unable to contract for such manumission, it is hereby further ordered, that if the owner of any slave in any of the said colonies, or any person having any interest in any such slave, shall be unwilling to effect his or her manumission, or shall, by reason of any mortgage or settlement, or lease or charge upon, or interest in such slave being vested in any other person or persons, be unable to execute a valid and effectual manumission of such slave: or if the owner, or any other person having a charge upon or interest in any such slave shall be a minor or a married woman, or idiot or lunatic, or if the real owner of any such slave shall be absent from the colony to which the slave belongs, or shall not be known; or if any suit or action shall be depending in any court of justice in the said colony wherein the title to the said slave, or the right to his or her service shall or may be in controversy, or if the owner of any such slave shall demand as the price of his or her freedom, a greater sum of money than may appear to the said protector of slaves to be the fair and just value thereof, then and in each and every of the cases aforesaid, the chief civil judge of such colony, on application to him for that purpose made, by the protector of slaves of such colony shall issue a summons under his hand and seal, requiring the owner or the manager of such slave to appear before him, by themselves or their agents, at some convenient time and place, to be in such summons for that purpose appointed, and notice shall be published by the said protector of slaves in the public gazette of such colony, of the time and place appointed for the purpose aforesaid; and in such notice, all persons having or claiming to have any title or interest to, or in the slave proposed to be manumitted either in their own right, or as the agents, guardians, attornies, trustees, or representatives of any other person, shall be required to attend and prefer such claims.

LVIII. [*On proof made to the judge of such incapacity, &c. he is to require the protector and owner each to name an appraiser, and is himself to name an umpire. The judge when necessary is to nominate the appraiser also.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that at the time appointed for any such meeting, as aforesaid, the chief civil judge of such colony, in the presence of the protector of slaves thereof, and also in the presence of the owner or manager of the slave proposed to be manumitted, or upon proof being made to him upon oath of the due service and publication of such notice as aforesaid, then, if necessary, in the absence of such owner or manager, shall proceed to hear in a summary way what may be alleged by the said protector of slaves, and by the owner or manager, or other persons claiming any interest in the said slave proposed to be manumitted, and attending in pursuance of any such notice; and in case the said parties, or any of them, shall refuse to effect such manumission at a price approved by the said protector of slaves, or in case it shall be made to appear to the said chief civil judge that a valid and effectual manumission of such slave cannot legally be effected by private contract, or that the owner of such slave, or any person having any charge upon or interest in such slave is a minor, or a married woman, or idiot, or lunatic, or that the real owner of such slave, or any person having any charge upon or interest in such slave is absent from the said colony, or is unknown, or cannot be found, or that any action is depending in any court of justice in such colony wherein the title to such slave, or the right to his or her services, is in controversy, then, and in every such case, the said chief civil judge shall require the protector of slaves, and the owner or manager of such slave, if attending in pursuance of this notice, each to nominate an appraiser of his or her value, and the said judge shall himself nominate an umpire between such appraisers; but if such owner or manager, being duly summoned as aforesaid, shall fail to attend, or attending, shall refuse or omit to nominate an appraiser, then the said judge shall not only nominate such umpire as aforesaid, but shall also nominate an appraiser on behalf of such owner or manager.

LIX. [*The appraisers to make a valuation in seven days, failing which the umpire is to make the valuation.*] And it is further ordered, that the appraisers so to be nominated as aforesaid, shall be duly sworn by and before the said chief civil judge, to make a fair and impartial appraisement of the slave so proposed to be manumitted, and within seven days next after such their appointment, such appraisers shall make a joint valuation of the said slave, and shall certify such their valuation to the said chief civil judge under their hands and seals, and in case such joint certificate shall not be so made and delivered to the said judge within the said term of seven days, then the said umpire being duly sworn in manner aforesaid, shall within the next succeeding seven days certify his valuation to the said judge, and the valuation to be made in manner aforesaid, either by the said joint appraisers, or in their default by the said umpire, shall be binding and conclusive, and shall be entered and enrolled among the records of the supreme court of civil justice in and for such colony.

LX. [*On proof to the judge of fraud or injustice in making the valuation, he may set it aside, and so on till an unobjectionable valuation is made.*] Provided nevertheless, that if it shall be made to appear to the said judge within one calendar month next after such valuation shall have been made, that in the making thereof the said appraisers or umpire, or any of them, acted fraudulently or unjustly, or under the influence of any improper motive, then, but not otherwise, it shall be lawful for the said judge to set aside the said valuation, and to declare the same to be void, and to direct another valuation to be made in manner aforesaid, for which purpose new appraisers and a new umpire shall in manner aforesaid be appointed and sworn, and shall proceed to make a second valuation, which being certified to the said judge in manner aforesaid, shall be to all intents and purposes binding and conclusive: Provided that such second or any subsequent valuation may in like manner be set aside by any such judge on the grounds aforesaid, until a valuation is made not open to any such objection.

LXI. [*If the amount is not paid in three months, the proceedings cancelled, and no new valuation can be made for twelve months.*] Provided also, that if the amount of any such valuation shall not be paid in manner hereinafter mentioned, within three calendar months next, after the enrolment thereof, such enrolment shall be cancelled, and it shall not be lawful for any such slave, or for the protector of slaves, on his or her behalf, again to institute such proceedings as beforementioned for his or her manumission, until the expiration of twelve calendar months, to be computed from the date of such former valuation.

LXII. [*In making the valuation the appraisers are to take into account all the qualities of the slave and other facts which they may think material.*] And it is further ordered, that in making any such valuation as aforesaid, the said appraisers or umpires as the case may be, shall, and they are hereby required, to take into their consideration the qualities of the slave proposed to be manumitted, as well as his or her skill in any domestic service or employment, or other labour whatsoever, with any other facts or circumstances which, in the opinion of such appraisers or umpire, ought to influence their or his judgment, as to the price to be paid by such slave for his or her manumission.

LXIII. [*If it is proved to the satisfaction of the judge that the money to be paid by the slave has been acquired by a donation* inter vivos, *made with the intent of enabling the slave to purchase his freedom, the proceedings are to be stayed.*] Provided also, and it is further ordered, that if after any such valuation shall have been made as aforesaid, and before the same has been enrolled as aforesaid, it shall be alleged by, or on behalf of the owner or manager of the slave proposed to be manumitted, that the money to be paid by such slave as the price of his or her freedom, or any part of that money, has been acquired by such slave by a donation *inter vivos,* made by any person or persons with the intent of enabling or assisting such slave to effect the purchase of his or her freedom, it shall be incumbent on such judge to stay the enrolment of such valuation until he shall have inquired into the truth of such allegation, and if by any evidence given on oath before the said judge it shall be made out to his satisfaction, that the money about to be paid by such slave as the price of his or her freedom, or any part of that money, has been acquired by such slave by a donation *inter vivos,* made with the intention of enabling or assisting such slave to effect the purchase of his or her freedom, then and in every such case the said judge shall order all further proceedings to be stayed, but without prejudice to the renewal by the said slave, or by the said protector of slaves, on his or her behalf, of such proceedings as aforesaid, for the manumission of such slave at any future time; and failing any such proof as aforesaid, the said judge shall overrule such objection to the proposed manumission, and shall order the valuation of such slave to be recorded in manner aforesaid.

LXIV. [*If it be proved that within five years the slave has committed any robbery, the proceedings are to be stayed till the end of that term.*] Provided also, that if at any time before the enrolment of any such valuation, it shall be alleged before the said judge by the owner or manager of the slave proposed to be manumitted, that such slave hath, within five years next preceding the date of the application, made to such judge on his or her behalf for such manumission, as aforesaid, committed any robbery or theft, the said judge shall inquire into the truth of such allegation, and if it shall be made to appear to him, by good and sufficient evidence on oath, that such slave hath, within the said term of five years, committed any robbery or theft, the said judge shall, and he is hereby required to make an order for staying such enrolment as aforesaid, and thereupon the same and all other proceedings for the manumission of any such slave shall be stayed until the expiration of the full term of five years from the time of the commission of any such theft or robbery.

LXV. [*The protector may pay to the colonial treasurer the price of the slave in three months from the valuation, and enroll the receipt in the supreme court, after which the slave to be free.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that upon or within three calendar months next, after the enrolment in the supreme court of justice of any such colony, of any such valuation as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the protector of slaves of such colony, out of any monies to be supplied to him for that purpose, by the slave proposed to be manumitted, to pay to the treasurer of any such colony the appraised value of such slave, taking a receipt in writing from such treasurer for every such payment: and the chief civil judge of such colony shall, upon application to him for that purpose made by the said protector of slaves, make an order for the enrolment in the said supreme court of justice of such receipt, and the said chief judge shall by such order, further proceed to declare and adjudge that the slave, by or on behalf of whom such money hath been paid, is manumitted and free; and such slave shall thereupon be, and be deemed, taken, and reputed to be free to all intents and purposes.

LXVI. [*The governor is to establish a table of fees to be taken on this process.*] And be it further ordered, that the governor of every such colony as aforesaid, by a proclamation to be by him issued for that purpose, shall establish a moderate and reasonable table of fees and expences, to be paid and incurred in making such appraisements as aforesaid: and such fees and expences shall in all cases be established at the lowest rate which may be consistent with the effective discharge of the duties of such appraisers, and not by way of poundage or per centage on the value of the slave; and any appraiser or other person who shall demand or receive for any services by him or her rendered, in or about any such appraisement, any greater or other fee, sum of money, advantage or emolument whatsoever, than such as shall be authorized by such table, shall incur a penalty of not less than five pounds, nor more than fifty pounds, in addition to the amount of any such unlawful fees, sum of money, advantage or emolument so received.

LXVII. [*In what manner the expence of the proceedings is to be borne.*] And it is further ordered, that if any such appraisement as aforesaid, shall have been rendered necessary by any difference of opinion between the protector of slaves, and the owner or owners, or manager respecting the price to be paid for the slave proposed to be manumitted, the expence of such appraisement shall be borne by the slave and be added to the amount of the valuation, if such slave shall be appraised at a sum exceeding, or equal to the price demanded by such owner or owners, or exceeding the sum offered by the slave, or by the protector on his or her behalf as the price of his or her freedom; but if the appraised value of such slave shall be less than the price previously demanded by his or her owner or owners, then the expence of such appraisement shall be wholly borne and defrayed by such owner or owners; and in case any such appraisement shall have been rendered necessary by any other cause than a difference of opinion as to the price to be paid for the manumission of the slave, the expence of the appraisement shall be equally divided between such slave, and his or her owner or owners.

LXVIII. [*How the purchase money is to be invested when necessary.*] And it is further ordered, that the money to arise from the manumission of any slave by virtue of the proceedings before mentioned, shall remain in the hands of the public treasurer of such colony, and shall bear interest at and after the rate of 5 per cent per annum, and his majesty's revenue in every such colony shall, and is hereby declared to be pledged and responsible for the due payment of such principal money and interest; or shall in the discretion of such treasurer be invested in the purchase in his name of any public funds or securities of Great Britain and Ireland; and the chief civil judge of any such colony as aforesaid shall, and he is hereby authorized upon application to him for that purpose made, to direct that any such money be laid out and invested in the purchase of any other slave or slaves, and the slave or slaves so to be purchased as aforesaid, or in case of no such purchase being made, then the money in the hands of the said treasurer, and the interest accruing on such money, or the public funds of Great Britain and Ireland so to be purchased as aforesaid, and the dividends payable thereupon, shall be the property of the person or persons who was or were the owner or owners of such manumitted slave, and shall be subject and liable to all such and the same uses, trusts, limitations, conditions, mortgages, claims, and demands of what nature or kind soever, as such slave was held upon, under or subject unto at such time of his, her or their manumission. And the said treasurer shall hold the said money and the interest accruing thereupon, or the said public funds and dividends subject to such order as such chief judge of any such colony may upon a summary application of any person interested therein, and upon notice to all other persons interested therein, or their agents, see fit to make; and such principal money and interest shall by such treasurer be paid and disposed of in pursuance of and in obedience to any such order.

LXIX. [*The judge is to make all necessary rules for the conduct of the proceedings on compulsory manumissions.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that it shall and may be lawful for the chief civil judge of every such colony as aforesaid, to make and prescribe, and from time to time to revoke and alter as occasion may require, all such rules and orders as may be necessary for the regular and proper exercise of the jurisdiction hereby in him vested, and for regulating the proceedings of all persons, who may be parties to or interested in any question so depending before him.

LXX. [*The evidence of slaves to be admitted.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that no person shall henceforth be rejected as a witness, or be or be deemed to be incompetent to give evidence in any court of civil or criminal justice, or before any judge or magistrate, or in any civil or criminal proceeding whatsoever, in any of the said colonies by reason that such person is in a state of slavery, but that the evidence of slaves shall in all courts and for all purposes be admissible, and be received in the said colonies in the same manner, and subject to the same regulations as the evidence of free persons: Provided always that nothing herein contained shall prevent any court or jury, judge or magistrate, in the said colonies respectively, from adverting to the servile condition of any witness, or to the relation in which any such witness may stand to any other person, in estimating the degree of credit which ought to be attached to the testimony of any such witness.

LXXI. [*Forfeiture of slaves on conviction of the owner for cruelty.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that if any person or persons shall hereafter be convicted in any of the said colonies of having inflicted or authorized any illegal and cruel punishment of, or of any cruelty towards any slave or slaves to him, her, or them belonging, it shall be in the discretion of the court in which any such conviction may be had, to declare the right and interest of the person or persons so convicted, in or to any such slave or slaves, forfeited to his majesty, in addition to any other punishment which may by law be inflicted upon any such offender or offenders. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to deprive any person or persons, other than the person or persons committing or authorizing such offence, of any such slave or slaves, or of any right, title, or interest therein.

LXXII. [*The punishment of slaves making calumnious accusations.*] And it is hereby ordered, that no slave in any of the said colonies shall be liable to be punished for preferring, and failing to establish any complaint against his, or her owner, or manager, unless such complaint shall have originated in some malevolent or culpable motive; and, in any such case, such slave shall be liable to be punished under the authority of any court or magistrate, in any such colony, upon proof being made, in a summary way, before such court or magistrate, that the complaint was, without foundation, and originated in a malevolent or culpable motive.

LXXIII. [*Penalties for falsifying records.*] And it is further ordered, that if any such protector or assistant protector of slaves as aforesaid, or other person or persons, shall wilfully and fraudulently make, or cause, or procure to be made, any erasure or interlineation in any of the books, records, or returns hereinbefore required to be kept and made, or shall wilfully falsify any such book, record, or return, or shall wilfully make, or cause, or procure to be made any false entry in any such book, record, or return, or shall wilfully and fraudulently destroy, burn, cancel, or obliterate the same or any of them, or any part thereof, the person so offending shall be and be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor.

LXXIV. [*Punishment of misdemeanors.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that any person who shall commit any offence hereby declared to be a misdemeanor, shall, on conviction, be subject to the payment of a fine not less than 10*l.*, nor more than 500*l.*, or to imprisonment for any time not less than one calendar month, nor more than twelve calendar months, or to both fine and imprisonment.

LXXV. [*Punishment of perjury.*] And it is hereby ordered, that any person taking any oath under, and in pursuance of this order, who shall be convicted of swearing falsely, shall incur and suffer such punishment as by the law of the colony, in which such conviction shall take place, may be inflicted on any person guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury.

LXXVI. [*The protector authorized to sue for penalties.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that the protector of slaves in each of the said colonies shall, and he is hereby authorized to prosecute, sue for, and recover all the fines, forfeitures, and penalties which may be incurred by any person under and by virtue of this order, other than such as may be incurred by such protector himself; and that one third part of all fines and pecuniary penalties which may so be recovered shall accrue to and be for the benefit of the said protector himself, and the remaining two third parts shall go to his majesty.

LXXVII. [*Recovery and application of fines.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that the governor for the time being of each of the said colonies shall and he is hereby authorized by proclamations, to be by him for that purpose from time to time issued, to provide and declare in what courts, or before what judges or magistrates, every offence committed or alleged to have been committed, against the provisions of this present order, shall be tried and prosecuted; and in what courts, or before what judges or magistrates such fines forfeitures, and penalties as aforesaid, shall be prosecuted sued for and recovered; and in what manner all penalties incurred by any protector or assistant protector, shall be sued for, recovered and applied; and to regulate the manner in which such protector or assistant protectors of slaves of such colony shall proceed in executing the duties hereby imposed on them in the defence of any such accused slaves, or in the instituting and conducting of any such civil action, suit or criminal proceeding as is herein mentioned, or in the prosecuting, suing for, and recovering any such fines or forfeitures and penalties as aforesaid, and also to regulate the manner in which actions shall be brought by or against any slaves in respect of any property which any such slaves are hereby authorized to acquire and possess, all which provisions and regulations of the said respective governors shall be as nearly as may be conformable to the laws and usages in force in the said colonies respectively.

LXXVIII. [*All fines to be recovered in British sterling money, and between the limits fixed in the order, the court in its discretion to determine the amount of the fine.*] And it is further ordered, that all fines and pecuniary penalties imposed by this order shall be taken to be so imposed in British sterling money; and that the amount of those fines of which only the least and the greatest amount is mentioned in this order, shall be determined by the discretion of the court before which the same shall be recovered.

LXXIX. [*The governor's proclamation to be transmitted for confirmation.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that all proclamations, orders, and rules of court, which the governors and judges of the said colonies are by this present order authorized to issue, promulgate, and establish, shall be consistent with this present order, and not repugnant thereto, and shall be transmitted by every such governor to one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State for his majesty's approbation; and until the same shall be disallowed by his majesty, they shall have the same force and effect within the colony in which they may have been published as if they had formed part of this present order.

LXXX. [*The protectors are to make half yearly reports, as the condition of receiving their salaries.*] And it is hereby further ordered, that the protector of slaves in each of the said colonies, shall on the first Monday next after the 25th of December and on the first Monday next after the 24th of June in each year, deliver to the governor for the time being of such colony, a written report of the manner in which the duties of such his office have been performed during the half year next preceding the date of every such report, and such reports shall be compiled in such form as his majesty, through the governor of each of the said colonies shall by any proclamation to be for that purpose issued, prescribe, and in none other; and such protector of slaves shall make oath before such governor that the said report contains a true and accurate statement of the several matters and things therein referred to; and when and so soon as any such protector of slaves shall have made such his half-yearly report, and shall in manner aforesaid have been sworn to the truth thereof, then and not before, the governor of any such colony shall issue to the said protector of slaves, a warrant upon the treasurer of the said colony for the amount of his salary for the half year next preceding the date of such report, and such governor shall and is hereby required by the first convenient opportunity, to transmit every such report as aforesaid to his majesty's principal Secretary of State having the department of the colonies.

LXXXI. [*Explanation of particular terms.*] And it is hereby ordered and declared, that for the purpose of this present order, any person lawfully administering the government of any of the said colonies, shall be deemed and taken to be the governor thereof, and that any person having the chief superintendence of the labour of any slaves, whether as the owner thereof, or otherwise, shall be deemed and taken to be the manager of such slaves; and, that all slaves employed in any agricultural or manufacturing labour at any time between the 1st day of January and the 30th day of June, or between the 1st day of July, and the 31st day of December in any year, shall, during the whole of such half year, be deemed and taken to be plantation slaves; and that the governor of every such colony, as aforesaid, shall, by proclamation to be by him for that purpose issued, determine the divisions of such colony, which shall be deemed and taken to be districts thereof, for the purposes and within the meaning of this order.

LXXXII. [*The publication of this order in the different colonies.*] And it is further ordered, that the governor of every such colony as aforesaid, shall, within one calendar month next after the present order shall be received by him, make known the same by proclamation in such colony; and that the said order shall be in force on the expiration of fourteen days next after the date of such Proclamation, and not before.

And the right honourable sir George Murray, one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

(Signed) JAS. BULLER.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, February 8.

MINUTES.] GERARD CALLAGHAN, Esq. took the Oath and his Seat for Cork City.—Sir J. MACDONALD moved for a new writ for Calne in the room of the Right Hon. James Abercrombie, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Scotland; Sir C. COOTE moved for a new writ for Clonmell, in the room of James Hewitt Massey Dawson, Esq. Chiltern Hundreds; and Mr. G. LAMB moved for a new writ for Knaresborough in the room of the Right Hon. Geo. Tierney deceased.

Lord *F. Osborne* presented a petition from Cambridge for the repeal of the Malt and Beer duties, and several other petitions from places in Cambridgeshire with like prayer, and praying for measures to alleviate the distressed state of agriculture.

Sir *J. Graham* presented a petition from the County of Cumberland, complaining of the distress of the Agricultural and Mining population, praying the House to inquire whether those distresses were not brought on by the return to small payments in gold and silver, without a corresponding decrease at the same time in taxation. He did not intend to go into the whole of the important questions which the petition embraced until they came to be singly discussed. With regard, however, to the question whether the additional increase of the value of the currency is not an additional increase of taxation, he should take an early opportunity of moving that the amount of salary of all persons employed in the civil and military service of the country should be reduced to the scale of 1797, as far as was consistent with a strict regard to engagement and the efficiency of the public service. His hon. friend, the member for Aberdeen, had, however, given notice of a motion on the same night which he intended moving (Friday). He should therefore beg of his hon. friend to allow his motion to take precedence: it would perhaps be a good preliminary to that of his hon. friend.

Mr. *Hume* observed, in reply, that the motion the hon. member had given notice of would probably occupy some time; and, as he (Mr. Hume) did not wish to bring his own on late in the evening, he would postpone his own motion till Monday next; besides, it would take natural precedence of his motion: if there were to be reduction of expenditure the House would be more strongly justified in demanding diminution of taxation.

Mr. Alderman *Wood* moved for accounts of the total number of Barrels of Beer exported from England and Scotland to Ireland, and from Ireland to England and Scotland; distinguishing the number of barrels so exported to each kingdom, as likewise the number of barrels exported from each kingdom to foreign countries, with the amount of drawback paid thereon from 5th January 1829 to 5th January 1830: of the quantity of all the different sorts of beer, stated by barrels, made in each year, from 5th January 1825 to 5th January 1830; the rates of duty per barrel in each year, and total amount thereof in each year in each kingdom; showing, so far as can be done, the number of quarters of malt used in each kingdom in each year in making that beer: of the number of barrels of strong beer exported in each year: of the number of barrels of strong, table, and intermediate beer, chargeable to the duties of Excise, brewed in England, Scotland, and Wales, from 5th January 1829 to 5th January 1830; distinguishing the number of barrels brewed within the limits of the chief Office of Excise, and within each of the several collections, particularizing the quantity brewed by public brewers, licensed victuallers, retail brewers, and intermediate brewers. Of the number of brewers, retail brewers, licensed victuallers, and intermediate brewers, in England, Scotland, and Wales; distinguishing the number of them within the limits of the chief Office of Excise, and each of the several collections, and setting forth the number of licensed victuallers who brew their own beer, during the above period. Of the total number of acres of land in Great Britain under the cultivation of hops, in the year 1829; distinguishing the number of acres in each parish. Of the duty on hops of the growth of the year 1829; distinguishing the districts, and the old from the new duty; of the quantity of hops exported from, and imported into, Great Britain; distinguishing the places, for the year ending 5th January 1830. Of the number of bushels of malt charged with duty in the United Kingdom, and the amount of duty thereon, separating each country, in each year from 5th January 1825 to 5th January 1830; distinguishing the quantity in each year used by brewers and victuallers, and the quantity used in the distillery, so far as the same can be ascertained. Of the number of bushels of malt made, and the amount of duties paid in each collection of Excise, upon the same, in the United Kingdom, from 5th January 1829 to 5th January 1830. Of the wine gallons of proof spirits that paid duty, in each kingdom, for the home consumption of that kingdom, in each year, from 10th October 1823 to 10th October 1825, and from 10th October 1825, to 5th January 1826, and imperial gallons of proof spirits, in each year, from 5th January 1826 to 5th January 1830, and showing for each kingdom, in each of these seven periods, the difference of gallons betwixt the whole that so paid duty, and what gallons malt drawback was paid on under 4 Geo. 4th, c. 94, and 6 Geo. 4th, c. 58, as also the total difference of gallons, for each kingdom, during the whole period from 10th October 1823 to 5th January 1830. Of the imperial gallons of proof spirits distilled in each kingdom, exported from Scotland to England, from Ireland to England, and from Scotland to Ireland, and that paid duty in each kingdom for home consumption, the full rate of duty per imperial gallon applying to these spirits for home consumption in each kingdom, and amount thereof at that rate, in each quarter, from 5th January 1829 to 5th January 1830, and shewing the totals of all these for each kingdom, and for the United Kingdom, for the year: of the amount of money paid distillers, in each kingdom, as drawback on malt, under 1 and 2 Geo. 4th, c. 82, from 5th January 1829 to 5th January 1830: and of the total number of gallons of proof spirits, of the manufacture of the United Kingdom, that paid duty, and the amount thereof for home consumption, in each kingdom; also the total number of gallons of proof rum, brandy, geneva, and all other foreign spirits, that paid duty in each kingdom; the number of gallons of each kind, and the duty thereon for each kingdom; also, the total number of gallons of spirits of all kinds that paid duty, and total amount thereof, in each kingdom and total number of gallons, and total duty thereon, in the whole United Kingdom, in each year, from 5th January 1825 to 5th January 1830.

Mr. *O'Connell* presented a petition on the subject of Negro Slavery. He said that by right of law, no man could be a slave; that if the law were to extend to the colonies, the case would be as it was here, the moment alleged slaves came within the reach of the remedy, of the lord chief justice's power, they were free. He should in the course of the session move a bill on this subject. The petition was from Cork.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.] Mr. Secretary *Peel* appeared at the bar with, and presented His Majesty's Answer to, the Address on the Lords Commissioners Speech: it was as follows.—

I thank you for this loyal and dutiful Address.

I rely with confidence on your attachment and support, and you may depend upon my unwearied endeavours to main-

tain the National Honour, and upon my constant and anxious disposition to watch with equal care over the interests of all classes of my subjects.

Ordered to be entered on the Journal.

SLAVES.] Mr. W. Peel then presented the Order in Council for consolidating the several laws for improving the condition of Slaves in his majesty's colonies. [For which paper see the preceding report of the Lords.]

CORK CITY ELECTION.] Mr. O'Connell presented a petition from Francis Lyons and others, complaining of the undue return of G. Callaghan, esq.—ordered to be taken into consideration upon Thursday the 25th day of this instant February, at the same time that the petition of Daniel Meagher, and others, electors, is ordered to be taken into consideration; and Mr. Speaker to issue his warrants for persons papers and records.

WEXFORD TOWN ELECTION.] A petition of Charles Roper, esq., and others, complaining of that election [presented 24th June 1829] was read:—ordered to be taken into consideration upon Tuesday the 2nd day of March next, at three of the clock in the afternoon; and Mr. Speaker to issue his warrants for persons papers and records.

MALT AND BEER.] Mr. *Denison* presented a petition from the Corn Market in London, praying—first, for the repeal of the Malt tax;—secondly, that the trade in Beer should be free;—thirdly, that there should be a reduction in the army, navy, and civil list; and fourthly, that the interest on a debt contracted in one currency should not be paid in another. The hon. member for Essex (Mr. Western) had, on the first night of the session, called on members to state the condition in which they had left their constituents; and he, in obedience to that call, had, with sorrow, to declare that the farmers of Surrey were in the most distressing condition; most of them living upon their capital rather than their profits, and many of them worse off than the very labourers. And as to the agricultural labourers, their distress was extreme. He was as much disposed as any one to do full credit to the obligations which the country owed to the duke of Wellington; to him they were all indebted for the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, and for the emancipation of the Catholics; much, however, still remained to be done, and all the country looked for reduction—not the reduction of a few paltry clerks, but of such offices as the Lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, together with every other useless place and sinecure.

Mr. *Brougham* said, though agreeing in the greater part of what had fallen from his hon. friend, yet he could not but deplore one observation which he had made and which certainly must have escaped him in the hurry of speaking. No one felt more strongly than he did the gratitude the country owed to the Duke of Wellington for a great portion of his public services, and more especially for the carrying of the great question of Catholic Emancipation. But with respect to the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, the credit of that measure was due to his noble friend (lord J. Russell); and he (Mr. Brougham), therefore, could not sit still and suffer it to be said that the country had to thank the noble Duke for that measure. When the measure was brought forward by his noble friend, government opposed it; but after a majority of about forty in favour of it, the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Peel) withdrew his opposition, and certainly furthered the bill through its subsequent stages; and without the support of the Duke of Wellington in the other House, it was possible that the bill might have been there thrown out. These things were not immaterial, for in taking away the credit of carrying a measure, when it had been carried contrary to the fate which usually attended such measures, one motive that tended to induce public men to act was taken away.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, he had to complain of the mistake which had been made in attributing to Mr. Canning a determined opposition to the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts: all that his right hon. friend had contended against was, the passing of this measure by itself, to the detriment of the Roman Catholic question, which was the more important one.

Mr. *W. Smith*.—In private conversations which he had held with Mr. Canning, that gentleman declared that he would not oppose the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts when the proper opportunity for removing them arrived.

Sir *R. Wilson* said, when Mr. Canning was asked whether he would assist in carrying the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, he expressed his unwillingness to do so, lest he might thereby injure the interests of the Roman Catholics.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, the hon. member for Surrey had proposed the abolishment of the Lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. To this he (Mr. O'Connell) objected. There were seven thousand persons in Dublin living on the charity of three-halfpence a day; and if the duke of Northumberland did not spend his thirty thousand pounds a-year (which he drew from this country) among them, there would be many more in the same condition, or those seven thousand would be still worse off. If the hon. gentleman wanted reduction, let him begin with the lords of the bed-chamber, the lords of the Admiralty, or the lords of the Treasury, and he should have his most cordial assistance.

Mr. *Hume* said, if the hon. member for Clare was right in his principle, every sinecurist would have a right to say, "continue my income, and I will spend it for the good of the country." [*hear, hear*] The only question was, whether the duties of the Lord-lieutenant could not be dispensed with: he considered that they could be, and that the office might be usefully abolished.

Petition ordered to be printed.

Mr. *Wodehouse* gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill, on Tuesday the 2nd of March, to alter the act of the 59th of the late king, entitled "An Act to amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor"—as it regards the rating of the owners of lodging houses, and to extend it to all houses, &c. let under ten pounds a year.

Mr. *Wodehouse* also gave notice of his intention, after Easter, to move for a committee to inquire into the duties and regulations respecting sea-borne coals.

MEXICO—CUBA—SPAIN.] Sir *Robert Wilson* wished to put some questions to the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel) which he considered of a very serious character as regarded the due exercise of our power as a nation, and a just respect on our part for national good faith: he alluded to the subject of our conduct between Spain and the states of Colombia and Mexico [*hear*]. This was a matter of the most important nature, and one calling for the maturest consideration, in the present distressed state of the country; inasmuch as it affected our commercial, manufacturing, and financial interests, in a very serious degree. The right hon. member for Liverpool (Mr. Huskisson), whom he trusted he might be permitted to call his right hon. friend, mentioned the subject the other evening, and a noble lord, on the occasion of voting the Address, had adverted to some of the circumstances connected with it; but both alluded to the facts of the case hypothetically, not being in possession of any authentic information on the subject. He was about to speak from authority, upon the evidence of facts and circumstances which had come within his own knowledge. In the year 1824, the South American governments, finding themselves much oppressed and harassed by the continuance of the Spanish war from the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, determined to undertake an expedition against those islands. At that period Colombia had an army and maritime squadron commanded by admiral Brion: there was another force belonging to Mexico at Vera Cruz, under admiral Porter; and the united armaments were superior to any force that Spain could collect in that quarter of the globe. He trusted [*there being much noise in the House at the time*] that the subject would have a fair hearing, as it was a question upon the answer to which millions of property must depend. [*hear*] These preparations were proceeding, when Mr. Canning obtained information upon the subject, and being apprised of what was likely to occur, sent for Messrs. Hurtado and Michelano, the Colombian and Mexican envoys in this country; and told them, that having heard of the intention of their respective governments, and knowing that the preparations against Cuba were in an advanced state, it was his duty to inform them that it would be impossible for England to permit the expeditions to proceed,—that, independently of other matters, an armed force descending upon Cuba from the Spanish Main might occasion a negro insurrection, cause the establishment of another at St. Domingo, [*hear*] and be attended with circumstances of the mightiest and most deplorable calamity to all our West-Indian possessions. It was added that there also existed other collateral circumstances which rendered it extremely unadvisable that an expedition should proceed against Porto Rico or Cuba at that period. Mr. Canning, in fact, gave Mr. Hurtado and Mr. Michalano notice that this country could not sanction the meditated attack, which must not be permitted to proceed. This was the nature of the communication made by Mr. Canning to the South American envoys, who apprised their respective governments of the circumstances. General Bolivar and the Mexican government acquiesced in the wishes of this country and dispersed their forces; but at the same time forwarded a communication to the English government, through their envoys, stating that they trusted this deference to the wishes and compliance with the policy of Great Britain would not subject them to the inconvenience of attacks by armaments proceeding from Cuba and Porto Rico, with a view to a descent upon the Spanish Main. Afterwards, Spain, recovering herself from the effects of her internal difficulties, collected a considerable force at Cuba, and a squadron, under the command of admiral Laborde, swept the sea of all vessels belonging to the South American colonies. The government of those states being incapable of supporting the heavy expenses entailed upon them by the maintenance of naval armaments, had dispersed them, disbanded their men, and laid their vessels up in ordinary. It was under such circumstances that Mexico and Colombia applied to the British government to be protected from the menaced attacks about to be made upon them from Cuba and Porto Rico; and as they had given up their preparations against those places at the instance of this country, they asked to be made strictly neutral territories as respected them; they did not ask protection against direct attacks from Spain, but merely against armaments proceeding from Cuba and Porto Rico, which they had been prohibited by England from attacking. This took place in 1827; reclamations were made to the British government by the ministers of Mexico and Colombia, who represented all the evils that must arise from the threatened attacks, and called upon us for the protection to which they were entitled by the faith of treaties which guaranteed their respective countries as favourable treatment as any other states. When general Barrados's expedition was about to sail from Cuba, an application was made to the British admiral upon the station to prevent his sailing, but this was not granted, and the armament put to sea. That hope being disappointed, admiral Laborde put to sea, and general Barrados made his attack. But although the illusion ceased when the expedition failed—he meant the illusion which induced the Spanish government to suppose that if a small force planted the standard of Spain in South America, it would be speedily flocked to by numerous adherents.—Notwithstanding this illusion was dissipated by the defeat of the expedition, the evil did not cease here, for the South American governments were obliged to keep up the same expensive establishments as before, in order to be ready to repel invasion. Moreover, at the present moment, it was the more necessary that this state of things should not be permitted to continue, because it was well known in this country that the Spanish government, so far from abandoning its intention to recover possession of Mexico, was organizing another expedition for its conquest, the rendezvous of which was to be against Cuba. It was therefore now necessary to have a further understanding on the subject, that Mexico might no longer have reason to complain of our equivocal, or (if he might use the expression) partial neutrality; that our credit for national good faith, independence, and fair dealing might not be exposed to the suspicion of favouring despotism; and that the property embarked in that country might not suffer from predatory attacks, or by actual confiscation. He would mention two or three facts to show the great value of Mexico and Colombia to England, and the mischief which must ensue, not only to our national character, but to our internal condition, from a continuance of an unsettled state of things in those countries. When Admiral Laborde took the sea in 1827, and proceeded to Porto Rico, he learned that an insurrection had been planned in Colombia, and in consequence of this information hovered over the coast of Colombia for forty days, with troops and arms aboard; but hearing that no insurrection had broken out as he expected, he returned without accomplishing any thing decisive. But the direct consequence of his hovering about the coast was to oblige the commandant of Venezuela to collect a force to resist a descent, and call out the militia, so that a sum of 300,000 dollars, collected to meet dividends due to the British creditor, was devoted to defray the expenses necessarily incurred by these preparations, instead of finding its way to England. The same happened with regard to General Barrados's expedition. He had the best authority for what he was now about to state; namely, that an arrangement had been made by which the Mexican bondholders in this country were to have received their dividends in November, when, General Barrados having put to sea, and great expenses being incurred by the government of Mexico in consequence of his expedition, the funds intended for the payment of the bondholders were diverted to other purposes, and such an outlay of money was caused in Mexico, as to remove the hope of payment till (he apprehended) a distant day. What was the state of Mexico with regard to the advantages which it held out to England by an increased production of the precious metals, had been alluded to by the right hon. member for Liverpool (Mr. Huskisson) upon a former occasion: and it was proved that a necessity existed, as regarded our own circumstances, that we should do what we could for the internal security and improvement of a country from which so many advantages might be expected to accrue to England. These statements were perfectly capable of being verified by facts. In 1827, the mines of Mexico consumed only 379,379 lb. of quicksilver exported from this country: in 1828, the consumption of quicksilver was 361,351lb.: but, during 1829, and up to the present month, 1,310,400 lb. weight of quicksilver had been exported. Could there be a greater proof of the increased working of the mines, and of the advantages which must accrue to us if the South American colonies were allowed full scope of improvement by the enjoyment of tranquillity, than was to be found in these simple statements? But this was not all—it was not merely the quantity, but the price of the quicksilver exported, that was to be taken into account. We find that in 1827 and 1828, the price of quicksilver was only 45 dollars a quintal, but during the last year it reached 80 and 100 dollars. It was clear that we must derive great commercial and financial advantages from an intercourse with the Spanish American states, under favourable circumstances: but it was not on this account alone, that he asked the government to consider the situation of these states, but upon still higher grounds. We ought to do nothing which would give a colour or foundation to accusations against this country of a partiality which must degrade us by affording currency to the idea that we were ready to abuse the power which we possessed, in contradiction to the faith of treaties; not to say that such abuse must collaterally affect our own interests. The questions which he had to propose to the right hon. gentleman were—1st, whether the prohibition, which went to restrain Mexico and Colombia from making any attempt upon Cuba or Porto Rico, was to be maintained?—2dly, if the prohibition were to be maintained, in that case, was the same restriction to be imposed upon Spain as far as Cuba and Porto Rico were concerned; and were these and the South American republics to be considered as strictly neutral territories in relation to one another? These were the inquiries which he wished to make; and which of course referred to the intermediate state of Guatemala. If such a prohibition had formerly existed against any hostile operations on the part of Mexico, he wished to know whether it would not now be considered in the nature of a dropped order in that House, and that Mexico would be at liberty, in the case of any further hostile interference from Spain, to invade Cuba, as long as she observed the obligations and acted according to the laws of war?

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he could assure the hon. gentleman that on this, as upon every other occasion, it was his desire to answer any question put to his Majesty's Government in that House respecting the foreign policy of the country, as frankly and as clearly as was consistent with the general interests of the State. But he felt the questions now put to involve a point of such deep importance, that the House would excuse him if he did not content himself with giving a simple answer to the questions of the hon. Gentleman, but enter into a short explanation of the facts, and of the intentions and policy of the Government. When a noble friend of his on a former night put a question to him upon the same subject, he answered it upon the strength of his recollection; and if he then fell into any mistake as to the occurrences which had been referred to, he was sure the House would readily pardon him when they considered that seven or eight years had intervened since they took place, and since any circumstances had very particularly required him to refer to the several documents. But in the interval since that discussion he had referred to the documents, and found that his recollection upon all the substantial points was correct. He had stated his impression of the facts to be, that in the year 1823, Mr. Canning, then being Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, made a public declaration that England would not resist any attempt made by Spain to re-establish her power and authority over her revolted colonies. He declared that England could not interfere in any contest that might arise between the mother country and the colonies; but, at the same time Mr. Canning avowed that England would not recognize the right of any other foreign power to ally herself to Spain for the purpose of aiding her in such an attempt; that if it were made by the mother country, and by her own resources, then that this Government would not interfere, but observe a strict neutrality between the contending parties. His noble friend had said that something more was added, about the difficulty of maintaining a strict neutrality; and it had been further asserted that Mr. Canning prohibited any counter attempt upon Cuba on the part of the South American States. His answer to that was, that if any prohibition were issued by Mr. Canning, prohibiting Mexico from attacking Cuba, he was confident that it had been made upon some peculiar ground, involving perhaps the common interests of humanity, or some particular and paramount interest of this country. Though there was no record of a particular conference that had been referred to, he found upon examining the records of these transactions, that the view of Mr. Canning's motives had been the true one. In the notes of a conference between Mr. Canning and the Prince de Polignac, which took place on the 9th of October, 1823, he found that Mr. Canning made this important declaration: "That the British government would not only abstain from interfering to prevent Spain from resorting to any negotiations for the recovery of her colonies, but would aid her in such negotiations; and in any case be strictly neutral, even if war should be resorted to by Spain herself. But that, if Spain should form a junction with any other foreign power that should aid her in the war, then that the British government would consider another case to have arisen, and its conduct would be influenced by other views." This was the ground taken by Mr. Canning, and he referred with pleasure to another part of the document, in which the Prince de Polignac, on the part of France, disclaimed in any case the intention of joining in hostile measures against the South American colonies. Thus far the declarations of Mr. Canning on the question were in their possession. He had no recollection of any others, and there was no record of any such prohibition as that which had been alluded to, the strictest search had been made but no record could be found. If any such had been made, the probability was, that it had been verbal; and of this he was certain—that it was made as an exception to the general rule, and justified by some peculiar considerations growing out of the circumstances of the case, either relating to the common interest of humanity, as he had said before, or to some paramount considerations of state. He had said that there was no record of the act, or of the motives which dictated it; but if Mr. Canning did make such a prohibition, he should think it rather referred to the manner in which the war was likely to be carried on. This he was bound to state in justice to the memory of Mr. Canning: so strongly did Mr. Canning feel the desire of promoting the tranquillity of the South American colonies—so anxious was he to prevent the revival or the opening of fresh hostilities between them and the mother country, that in the year 1824, just previous to our recognition of their independence, he offered Spain to guarantee to her the possession of Cuba, upon condition of her entering into negotiations, the basis of which should be, that their independence should be formally recognized. [*hear*] If, therefore, any such prohibition was ever declared by Mr. Canning, he was satisfied that it must have been made upon some special grounds. He was the more confirmed in this conclusion, because there was on the part of the United States of America a declaration of such an intended amicable interference, in which special grounds were pointed out. In a note of Mr. Clay, the minister of the United States, dated December, 1825, that government, then having recognized the independence of Mexico and the other republics, he declared its intention to preserve a strict neutrality in the case of a war between them and her former colonies. The terms of that declaration were, however, that if Spain should persist in carrying on war without the prospect of success, the republics of Colombia and Mexico would probably retaliate, by making an attack upon Cuba, that being the *point d'appui* from which Spain could carry on her operations; and that if a war carried into that island by the republics should prove to be one of a desolating nature, such as the putting of arms into the hands of one class of the inhabitants against another class, then it would be necessary for America to interfere and to prevent such a war of extermination from proceeding. This was the ground which America had taken. What she said was, that she would not interfere so long as the war was conducted on both sides according to the laws of civilized nations; but she would not see such a course taken as must lead to the depopulation of the island of Cuba, and leave it to be transferred to the possession of some European power. If Mr. Canning ever made any declaration, he was satisfied it must have been one of this nature. With regard to the recent expedition sent out by Spain against Mexico, it was, he believed, almost entirely sent from the Havannah. Almost the only person in it who proceeded from the mother country, he believed, was the commander of the troops. How then could this country interfere? He could assure the hon. gentleman, whatever he might think, that it would have been extremely difficult for England to have prevented the sailing of that expedition by remonstrance alone. So much for what had been done; and now for the intentions of the government as to the future. They felt a deep interest in the welfare and the prosperity of these infant States. They had recognized their independence, and were anxious to see that independence consolidated by their tranquillity, and by their security from foreign attack, so long as they gave no just cause of interference to other powers. He therefore hoped that the South American States would now turn to their own resources and be able to compose their internal quarrels; in that, he repeated, they would find their chief safe-guards against attacks from without. Ministers had hoped that Spain herself would ere now have been convinced of the propriety and policy, if not of recognizing their independence, at least of abstaining from actual hostilities against the South American republics. They had hoped that she would at least have observed the principle upon which she proceeded in the contest with her Flemish colonies, where, long before there independence was recognized, she tacitly assented to a suspension of hostilities. The forbearance of Spain in that instance justified us in the hope that she would display like wisdom and moderation in this. And it might be here observed, that for several years she had abstained from issuing letters of marque against the States of South America, and so consulted the interests of humanity, and avoided many of the atrocities which, under the sanction of such an authority, had disgraced the flags of other nations. If there were a chance of the permanent revival of hostilities between Spain and South America, the policy of England would be—1st, to endeavour to effect an amicable termination of the contest, and to bring about a peace, a common object not less interesting to Spanish America than to ourselves; but if all our endeavours should fail,—if Spain determined to persevere in the attempt to recover possession of her colonies,—he had no difficulty in thus publicly declaring, on the part of his majesty's government, that so far as the laws and operations of civilized warfare were concerned, this country would for herself act between the contending parties on the principle of strict impartiality. [*hear*]

The conversation here dropped.

Lords Commissioners Speech.] Mr. *G. Lamb* [on the motion that the Lords Commissioners Speech be taken into consideration], rose.—He said, he wished briefly to state his reasons for having voted for the Amendment to the Address on the first night of the session, not having had a previous opportunity of addressing the House, and finding himself compelled to differ from most of those with whom he generally acted, he felt bound to state shortly the grounds on which he gave that vote for the Amendment on the first day of the session. Some friends of his, upon that (the Opposition) side of the House, had stated that they voted for the Amendment through the delicate fear, not generally entertained in that quarter, of turning the ministers out. The hon. member for Norwich (Mr. W. Smith) vaunted his experience: though he held this opinion, his experience might have taught him that such a fear was chimerical. Many stated that they thought if the present Ministers were removed they would be followed by others, from whom they totally differed. If he had any confidence in Ministers (and he had none) he would still have voted for the Amendment, as containing a true representation of the state of the country, and a pledge of inquiry into measures of relief. It did not seem to him that gentlemen opposite had any measures of relief to propose. There certainly was an allusion to reductions in some quarter or another, but they were so ambiguous that no two persons could agree as to the quarter in which they were to be effected. Hitherto he had been a silent voter for a metallic currency, and he did not now wish the country to be deluged with paper; but looking at our condition, he doubted whether the last screw of the vice,—the withdrawal of the country small notes,—might not have added to the difficulties of the country. Whether the restriction of the one-pound notes had or had not done mischief, still he was not prepared to tell the country that he would not inquire into the subject. But if the Ministry were, as the hon. Mover of the Address had called them, Whigs at home, certainly he must say, that on the continent they were found to be most tremendous Tories. [*hear*] On these grounds he had supported the Amendment rather than the original Address, with respect to that part which related to the internal affairs of the Empire. If, however, the Ministers were accused of recklessness and carelessness of every thing connected with domestic policy, what was to be said with reference to their conduct upon every thing relating to Foreign Affairs? If Ministers were charged with too great a resemblance of Whigs in their management of domestic affairs, on the Continent they were considered the most confirmed Tories that ever appertained to any party in this country. [*hear, hear*] And he really felt there was but too much justice in the observations of the noble Lord, the Member for the University of Cambridge (Lord Palmerston), when he declared, on Friday evening, that the character of England was disgraced and detested on every part of the Continent. He confessed it was with the greatest pain and regret that he heard the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary for the Home Department (Mr. Peel), hold so low a tone on the subject of the position of this country, with reference to the Continent, and almost admit that the fear of war was the sole cause of that temporising system of policy which was so loudly complained of. That tone was indeed so low as to form a remarkable contrast with the language used scarcely two years ago by the Minister who then directed the councils of this country. The nation reposed confidence in Mr. Canning, because he had raised its name to that great and exalted station which it ought to occupy among the states of the Continent; and when he unhappily descended to the grave, he bequeathed to his country, as a legacy, an example of the consequences of a liberal but straight-forward and determined course of policy, which it was fondly hoped would be followed by his successors. The confidence, therefore, which the nation felt in Mr. Canning had been continued to his successors, and what had been the result? Why, that they had obtained the reputation of being considered the foes of every liberal institution, and of having leagued themselves in strict alliance with feeble sovereigns and bigoted ministers. [*hear, hear*] The whole mind of the people of these countries, whose good opinion, he contended, it was the true policy of England to maintain, had been alienated by this course, and, instead of being considered the friend, England was held to be the enemy of all liberal institutions. The whole feeling of the Continent was against England. He was told, however, by the right hon. Gentleman, that war must be avoided, and that this was the cause of their adopting the policy of non-interference; but he trusted that there would now be an end of the confidence which the country had reposed in them, as to the conduct of our foreign policy, who maintained such a doctrine. He would tell them that by their abstaining from all that was liberal and just, through the apprehensions of war, the time might come when the question would be, not whether they were to abstain from a particular act because it might lead to war, but whether they would not have war forced on them, and forced on them, too, when they had deprived themselves of the assistance and the good wishes of all the friends of freedom, and of every valuable ally. Having referred to that part of the Speech in which Portugal was mentioned, he observed, that as they were told all hope of a reconciliation between the two branches of the House of Braganza was at an end, they must now be prepared, he supposed, for the disgrace of the formal recognition of Don Miguel. How, he would ask, was this recognition to be effected? By what artifice was it to be managed? or after what form and in what language was the sovereign of England to enter into terms of amity and friendship with an usurper, who was acknowledged to have even broken the sacred word of royalty, or to have been guilty of crimes that would have crushed any private individual? Of the doctrine of non-interference, which the right hon. Gentleman had contended for, he should say no more than that it always appeared to him to labour under two objections—one was, that it was utterly impossible to persevere in it as a system; and the other was, that no nation in Europe would give this country credit for sincerity if it attempted it. [*hear*] As to another point, he trusted he should hear it denied that France owed her present ministry to the intrigue of the British cabinet. If it were true, it was the most profligate interference that ever disgraced any cabinet, any ministry. With respect to Turkey, the right hon. Gentleman had quoted the opinions of eminent statesmen in favour of the position that it was important to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire. But it was most unfortunate for the right hon. Gentleman and his argument that, at the very moment when this country for a long series of years had acknowledged Turkey as an ally, that moment Turkey found an enemy before the very gates of her capital. Now, whatever might be the well-merited diffidence with which the people of this country regarded the wisdom and experience of the present Ministers, with regard to our domestic and commercial policy they surely had been fully justified in placing the utmost reliance in their military knowledge, when they saw how many distinguished military men held situations in the present Administration—when they saw a field-martial Premier, and recollected the high rank and experience of his right hon. friend the Secretary of the Colonies (sir G. Murray), and of his other right hon. friend, who held so distinguished a place in the Ordnance (sir H. Hardinge), —they could not but feel surprise at the confidence which seemed to have been entertained with respect to the impregnability of the passes of the Balkan, after they saw they were travelled over by the enemy with as much ease as if it had been the turnpike road to Walmer Castle. [*hear*] He had declared he felt no confidence in the present Ministry; and if an individual so little distinguished as he was should be considered worthy of any reply, he trusted he should not be met with the hacknied language of Who are fit to take their places? He hoped he never should be told that the House of Commons did not supply a number of men who were well qualified to guide the councils of the country, and worthy of the confidence of the Sovereign. It had been the fashion of late to fill the posts of Administration by recruiting among the ranks of their enemies:—the present had gone all round the House for support. They had come to the Opposition benches for a Paymaster of the Forces (Mr. Calcraft); then they sought an Attorney General (Sir J. Scarlett), from among the Whigs. They sought for a Master of the Mint in an hon. Member who had been amongst their greatest opponents; and unless they made another turn, and took a "saint" into their councils, he knew not what could save them. [*hear and a laugh*] He looked on this, not as an attempt to increase the strength of the Ministry, but as means adopted to soften hostility; and he objected to it as calculated to destroy the independence of the House of Commons by endeavouring to put an end to the existence of parties, and rendering every man in it an official expectant. [*hear*] He begged pardon for troubling the House so much at length; but he felt strongly on these subjects, and he knew this was the only occasion on which he could state his opinions.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he trusted the House would indulge him for a very few moments, while he endeavoured to explain one or two points of his former observations, which had been very much misconstrued by the hon. Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Lamb). That hon. Member had assumed that he (Mr. Peel) argued for the necessity and propriety of non-interference, on the ground, that they could not depart from that course, through the fear of being called on to engage in war. Now, so cautious had he been against any misconstruction of his language with regard to war, that throughout the whole of the observations he addressed to the House on the subject of the foreign policy of the country, he most studiously avoided the mention of the word peace, without at the same time declaring that peace was not worth having, unless it could be preserved in a manner consistent with the honour and interest of the country and the integrity of its power; and he repeated, that he did so expressly for the purpose of avoiding that very misrepresentation—a misconstruction into which the hon. Member for Dungarvon, he had no doubt quite undesignedly, had fallen on this occasion. England might well afford to avow her love of peace; because she was strong enough and powerful enough to feel no fear of the consequences of war: and, (said Mr. Peel) let me tell those who ascribe such motives to this country, that those who have from principle, from humanity, and from a sense of its good policy, laboured to maintain a just peace among nations, will always be found the most able to sustain the consequences of a just and necessary war. [*hear*] I shall take leave to add one word on a subject to which the hon. Member has also alluded very pointedly, in the course of his speech, and which I know has made considerable impression, both here and elsewhere. The hon. Gentleman has in effect declared, that it is well known both in France and in England that the present Ministry of France owes its appointment to the Government of this country. I have no doubt that the other impressions of the hon. Member are founded on authority equally erroneous; but of that I shall now say at once, there never was any report so utterly unfounded, so wholly devoid of truth, as that any communication, either direct or indirect, was sent by any individual holding any situation in the Government of this country to any member of any party, or holding any situation in France, with respect to the appointment of prince Polignac to the head of its ministry. [*hear, hear*]

Lord *Mandeville* said, he could not lose the opportunity of expressing his approbation of that part of his Majesty's Speech which promised a reform of the Court of Chancery; and observed, that although it must be admitted there was considerable distress at present, he hoped the day was not far distant when the country would again enjoy prosperity.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, he thought it necessary to observe, that although his Majesty's Speech declared the distress to be temporary, and confined to the agriculturists, it would be found that it extended to almost every class in the country. No notice was taken of the retail dealer; but it had been asserted in another place, that their prosperity was a proof of the limited nature of the distress; an assertion which he had heard of with amazement. He did not know where the Ministers got the information; but he, who knew a little more of the retail trade than they did, could tell them that the trade was suffering greater losses than it ever sustained before, as the numerous bankruptcies and insolvencies would abundantly prove. [*hear*] The members of his Majesty's Government, probably, drew their opinions of the prosperity of trade from the exhibition of a number of fine shops in Regent-street, which, he supposed, they sometimes visited in their rides; but he could tell them that the prosperity there and elsewhere was more in appearance than in reality, as the several failures fully proved. Five out of every six failed in business, and all confidence was lost between man and man. This was the state of the retail dealers; their distress was as great or greater than even that of the agriculturists; and, for his part, he would say, that he had no confidence left in the Ministry; and he believed, in saying so, he repeated the opinions of the great majority of the people. His constituents would have petitioned the House on the subject of the great distresses of the metropolis and of the country, and of the retail dealers amongst others, only they had thought it would be well to wait to see what were the remedies of the Ministers to alleviate the general distress. None being proposed, there was just ground for the withdrawal of all confidence in them. [*hear*]

Mr. *Robinson* begged to state that he had voted for the Amendment the other night merely because it stated more truth than the Address. At the same time, he approved of the pacific policy recommended in the Speech, and enforced by the Ministers, and he was not one of those who desired any alteration in the currency. He meant to vote for all inquiries that should be proposed this session, and in that spirit he voted for the Amendment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had warned them against voting for the Amendment, on the supposition that the hon. Baronet (Sir Edward Knatchbull) was actuated by some sinister motive in proposing it. Now he believed the hon. Baronet to be incapable of such conduct; but, for his own part, his vote was given without any sinister motive.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the hon. Member who had just sat down had somewhat irregularly charged him with having imputed sinister motives to the hon. Member for Kent. Now he was too old a Member of Parliament not to know that it was improper to impute any motives to hon. Members, and as far as the hon. Member for Kent was concerned, he was the last man to whom he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) should be inclined to impute sinister motives.

Lord *Normanby* only begged to say one word upon a subject to which so many gentlemen had adverted,—he meant our foreign policy, and the estimation in which we were held on the Continent. Certainly, in the eyes of foreigners, the whole tenour of our foreign policy was changed. They believed it to be the very reverse of that upon which we had acted two years ago. How we should recover the character we had thus lost he did not know; we could not do better than to act honestly and profess sincerely, but he feared it would be a long time first, though he was convinced that the declaration, which he had heard with so much pleasure from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Peel) that night, would be sincerely acted on.

Mr. *H. Davis* said, he had heard one or two circumstances within the last few days, which went far to illustrate the partial nature of the distress. He had conversed with a gentleman connected with a great manufacturing house in Gloucestershire, who told him that their business was so good that the house had written to him to take no more orders, as they could not in six months comply with all they had already received, and that every hand which they had ever employed was in full work. He had also dined the other day with a gentleman who had been lately in Dublin, in Ireland, [*a laugh*] and who had extensive connection with the receivers of rents in Ireland; and that gentleman told him, that in one estate of 30,000*l.* a year, there had not been one single defaulter. In others the payments were as good, and altogether the agriculturists were flourishing in Ireland. He mentioned this as a proof that the distress was not universal. He believed that the withdrawal of the small notes so suddenly might have produced much distress; and he did not see why bankers should not be allowed to issue notes as formerly, if they gave adequate security to meet their issues.

Mr. *Sadler* said, it was quite unfair to urge the prosperous condition of some districts, or the thriving trade carried on by certain overgrown capitalists engaged in manufactures, as proofs of the general prosperity of the country. Such statements were calculated only to mislead the public mind, if, indeed, it did not already too severely feel the general pressure to be misled by any statements to the contrary. The hon. Member had stated, that a great number of hands were employed by the manufacturers; but the fact was, that in many cases those hands were retained in order that they might have the means of existence. He also differed entirely from some hon. Members in attributing the distress which existed in the agricultural districts to a bad harvest. He had never asserted that the distress in the country was so universal that there was no instance to be found of a single class of persons by whom it was not felt. He admitted that there were some exceptions to the universality; but, as in other cases, the exceptions only established the general rule. The members of the Stock Exchange, the great capitalists, for example, were probably among those exceptions. But the industrious and productive classes of the people, those by whom the greater number of the Members of that House were sent thither, were suffering severe distress. Attempts had been made by various hon. Members to understate the real condition of the country's affairs; but there were sources of information which, if they would apply to them, would show them the fact. If they wished to know the state of the commercial interest, let them look at the bankrupt list; if they wished to know the state of the lower classes, let them look at the amount of the poor-rates: those were the best criteria by which they could judge of the general state of the country. He had that morning seen a document, the result of a meeting in a populous district near Manchester. This document was signed by the Chairman; and it stated that the distress was overwhelming. He would abstain from saying anything on the state of the currency, because that was a subject which would probably soon be brought under the consideration of the

House, when he should perhaps offer a few observations upon it.

Sir *J. Stewart* said, he had supported the Address, because he could not concur with those members who drew so melancholy a picture of the state of the country. He had recently returned from Scotland, and certainly he had not seen any thing of the agricultural distress which some gentlemen talked of. There might, it was true, be some delay in the collection of rents as compared with former years, but there was nothing of that overwhelming distress of which he had heard. Whatever of distress was felt, and he did not deny that some existed, arose from the state of the seasons, and from other causes which human foresight could not have prevented He denied the accuracy of the statement that the distress in Scotland was severe, and unprecedented. The harvest of 1828 had exceeded in Scotland the general average in England; so that the Scotch had been enabled to export corn to supply the markets of England. He was satisfied that the distress in England arose from circumstances over which it was impossible that either his Majesty's Ministers or any other persons could have any control.

Mr. *O'Connell* rose merely for the purpose of adverting to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Bristol with respect to the state of Ireland, and he must observe that he had that morning received letters in which the distress existing in that country was painted in the strongest colours. He was sure that nothing would strike the Irish people with more astonishment than to hear that any doubt was entertained in this country of the distress under which they were labouring.

Mr. *Fyler* said, he could bear testimony to the existence of extreme distress in those parts of the country with which he was acquainted. In the city and county of the city of Coventry, and in many parts of Warwickshire, and in other places, there were thousands in such a state of distress as not to be able to support themselves. He could also state from information received from the directors of the poor, that many persons who were formerly in comfortable circumstances were in that state, that they were withheld solely by feelings of shame from receiving parochial aid. In one district of the county of Warwick, there was a parish containing a mixture of manufacturers and agriculturists. The population amounted to seven thousand one hundred persons, on a space of six thousand five hundred acres. Of these there were two thousand receiving parochial relief,—two thousand one hundred not receiving relief, but not able to contribute any thing to the rates, the whole weight of which was borne by five hundred heads of families, the representatives of the other inhabitants. Thus, it might be said, that in some instances, one individual was nearly supporting ten persons. These were facts which spoke for themselves, and no doubt many similar could be adduced, if every hon. Member were to answer the call that had been made upon him, and state candidly what was the actual condition of the people in that part of the country with which he was connected. All he could learn proved that the distress of the productive classes —instead of being partial, was general and universal. He contended that the arguments as to the prosperous state of the country which had been drawn from the increase of our exports and the increased business on some of our canals, were utterly without foundation. To prove that these were instances of prosperity, it should be shown that the increased exports were a profitable and not a losing trade, and that the increased business on the canals which had been named, had not been the result of the diversion of the trade of other canals in that particular direction, or the result of the diminution of land-carriage in the same line. He rejoiced at the manly view which had been taken of the state of the country by the right hon. Member for Liverpool, (Mr. Huskisson) and he hoped that that right hon. Gentleman, seeing the course which had been adopted by so many other states with respect to their trade, would feel it necessary to reconsider the subject of the free-trade system. He was glad to hear the promise of economy which had been held out in the Speech, but he was sure the noble Duke at the head of the Government, to do any thing effectual, must bring down our expenditure to the level of the country's means, or raise our resources so as to enable the country to meet such an expenditure.

Mr. *A. Baring* said, he did not rise on this endless subject to follow any of the several hon. Members who had preceded him into the theories which each raised as to the causes of the present distress. It was not to be denied that distress existed at present in the country to an extent which had not been felt for many years; and it was the more severely felt, because now, at the end of fifteen years of peace, when we had reason to expect that our condition would be much improved, it was rather in a worse condition than at the commencement of that period. Reason upon it which way they would, we could not shut our eyes to the fact, and it struck him as useless to be endeavouring to ascribe it to this or that particular cause, for to no one of the causes mentioned could it be fairly ascribed. It would be better therefore to apply ourselves to the remedy: distress so general in its nature must be ascribed to some general cause. He was ready to confess his ignorance of the general operating cause, but he had his own opinion as to the several causes which had been assigned, but he owned he could not bring himself to believe that it was to be attributed to any one of them; let it be recollected that if we felt distress, we were not the only nation in that condition: it pervaded every country, from one end of Europe to the other, and extended to countries beyond the Atlantic. The situation of England was not peculiar. [*hear*] Distress, then, which was so general in its extent must, as he had stated, have some general cause. That in a country like ours, with such vast and complicated sources of trade and industry, the effects should be more severely felt than among nations whose mode of trade and commerce were more simple and less extensive, should not excite surprise; but as it was felt to a greater or less extent in all, it would be idle to attribute it to the operation of this or that particular measure, but to some general cause pervading the whole: what that cause was, he must own he could not state, but he thought that man must be extremely ignorant of the nature and extent of the evil who should say, "Government must know it; Government must apply the remedy;" or, as the farmers said in some places, "Government must do *some'at*." What could the Government, or what could that House, do to remedy the evil? He should like to see any man point out the course that ought to be pursued, and say "that's the remedy." He should be happy to concur in any inquiry that might lead them to ascertain the cause, or causes of the distress; but, he must indeed be an ignorant man who, looking at the reports of the many committees which had sat for the last ten or twelve years to consider of almost every public question affecting the national welfare, should say, that that House at least had not been earnestly employed in inquiring into our condition. [*hear*] No blame could attach to them for not devising some general remedy. At the same time, if any hon. Member should bring forward any specific plan, he should be happy to give it his support when he saw what it was, if it should be one which would tend to remove the evil complained of. He would admit with those gentlemen who advocated the agricultural interest, that that body was suffering in a greater degree than any other class of the community. Yet it would not be denied that this distress existed without any very low prices of corn; for corn was not on the average at a higher price for the last five years than it was last year, and up to the present time. But the difficulty felt by agriculturists was this: they had two bad years, and the farmer, owing to the nature of the Corn-laws, obtained in one year the high price which would be a compensation to him for low prices in the preceding. Of these laws, however, the farmer could not complain, for they were made for his protection. He might, perhaps, say, that he had not that protection to which he was entitled. In his opinion, a higher rate of protection to the farmer could not be compensated by him to the country in a year of great scarcity; and if he obtained it, it would be at the expense of a starving population. [*hear*] It had always been a doubt in his mind whether the country could stand that kind of protection which the agricultural interest required. At the same time he would not do away with those Corn-laws which now existed, for that would be in effect to dispossess an immense portion of the landowners; for such were the charges upon land in a variety of shapes, that if protection were withdrawn, it would leave the present landowners little more than mere nominal proprietorship. Nine-tenths of the property of the country were suffering under mortgage and incumbrances. It was therefore only in a case of the greatest necessity that he could consent to any alteration in the present system of our

Corn-laws. Yet still he owned that the question altogether was a problem which had not yet been solved: for he doubted whether the manufacturers could afford the protection required by the agriculturists. The question of the currency had been touched upon by many gentlemen who had very different views respecting it. He was not going to enter upon it at that time, but he must admit that the withdrawing of the small-note circulation, however much he considered it as a measure of sound policy, was still one which had been productive of much suffering. He had concurred in it on the ground he had stated, for he believed that the continuance of that currency would be productive of evils much worse than its removal had created; he had always contemplated that the withdrawal of the small-note circulation would be attended with some suffering, but that the removal had created more suffering and distress than had been anticipated at the time, he could not deny. [*hear*] But he did not think that the evil was such as to create a main ingredient in the present general distress. It was said, in answer to the objections against the removal of the small-notes, that there was at present a greater money circulation in the country than existed when the notes were issued. That might be true; but then it did not circulate into those minute channels through which the small country notes passed, and by which much activity of business was kept up in small towns. It was in those places that the loss of the small-note circulation pinched most severely. In such places there was usually a small banker whose notes circulated in the town and a little district round it, beyond which they scarcely ever went. Their circulation kept up and gave energy to the small circle in which it moved. He would readily admit that the system, as it was carried on, was open to a thousand objections, and was liable to serious abuses; but the impression on his mind, as to the result of the withdrawal of the paper circulation from such places, was—that though it formed part of a general measure, which on the whole was salutary, yet it left to those places no adequate compensation. To the man in middling circumstances, who had long felt the benefit of the small bank in his neighbourhood, and who now deplored the loss of its small-note issues and complained of a want of circulation and accommodation, it was no answer to say, "There's plenty of cash to be had in Lombard-street: money never was so plentiful." [*hear*] That might be true; but, in Lombard-street, the credit and connections upon which he could have obtained assistance from the small banker in his own town were wholly unknown. The branch banks, established in several parts of the country, though they tended in a great measure to lessen the inconvenience, did not so extend their dealing as to meet the kind of cases to which he had alluded.

With all these inconveniences, he must repeat that he was one of those who would not easily yield to a restoration of the paper-currency as it had existed, he should assent with regret to any renewal of it. He did not think that the distresses generally felt were the effects of the removal of a paper circulation, nor did he think those he had alluded to more particularly as the effects of the withdrawal of that circulation in small towns were hopeless of remedy without the recurrence to that system. He could not see cause for that despondencey which some expressed. The distress of the manufacturers he admitted to a certain extent; but, compared with the condition of other interests, they were in a state of prosperity. It was no proof of distress in manufacturing districts to say that business was absorbed by a few large capitalists, for these things should be considered in the general state of the trade. The iron trade and the silk trade were certainly suffering most deeply; but he believed that the woollen trade of Yorkshire, notwithstanding the representations of a honourable Member, (Mr. Sadler) was by no means in a state of distress. Although it, no doubt, did not now enjoy the prosperity which it enjoyed in former times, he had seen a letter, in which it was stated that the manufacturers had nothing to complain of. Great complaints had been made of the distress occasioned by the introduction of machinery. It was certainly true, that to take labour from the hand, and to perform it by a steam-engine, was the cause of great individual injury, which was much to be lamented. It was like the consolidation of a number of small farms into a large and overgrown one. But it was one of the natural operations of industry and knowledge; one of those operations which all the best authorities on the subject concurred in declaring ought to be left unshackled by any legislative interference. The trade or agriculture must still be considered as a whole, without reference to the minor changes which may have taken place in its mode of management. Having said thus much on the chief topics which had been introduced into the discussion connected with our internal economy, he would now say a word as to another subject which had been introduced—he meant our Foreign Policy; and on this he owned he differed widely from those who blamed the Government of this country for non-interference in foreign disputes. Some gentlemen who from year to year spent their summers in travelling on the Continent, and who did not meet in the several towns through which they passed with all that attention which they considered due to them—who were not considered sufficiently important to be received with marked distinction, and to form a topic of conversation at the *tables d'hôte,* took it, forsooth, into their heads, that Englishmen were not respected! and that the English name was brought into contempt, because its Government was not constantly interfering in every squabble in the continental courts. [*hear*] In the policy adopted by France, Prussia, Austria, and other continental Powers, many things might be important in continental affairs, which to us, situated as we were, ought to be matters of utter indifference; for in our insular position, if a province of France, or the Netherlands, or any other continental state, were offered to us, he did not suppose there were ten men in the country so senseless as to think we ought to accept it. It was sufficient for us to take care that danger did not come too near our own shores: but it would be beneath our dignity to enter into those squabbles in which some would involve us. It might, indeed, be matter of importance to take care what Power was placed at the mouth of the Tagus or the Scheldt, but we should be utterly indifferent to the squabbles which might take place among the petty princes of Germany, or other small Powers with which we had no concern. Undoubtedly, our long relations, political and commercial, with Portugal, rendered the affairs of that country matters in which we were interested, but this did not extend to an interference in her internal government. It was true that Don Miguel who now occupied the throne of that kingdom was a disgrace to the crowned heads of Europe, but nevertheless, he (Mr. Baring) felt grateful to our Government, that it did not go to war for the purpose of removing him. He would prefer that the authority of the other claimant of the crown should be triumphant and be recognized; but why we should involve ourselves in war to procure the recognition was what he could not see. Nothing, he believed, was more generally acknowledged by all parties than the expediency of adhering to a pacific policy in the present state of the country. Foreign peace and domestic good order would produce tangible benefits which must prove equally advantageous to the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests, and in short to the people at large, into whatever classifications they may be nominally subdivided.

Amongst other topics, he could not overlook the happy results which had followed a late important measure for restoring tranquillity to part of his Majesty's dominions. He alluded to the complete pacification of Ireland, and was gratified at length to see the conclusion which had been put to that solemn mockery so long subsisting in defiance at once of the Legislature and the Government. [*hear*]

On the subject of our relations with Mexico, he could not express himself with so much satisfaction. While that country continues in its existing anomalous and unsettled condition, it must be placed under the temporary domination of one military chieftain or another—such as Santa Anna or Bolivar,—and various evils, which will more or less affect ourselves must ensue. Those who venture money would of course be obliged to take their chance; but such a state of things must necessarily prevent the growth and settlement of their civil establishments, and the capital invested by English merchants in mines and otherwise would be so far embarrassed, if not put in jeopardy altogether. The attempts on the part of Spain to recover her colonies had already proved unavailing; and he thought it was now high time to see a proper footing established from henceforward between them. We at least ought to have observed a consistent course of conduct between the parties. If interference was justifiable in the case of the Mexicans as assailants, we had surely an equal right to interpose when Barrados made his descent from the Island of Cuba. This project was executed so late as 1829, and yet with no better success than before. Since 1823, when the declaration was made, no change had taken place, although the interval consisted of no less a space of time than seven years. The whole political world were now satisfied to conviction that the efforts of Spain had been totally abortive and unavailing, and that the question was therefore solved against her. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman opposite would be induced by those considerations to use their most earnest persuasions with the Spanish monarchy, in order to attain a permanent cessation of hostilities. According to the present tone of Ministerial arguments, it would appear that the principle of *de facto* government was likely to be maintained in the case of Portugal; and if so, undoubtedly the same argument would apply here. Mexico likewise had a *de facto* government, which was undisturbed by any of the attempts which had been hitherto directed against it. [*hear*] He would ask whether Spain was so scrupulous in the struggle between England and her colonies? Did she wait until belligerent operations had terminated, and peace was declared? No, on the contrary, that state interfered in the very middle of the war, and acknowledged, with a premature alacrity, the independence of the English colonies. Then might not the *argumentum ad hominem* be justly applied to Spain. [*hear*]

He took this opportunity of expressing his sentiments, as he had not done so on the first day of the session. Before he sat down, in justice to the Ministers, he must say, that judging of the general operation of their measures throughout the country, he could discover nothing of an unfortunate character which could with propriety be laid at the door of Government, and he should, on that account, be sorry to see the Administration embarrassed or disturbed. [*hear, hear*]

Mr. *Attwood* said, he by no means agreed with the opinions of the hon. Gentleman, who seemed to think that all the measures of the existing Ministry had tended to promote the general interest of the country, and had been the result of deliberate wisdom and prudent political calculation. He could not agree that the cause of the distress was not attributable to Ministers. In sentiments couched in such sweeping and unequivocal terms, he could not acquiesce. The notoriously distressed and disastrous state of the British population offered, in his judgment, a decided contradiction to so unmerited a panegyric. Our general impoverishment was very easy of explanation, being mainly attributable to the change in the currency and the consequent alteration of the value of money. That single measure (which it was said would only effect a charge to the extent of 3 per cent) had imposed an additional burthen of 25, 30, or 40 per cent on every man in the community, in all cases of deed, mortgage, settlement, or contract. It had been first introduced in 1819, but the public distress prevented its being brought into immediate operation. It was grappled with again in 1823, and in the year 1826, the system might be considered to be perfectly matured and carried into effect. He regretted that his hon. friend had deemed it fitting to indulge so much in a laudatory strain; as, for his own part, he should wish to witness more of modesty within doors, and less of vituperation without. Every one was by this time aware that the nation in general entertained but an humble opinion of the wisdom of Parliament. The people reproached their representatives collectively with inefficiency for the adequate discharge of the great functions which were imposed on them as Members of that House. The operations of the Legislature had originated the distress, and were also calculated still further to increase it. The report of the Committee of Inquiry into the state of agriculture in the year 1824 supported the opinions which he had always expressed upon the subject. He could not allow the hon. Member (Mr. Baring's) remarks to pass unnoticed, because they were at variance with many positions formerly maintained by him [*hear*].

Mr. *Trant* said, he wished to know what was to become of the farmer, or how he was to gain a livelihood, when told by a high parliamentary authority that over-production was the cause of all his distress? When the loaf was 1*s.* 2*d.* the farmer was much better off. As to the other classes, and equal sufferers, he should only say that they might legislate how they would, but while manufactures were to be produced by boiling a kettle, so long would starvation dog the artisan who had been bred to work in a manufactory for his support.

Mr. *Maberly* said, he was of opinion that it would be highly impolitic for the Legislature to extend a remunerative protection to the agricultural interest any more than to those who were concerned in cotton, iron, or linen. Agriculture ought to be protected only in the same ratio with whatever else paid a duty; for example—in the same proportion with glass. The profits of agriculture were abated by the payment of tithes, which so far entitled the parties interested to be placed on a footing similar with those rated in another form. He attributed the distress of such numbers of the people to the want of a local circulation; and in practical proof of the correctness of such reasoning he could demonstrate that money was scarce throughout the whole of the kingdom, while on the other hand articles of consumption were plentiful. It was very possible that the real privations of the people were, in a great degree, to be ascribed to the affluence and strength of the national resources. In his elaborate treatise on political economy, Mr. Ricardo, if he remembered rightly, had explained the principle by stating that when great and opulent nations had a redundancy of wealth, capital naturally competed with capital, and in the end produced low profits to the working classes: yet that low profits were proofs not of poverty but of wealth. Thus, although the wealth of the country might continue the same, public distress would nevertheless arise. To this state of things, in his opinion, we had now come. He apprehended that the people would for a long time suffer from low prices; and yet perhaps, high prices were the greater evil of the two. If labour were remunerated at high wages, we could not exchange it profitably in other parts of the world, and so bad would become worse. As to steam machinery, he considered it a principal source of our prosperity. In fact, it was to that we were chiefly indebted for our ability to pay taxes. [*hear*] He hoped, that Ministers would adopt his recent suggestion with respect to the currency, as it would prove a material and grateful relief to all ranks of the people.

Mr. *Hume* said, he hoped, that before the House should be called on to vote the supplies, Ministers would lay before them a statement of the promised reductions in public expenditure. The custom had been too much neglected of late years, but he expected that a complete preliminary view of ways and means would on this occasion be submitted. Indeed, in the event of any reluctance to do so being manifested, the House would be wanting to itself if it proved backward to enforce it; he for one should use his utmost endeavour to enforce such preliminary explanation.

The motion, *pro forma*, that the House go into a Committee on the Speech was then agreed to.

Compositions for Tithes.] Mr. *Greene* rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to enable incumbents of livings in England and Wales to enter into renewable Compositions for their Tithes, by agreement with the owners of land in their respective parishes. He conceived it to be needless to detain the House at any length, in moving for leave to bring in the bill. Addressing landowners, he need not inform them of the inconveniences they sustained from the present system of tithes; and an extensive correspondence in which he had been engaged with parochial clergy, satisfied him that they were as anxious as the landholders for some change in the mode of collecting tithe. He felt the importance of not approaching such a subject rashly and inconsiderately; and he was therefore glad to avail himself of the precedent, which had been set in the numerous private acts passed on this subject. To each of these the consents of the bishop, the patron, the incumbent, and the landowners, had been given, and he therefore felt assured, that from a measure following strictly the course that had been adopted in them, no injury could accrue to any party. The present bill was of a permissive nature. It only went to authorise the appointment of commissioners at once, instead of requiring a private act in every instance. Those commissioners being necessarily men of education—men placed beyond the suspicion of countenancing anything unfair—justice might reasonably be expected to be done to all parties. They would be judges of the reports of the tithe valuers, by whom the value of the tithes of any parish for the preceding fourteen years should be ascertained, and whatever that might prove should be affixed as a rent-charge upon the parish for ever, variable, however, by averages of the price of wheat to be struck every seven years, so as to meet the changes in the value of money. In order further to provide against alterations which might take place in the value of agricultural produce, inclosure and improvement of land, each party at the end of twenty-one years might call for a fresh commission to ascertain the actual value of all such matters as might have been decided by the award of the first commissioners to be titheable, but they were to have no power to disturb the determinations of the former commissioners respecting moduses, or other partial or entire exemption. This scheme, he admitted, was not new, and he regarded its want of novelty as a strong recommendation to it. It had been tried partially, and found to answer, and a plan similar to this had been submitted to the House in the Report of the Commissioners of Land Revenue in 1792. In conclusion he begged to express the sincerity and warmth of his attachment to the church establishment, and his firm conviction that the bill which he now proposed to introduce, if passed into a law, was calculated to afford ease and comfort to the clergy, to secure to them permanent and settled incomes; and while it relieved the landowner from many of the inconveniencies which press on him, would also relieve the clergyman from much that was painful to him, and must tend to enlarge his sphere of usefulness. He called on the House to support the measure.

Mr. *Hume* said, he was not sorry to see this subject again brought under the consideration of the House. He, however, must deprecate a clause which it was proposed to introduce; namely, that enabling the clergy to enjoy the effects of capital expended in the improvement of land, and so far discouraging the honest industry employed in its cultivation. The peculiar feature of—thence the peculiar objection to—a tithe-tax was, that it was a tax upon industry, increasing with the application of labour to agriculture, and as a consequence tending to restrict that application. When it was first levied, it was paid in kind, solely because there existed no other mode of payment equally convenient; but since commerce and the change of manners and institutions had induced a far different state of things, payment in kind was no longer desirable. He saw no reason whatever against changing the system altogether, and for not paying the clergy according to the mode pursued in the army and navy. The measure proposed by the hon. Member appeared to him objectionable, because it did not go far enough: he, however, would give it his support as a step towards improvement; he should indeed have preferred a plan of more extent—one, for example, which would institute a commission to value the tithes of every parish in the kingdom. There were two species of tithe obligations—lay and clerical—the commission would embrace the valuation of both. He would give the commissioners a power to sell at a fair market-value those tithes which belonged to lay proprietors. He said at a market value, for those tithes were a matter of daily sale—in fact were advertised in newspapers, and sold as common as a twopenny loaf; [*hear, and a laugh*] so that there could be no difficulty in determining their fair value. With respect to the tithes belonging to clerical incumbents, he would pursue a different course: he would have them consolidated in one fund, from which the clergy should be allowed a fixed stipend, in proportion to their rank and amount of *bona fide* duty. By this means, all the evils consequent upon tithe-litigation would be avoided, and the meritorious and zealous minister would be rewarded; while the present system of idle and corrupt pluralities would be put an end to. He saw no objection to either arrangement. By purchasing up lay tithes at a fair market price, the lay proprietor would be fairly compensated for his property; by paying the clergy a fixed stipend, much that was objectionable in the present system would be precluded. This would relieve the agriculture of the country, and thousands—he might almost say millions—of persons now unemployed would then find employment; for many who now avoided investing their money in property liable to tithe according to its increased value, would then endeavour to make improvements in it, and by so doing, would give employment to a great number of persons. It could not now be said that church property was sacred; that to touch it would be an act similar in kind to the spoliation of private property; for the Tithe Commutation act of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer recognised and acted upon the principle of interference. [*hear*] When he (Mr. Hume) proposed such a measure, he was scouted by the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues, as one who had proposed to rob the church of what as much belonged to it as any man's house or chattels to him; and yet, within one year, the right hon. Gentleman himself proposed, and, while in office, passed, the very same measure. He would support the proposed measure of the hon. Member for Lancaster, though he could not approve of the twenty-one years' valuation clause.

Mr. *Trant* said, he thought that a measure of such extensive interference would be neither more nor less than a positive spoliation of property. When gentlemen purchased land, and farmers took it on lease, they did so having made calculations of the amount to be mutually deducted from the purchase-money or the rent, as tithes. He was sure the country gentlemen of England would never suffer the vested rights of the clergy to be thus invaded. He never wished to see the clergy made the subject of spoliation.

Mr. *Hume* begged, in reply to any such language, to be permitted to deny that he contemplated anything in the way of what was termed "spoliation;" he wished every thing to be done on the principle of fair and equitable compensation, and he disclaimed any intention or desire to deprive the clergy of their just claims to public support.

Mr. *Greene* replied.—His great object was, to put an end to those litigations which so much disturbed the harmony between clergymen and their parishioners.

Leave was given to bring in the bill.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, February 9.

MINUTES.] The Earl of GLENGALL took his Seat as Representative Peer for Ireland, in the place of the Marquis of Headford, deceased.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* presented a petition from the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Cumberland, complaining of distress, and praying for relief. The noble Lord stated, that the petition had been agreed upon at a county meeting, the high sheriff in the chair; that it was signed by two hundred and fifty respectable gentry and yeomanry; and that it earnestly prayed their Lordships to take the condition of the country into their serious consideration.—The petition was read at length. It complained strongly of the existing general distress in the country, which it attributed, not to any visitation of Providence, or any fault on the part of the people, but in a great measure to the suppression of the paper currency, and the adoption of a gold standard, without at the same time a corresponding reduction of taxation. It, in conclusion, prayed for a revisal of the act of 1819, and likewise for a reduction of the Malt and Beer duties.

EAST-INDIA COMPANY AND TRADE.] Lord *Ellenborough* said, he rose to move for a Select Committee to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East-India Company, and into the trade between Great Britain, the East-Indies, and China. He begged in the outset to assure their Lordships that his Majesty's Government were as entirely free from all preconceived opinions or impressions on this subject as Parliament itself; that they approached this important inquiry with minds perfectly unbiassed; that there was no desire to hold back or conceal any thing on their part, but, on the contrary, the utmost anxiety to produce to their Lordships all the information in their possession. There were produced towards the close of the last session of Parliament, a number of documents illustrative of the various details connected with this subject, and he had himself presented this evening to their Lordships additional papers, calculated to throw light upon the state of the finances of India, and of the trade to that country; and if it should appear that further information would be necessary for the elucidation of the subject, or would be required for the satisfaction of their Lordships, it would be most readily afforded by his Majesty's Government. It was the wish of the Government that there should be no concealment. All that was desired by his Majesty's Government was, that Parliament and the country should have every opportunity afforded to form a correct judgment upon this important subject. As the papers presented last Session illustrative of it had now been for some time in their Lordships hands, it would be unnecessary for him to draw their attention more particularly to the results to be arrived at from a careful inspection of these documents, as he was confident that their Lordships had given to them that consideration and attention which they deserved. But for his own part he would say, that it was to him a source of great satisfaction to feel that the printing of the papers now presented, as doubtless had been the case with the publication of the papers that had been presented at the conclusion of the last Session of Parliament, would tend to dissipate the many fallacies and erroneous notions which had been industriously circulated throughout this country on this subject.

What his Majesty's Government desired was, that Parliament and the public should see the whole truth connected with this question, and be accurately informed with regard to it in all its parts and bearings. It was not for their Lordships, informed as they were by acts of the Legislature, and through the medium of the parliamentary accounts annually presented illustrative of the financial affairs of India, and of the general working of the government there —it was not so much for the satisfaction of their Lordships, who possessed so much information on the subject, that the production of these papers was required, as for the purpose of dissipating the fallacy which had arisen out of doors, and which had been most industriously propagated in this country; viz., that the territorial finances of India derived no benefit from the commercial funds or profits of the Company. Now, so far from that being the case, it would appear from the documents laid before Parliament, that during the course of the sixteen years which had now elapsed since the renewal of the Company's Charter, in point of fact the territorial finances of India had appropriated to themselves, either directly or indirectly, as large a sum of the commercial profits of the Company as had been appropriated to the payment of dividends to the proprietors of East-India stock, and in fact, since the renewal of the Charter, the profits derivable from the monopoly of the China trade enjoyed by the Company had been devoted more to the purposes and benefits of the finances of India than to any benefit accruing to the Company themselves from such monopoly.

Their Lordships would allow him to refer them to the papers laid on their table last Session, from which they would perceive, that the quantity of tea consumed in this country had been greatly increased. In point of fact, the Company had, since the last renewal of the Charter, greatly increased the quantity of tea consumed in this country, so much so, that under the present Charter, the consumption of tea in this country was equal to that of the whole Continent of Europe, exclusive of Russia. Already there were 5,000,000 pounds of tea sold to the people of this country, and at a cost considerably under that of the smaller quantity which had been formerly disposed of here. Their Lordships were aware, that previous to the presentation of the papers last Session, information had been obtained from his Majesty's consuls in the different parts of the Continent of Europe, and also in America, as to the prices of the several sorts of teas disposed of and consumed in the respective places where they were stationed. It was evident, however, that these statements of prices afforded no clear view as to the real proportion between the price of English teas and foreign teas, in quality and quantity. In order, therefore, to afford Parliament and the country the fullest means of arriving at a correct judgment as to the proportion, with regard to price, between English teas and teas consumed on the Continent, in quantity and quality, directions were transmitted to his Majesty's consuls abroad to procure a quantity of teas of all descriptions most in use on the Continent, with their respective prices in the principal continental marts. These samples of teas from various quarters had since been procured, and would be ready for the inspection of Parliament, together with the several accounts and details respecting them. It was obvious, then, from what he had stated, that every precaution had been taken by his Majesty's Government against unfair dealing in their investigations, and that everything had been done to prevent the existence of the slightest suspicion that, in instituting this inquiry, his Majesty's Government were actuated by any other motive but the most earnest desire and anxiety that every information should be given to Parliament, and every means afforded to them and the public to obtain the fullest and clearest view of all the real facts regarding the Company's monopoly, and the state of affairs in India.

It would be a matter of great satisfaction to him if, upon this occasion, he were able to inform the House that the finances of India were at present in a favourable state. Such undoubtedly was not the case. but then when their Lordships considered the expensive conquests which had been made in India within a recent period by the East-India Company, they would not be surprised at perceiving that a falling-off was exhibited in the finance accounts. It was further to be borne in mind, that those countries which had been recently annexed to their dominions, though much larger in extent, were more scanty in population, and much poorer, than the countries they previously possessed. Taking these circumstances into consideration, their Lordships would not be surprised at the falling-off, as great expense was incurred in the maintenance of those possessions, while the ancient possessions of the country were richer and more manageable. Allowing a great deal for these facts, he was still willing to admit that there was much to blame in the management of these matters in India; and no persons, he could assure their Lordships, were more feelingly alive to that circumstance than the Directors of the East-India Company themsleves. It was impossible for any government in this or any other country to issue stronger orders than had been issued for the reduction or expenditure in every department of the state in India. That it was most desirable to effect an economical reform in every department of the state, was equally felt by the government of India, and by the noble Lord at the head of Administration in that country (Lord W. Bentinck); and no individual could apply himself with greater zeal and firmness than that noble Lord had already done to effect an object which was not more his own than it was that of the Government under which he acted. At the same time he could not hold out to the House the prospect of more than a gradual and moderate increase in the revenue of the East-India Company. Above all, he should deprecate making an increase in it by the laying on of additional charges upon the internal or external trade. [*hear*] It was only by diminishing the expense of collecting the revenue, by the introduction of an improved mode of collection, and by effecting all the reductions which could be made without injury to the civil or military departments of the government, that an increase in the revenue ought to be effected. Amongst the means of reducing the expenditure, was the very desirable one of reducing gradually the number of persons from Europe employed in establishments in India, and of bringing forward, gradually however, and with extreme caution, the most deserving amongst the natives, by employing them in situations of higher authority and trust than they had hitherto been accustomed to fill. [*hear*] If those measures should be pursued firmly, but with extreme caution, always regarding the interest and habits and feelings of the individuals in question, he confidently looked forward to an amelioration of the revenue of India, and he should be most gratified indeed, if next Session it should be in his power to announce to their Lordships that his anticipation had been confirmed and realized. Since the Company's last Charter had been granted, great alterations were effected by Parliament in the regulations which governed the trade between India and this country; and since the duties on imports into India had been so greatly reduced by the Committee appointed, in consequence of the motion of a noble Marquis opposite (the Marquis of Lansdowne), he would have their Lordships bear in mind, that no restrictions at the present moment existed upon the commercial intercourse of Great Britain with India, except such as, in his opinion, must be considered necessary, not for the interests of the East-India Company, but for the preservation of the connection between India and this country; and he could assure their Lordships, that since that period the East-India Company had afforded all the aid in their power to increase the facilities given to the external and internal trade of India. The duties upon various British manufactures, which formerly were 10 per cent, had been reduced upon woollens and other articles to 5 per cent, and the duties upon cotton manufactures had been reduced from 7½ to 3½ per cent. At the same time the export duty of 5 per cent upon indigo had been taken off, and the export duty upon cotton had been also removed. He could therefore assure their Lordships that the attention of the Government was directed with the greatest earnestness to afford every additional facility to trade in that country, and amongst the means contemplated for increasing the revenue, in addition to the intended reductions, the first, and one of the most important, would be, the removal of restrictions as far as the removal was practicable upon the internal trade of that colony. In considering this subject, and in reviewing the papers which had been laid upon their table, he felt assured that their Lordships would see that the first and most important question for Parliament to decide was, first, whether it would be possible to conduct the government of India, directly or indirectly, without the assistance of the Company; and the second question was, whether that assistance should be afforded in the manner in which it had been hitherto afforded, or in some other way. He was satisfied that it would be unnecessary for him to enter into the details connected with this subject, for he was fully confident that their Lordships would consider minutely all the details which related to it; that they would make themselves acquainted with it in all its bearings; that they would approach its consideration with unbiassed minds, and with deliberate caution; and above all things he trusted that there would be no disposition on the part of their Lordships to sacrifice to the seemingly present advantage of any portion of the population of this country, the happiness of that people whose interest should be as dear to their Lordships, and whose appeal to their justice and their generosity was so strong,—he meant the people of India. The noble Lord concluded with moving—"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East-India Company, and into the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China."

The Marquis of *Lansdowne* said, it was not his intention to offer any opposition to the motion, but he was, on the contrary, anxious to express his gratification, that so early an opportunity had been taken for the appointment of the Committee. At the same time he was sorry that the course which he had recommended last Session, in reference to this important subject, had not been adopted. He then recommended his Majesty's Government to adopt the plan which was pursued on a former occasion, when the affairs of the East-India Company were before Parliament, on the last consideration of their Charter,—namely, that his Majesty's Government, who, of course, possessed the fullest and most correct information with respect to the affairs of India, and who must particularly of late years have had their attention peculiarly directed to that subject, should in the first instance bring forward their views in some tangible shape; the subject would afterwards be discussed in the course of inquiry which Parliament would not fail to institute, and doubtless it would be treated in the same spirit of candour by his Majesty's Government as that with which the noble Lord proposed to enter upon the present inquiry. Though the noble Lord had not adopted that course, he conceived, from what had fallen from the noble Lord, that upon many points of this important subject his opinions and views had been already in a great degree formed. As it was determined, however, that the intentions of Government should remain for the present unknown, he was the more resolved as an individual Member of Parliament, to apply himself to this subject, and to devote to it his earnest and peculiar attention. Their Lordships were called upon to discharge a most momentous and important duty;—they were called upon to decide in reference to measures affecting the happiness of millions who had never been seen by them, and had never seen them, and yet who were under their legislative control,—millions who though placed beyond their ken, yet by fortune had been placed within their power; and under such circumstances he trusted that their Lordships would approach the question with minds perfectly unbiassed—uninfluenced either by any previous speculations which it had called forth in this inquiring country on the one hand, or by any attention to existing interests on the other, whether deeply seated or long formed, and their sole object should be the happiness of the people of India. He would repeat, that he trusted noble Lords would remember that their sole aim and object should be the happiness of the people of India; and their earnest endeavours should be devoted to provide that mode of connection which was best calculated to promote their happiness, and to increase the wealth, and prosperity of this country in its relations with India. They should adopt measures to raise the character of the people of India, by giving to them benefits of which they, up to the present time, knew nothing, and they should instil into their minds an adequate sense of the advantages of law and government, of which past history and past circumstances, for which the Government of this country had much to answer, had hitherto precluded their acquisition. [*hear*] If such measures were not adopted, and such improvements carried into effect, the House would only continue to hear from the noble Lord and his successors the confession which he had made to-night of the inability of India to provide for its own government, and that country which if well managed, might be a support and an advantage to this Empire, would still continue as it had been a drain and drawback upon our resources. [*hear*]

Lord *Durham* said, he fully agreed in the importance of this question, and concurred in what had fallen from his noble friend who had just sat down. He should not have thought it necessary to trespass upon this occasion upon the attention of the House were it not that he was anxious to afford to the noble Lord opposite (Ellenborough) an opportunity to give to the House and the country, an explanation regarding a document which had not only been circulated in the country, but which had been made the subject of animadversion in the other House of Parliament. The document to which he alluded had affixed to it the signature of the noble Lord, it was addressed to a functionary in India, and contained sentiments certainly of an extraordinary nature. He trusted the noble Lord would be enabled to deny its authenticity; and he now, therefore, called upon the noble Lord to state whether or not the letter addressed to Sir J. Malcolm, as printed in the public papers* was his production, or not?

Lord *Ellenborough* said, he was anxious to allude, in the first instance, to what had fallen from the noble Marquis (Lansdowne). He fully concurred with the noble Marquis, as to the great importance of the question which was now about to be brought under the consideration of Parliament, and it was upon account of its importance that it had been thought fit that Parliament should apply itself to the investigation of the subject before any determinate course should be adopted by his Majesty's Ministers in respect to it. He could not help thinking that such a mode of previous inquiry was the best way of arriving at a just conclusion both on the part of Parliament and his Majesty's Ministers. He could assure the noble Marquis, that for his own part he was anxious to obtain fuller information on the subject before he came to a decision upon it, and that could only be accomplished by means of the proposed mode of inquiry. With regard to the question asked by the noble Baron, he could only say, that of the letter which appeared in the papers purporting to be addressed by him to Sir John Malcolm, he had kept no copy; and, in fact, that when he first heard of the publication in question, he had no recollection of such a letter at all. He had since read the letter, and he had no reason to doubt that it was substantially correct. At the same time he had to state that versions of the same letter had been published, both in India and in this country, and that they differed in several material points, and in one particularly, of an important character. He could assure the noble Lord, that had he communicated in confidence with Sir John Malcolm, an officer acting with him in the government of India, having before him the official documents which he then had before him, he would never have given expression to any other sentiments than those expressed in the letter; nor if under such circumstances he had adopted any other course than that which he then advised his Majesty to pursue—namely, to appoint Sir J. Dewar and Sir W. Seymour as judges in the Supreme Court of Bombay,—he felt that he should have deserted his public duty, and rendered himself unworthy of the confidence which his Majesty had placed in him.

Lord *Durham* said, it appeared, that the noble Lord substantially avowed the sentiments contained in the letter alluded to. He was not certainly prepared for such an acknowledgment, and he was sure the House and the country would participate in the sincere regret which he experienced at an avowal of such sentiments being entertained in such a quarter. It was the more to be regretted, as the feeling prevailed throughout the country, and was particularly impressed upon the minds of persons who interested themselves in the affairs of India, that in this letter one of the Ministers of the Crown, [to whose charge was intrusted the government of India, had expressed sentiments unfavourable to the independence of the Judges in that country. It was a matter of sincere regret that such an impression should go forth in India. He would not enter further upon the consideration of that letter now, as he understood that the noble Lord was not prepared for the discussion of it at present. It was to be regretted that the rest of his Majesty's Government had not disavowed the sentiments in that letter—sentiments which had excited general alarm amongst the people of India for the independence of their Judges. He was not prepared now to submit a motion on the subject, and he did not exactly know when he should do so. He had felt it his duty to make this inquiry, and he must repeat his regret that the letter could not be disavowed.

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* For this letter, see the report of Mr. J. Rice's Inquiry in the Commons on the preceding Friday.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, his noble friend had stated that the letter was in substance the letter which he had written to Sir J. Malcolm, but though his noble friend had bound himself to the terms of the letter, he was not at all bound to it, as understood by the interpretation which others thought proper to affix. For his part, he did not see a word in the letter directly derogatory to the independence of the Judges in the east. It was stated in the letter, that a certain Judge in the East Indies had not conducted himself with discretion, and if his noble friend had known at the time of writing that letter the decision of the Privy Council (the highest authority in this country) on the subject, he would not have altered the expression; for the Privy Council decided that he had not conducted himself according to law. His noble friend had said in this private letter, which had in some manner found its way to the public, that the law of the learned Judge in question was considered bad law, and bad law it was afterwards decided to be by the Privy Council, and it was held that the Judge had no power to act as as he had done, and that his acting so had been indiscreet. His noble friend in his letter went on to say that two new Judges had been appointed who would restrain the other Judge should he happen to be indiscreet. [*a laugh, and hear*] Surely that would not be described as an attack upon the independence of the Judges. He was sure that noble Lords would see that there was not a word in the letter which could bear such an interpretation. The noble Lord had stated further in the letter, his opinion that the learned Judge should be recalled, and the Privy Council had since recommended to his Majesty that that learned person should be recalled, to answer for his conduct in this very transaction. With respect to the letter being a private one, he would say this—that if the noble Lord had described his noble friend as writing a private letter respecting a transaction of this description, he might blame him for that, and he would not defend him on that point; but if persons corresponding in private letters with individuals on foreign stations were to have every sentiment which they expressed, and every thing which they recommended, made the subject of public animadversion and parliamentary inquiry, of censure, or of ridicule, no business could be done at all; and he would say that his noble friend had been hardly dealt with.

Lord *Durham.*—I have stated that it is the general opinion that the sentiments expressed in the letter indicated a disposition on the part of the writer to attack the independence of the Judges. I must confess that I entertained the sentiments which I have already named, relating to the appointment of the Judges, and that I am confirmed in those sentiments by what has occurred out of the House. Perhaps the noble Duke has not read the letter?

The Duke of *Wellington.*—Yes, I have.

Lord *Durham.*—Then what is the first fact contained in the letter? The Judge here spoken of is said "to have right notions of his duty, and of the law, which has been so strangely misrepresented; and that he will rather support Government"——

The Duke of *Wellington.*—Read on.

Lord *Durham* (smiling)—Not the whole of the letter.

Lord *Ellenborough*—No, but the whole of the sentiment.

Lord *Durham*—The noble Lord may, if he pleases, read the whole of the letter. The sentence is this:—"He (Sir William Seymour) will rather support Government than use the authority of the Supreme Court as a means of raising opposition." [*Hear, from the Ministerial benches*]—Then, in a subsequent passage, Sir J. Grant is spoken of as not likely to cause any more mischief, "as he will be led (observes the letter), like a wild elephant between two tame ones." This passage has been made the subject of ridicule, in which I do not myself concur; but I do think the President of the Board of Control ought not to have written such a letter as the one under discussion. If the sentiments contained in it were acted up to, a blow would be given to the independence of the Judges. The advice in that letter is, that the Governor should be placed in authority over the Judges—a circumstance not so ungenial to the feelings as to the law respecting the appointment of Judges in this country.

Lord *Melville* said, he entertained opinions entirely in conformity with those expressed by the noble Duke, with regard to the letter in question. He would take the liberty of saying that a great deal of flippancy had been used on the subject of the letter, but not by the noble Baron who wrote it. A great deal of misconception existed with respect to the situation of Judges in the colonies, by comparing them to the Judges of this country. But what was the fact? The Judges were learned persons, who sometimes conceived that their Courts possessed a power which must be executed, and if not executed by others, that they must put their decrees in force. The Governor of Bombay had said on such an occasion, "You are wrong, you have no jurisdiction—you must not, and ought not, to execute your decrees." The Judge, however, persisted; the Governor resisted; he was justified in opposing the Judge's decrees; and he was told that he was wrong. He entertained an opinion totally different from some he had heard, and the authority he quoted for his opinion was that of Parliament itself. What happened with respect to the Courts of India fifty years before? The Supreme Court at Bengal then entertained a notion of its power, which it carried to a greater length than Sir J. P. Grant had done, and it employed a large number of persons to enforce its decrees, by which it caused the greatest confusion. What did the Government do? It sent a military officer to oppose the Judge's forces; and when the Governor was informed that this officer was not sufficient, he sent an additional force. What did the Parliament do? It supported the Governor, and very nearly impeached the Chief Justice. It passed an act, which is now on the Statute-book, enacting that the Governors of colonies must be supported; and by the first clause, it exempted the Governor General of India, and the Governor of Bombay and Madras, from the authority of the Supreme Court. It enacted, too, that if the acts of the Government were challenged by the Supreme Court, it should be sufficient to plead the order of the Governor as a bar to all proceeding. It further indemnified the Governors for resisting the Judges. It was very well to talk about the independence of the Judges in India, but it was not an independence in truth. They must have that sort of discretion not to put the country into danger, by exercising the power which belonged to their Courts. The case which lately occurred at Bombay was similar to what occurred at Bengal fifty years ago. The Judge had directed a *habeas corpus* to issue concerning a Zemindar of influence and property, and holding a high office, which the Government stopped. A complaint was made that the Judge had misunderstood the law. He did not blame the Judge for acting on his own opinion of the law;—in that he did right. But what did he do to support his decrees? The Governor did that which he had a right to do; and the Judge thereupon shut up his court, and denied all the people justice. The case had hardly been described fairly; it was not only necessary, as his noble friend said, that the Judges should be of discreet minds, they must also be full of integrity, and learned in the law; but above all it was requisite that they should possess sound discretion. It had happened to him more than once to have to advise His Majesty to recall a Judge from India. He had not the slightest doubt that on such occasions he had expressed himself in a manner similar to the sentiments of his noble friend. There was not a year passed that there were not confidential communications between the Governors and the Judges; and the Judges had a right to give an opinion, and caution the Governors when they were likely to do any thing wrong. If any doubt arose about the power of the Governor, it was customary to caution him not to come into contact with the law. There was a confidential intercourse between the Judge and the Governor, and the Judge cautioned the Governor to keep out of his court; and if the Governor found it necessary, an application was made to Parliament to provide a remedy.

He must contend that the Judges of this country must not show their independence when they went to India; they must be careful not to commit the Governor; they, in the sense in which that term is understood in this country, must not set up their own notions of law; the Judge must agree with what the authority of the Governor declares wrong. If the Judges set up their own authority, it was impossible to say what was the extent of their jurisdiction, or whom they might not make subject to it. Disputes might be referred home, but the Judge could not be suffered to shut up his court. The conduct of Sir J. P. Grant was, in his opinion, extremely blameable, and so thought the

Privy Council. Finally, if any person conceived that the independence of Judges in India stood upon the same footing as the independence of Judges in this country, it was altogether a mistake; and for asserting that such an opinion was erroneous, he had much higher authority than any he had hitherto heard quoted against it.

Lord *Holland* said, when the noble Viscount opposite (Melville) rose, he was afraid that that noble Lord was about to read his noble friend (Lord Ellenborough) a severe lecture upon the style and tenor of the letter in question, seeing that the noble Viscount at the outset deprecated any flippancy upon a subject so grave and important; but instead of so turning round upon his friend, the noble Viscount had pursued a course altogether the reverse, and endeavoured to bear out the noble writer of that letter in the assertion that the question of law was one of comparative insignificance. That was the very sentiment of the letter, upon which those who objected to it might lay no inconsiderable stress. The noble Lord, in his letter, declared that the question of law was one of comparative insignificance, and that what he chiefly objected to was the tone and temper of the Judges—the tenor of the language which they delivered from the bench—the law was quite a secondary matter. However, it was scarcely fair to come to any conclusion upon matters turning upon the mere language of the letter, as the noble Lord had not thought proper to inform the House what parts of the letter were authentic, and what were not so; but thus much he (Lord Holland) could not help saying, that the effect of the letter had been to produce a considerable sensation in that country, and it was calculated to produce a considerable sensation here, that any member of His Majesty's Government should be found writing to a public functionary in India that errors in matters of law were comparatively of little importance, and that the speeches from the Judges on the bench—the tone and temper of those speeches—constituted the whole ground of offence. That it was much worse to touch the supreme Government than to be guilty of illegal proceedings. [*hear, hear*]

But after all, the real question was, what impression such a letter was calculated to make upon the public mind here and in India? He knew that in this country at least an impression was created, that in the appointment of the new Judges an improper bias and sway had been permitted to operate in the recommendation of the individuals appointed. He begged most unfeignedly to assure their Lordships, that he felt much dislike to the discussion of such topics, and no man could doubt that it would be infinitely more pleasureable even to have been the writer of that letter than the person by whom it was made public; but with observations on that subject he would not trouble their Lordships; he would merely state as matter of fact, that an opinion prevailed in England that it was subserviency, and not knowledge and integrity, which recommended to favour the two appointments in question. That was his opinion; and unless he was very much misinformed, it was likely to be the opinion in India, and it was one likely to be productive of serious ill consequences—unless, indeed, the noble Lord could prove it to be without foundation. He (Lord Holland) was perfectly willing to allow for the privacy of the communication; but he could not forget that it was a letter from one public officer to another, and it had been written by the noble Lord opposite, and its contents had transpired; and if they were at all such as had been described, he could not doubt that the effects of it would be unfortunate both for England and for India. [*hear*]

Lord *Ellenborough* said, he should have thought himself almost the last person in this country who could have been considered as wishing to trench on the independence of Judges. He had too strong a recollection of the qualities that distinguished his noble and learned Father in the administration of law, not to respect and maintain the independence of the Judge: and had he entertained the slightest idea of destroying, injuring, or weakening the independence of Judges in India, he should have deserved the reprobation which the noble Baron had been pleased to cast on him. He did not, however, oppose himself to the independence of Judges, yet he would resist their usurpation of powers not given them, but expressly taken away from them, by law—powers, which if the official information he had received were to be relied upon, or that which he had obtained from persons well acquainted with the state of affairs in India, could not be exercised by the Judges there without danger to the tranquillity of the country, and to the stability of the Government. And therefore it was that he said that the errors in law were nothing compared to the language, which, from the sacred elevation of the bench, and clothed with royal authority, they had been pleased to direct against the Government of India, which, unless it were maintained in integrity and unquestioned authority, their Lordships could not preserve. The power of this country in India depended on opinion, [*hear*] and would not bear the collision of the Supreme Court and the Presidencies of that country. He spoke not of his own knowledge of that country but what he had derived from conversation with persons best acquainted with it, and from official documents; and he again declared, that the sentiments contained in the letter which had been alluded to were commanded by his public duty.

With respect to the individuals appointed to succeed the judges, it was his firm belief that fitter men could not have been found to fill those situations, and discharge, in the spirit of the Act of Parliament, the duties confided to them. When he read the official papers on the question at issue between the Supreme Court and the Government of India, he was struck by the knowledge of law displayed by Sir James Dewar, but much more by his discretion; and it occurred to him that if that gentleman should appear fit in other respects to be placed in the situation of Chief Justice, it would be an advantageous nomination. He had made inquiries as to the character of Sir James Dewar in this country for legal knowledge, and the result was most satisfactory; and he therefore recommended to his Majesty to appoint that gentleman Chief Justice in India. With respect to the other gentleman, there was nothing stated in the letter which he was not ready to maintain. That gentleman had the confidence of a noble and learned friend of his (Lord Ellenborough's) and of another right hon. gentleman, whose opinion was of the greatest value. He had moreover, made private inquiries with respect to his character, and more especially with respect to the possession of that discretion and gentleman-like conduct, which he felt to be essential to the due discharge of the duties of a judge. He had had an interview with the learned gentleman, who read a passage from a work by Sir William Jones, in which the duties of a judge were described, and said, that he should endeavour to act according to the rules there laid down. Now, if that gentleman made as good a judge as Sir William Jones wished a judge to be, their lordships, and the Indian community, he thought, would be satisfied. He had only again to repeat, that nothing was farther from his wish than to trench on the independence of judges; but as long as he remained in the situation he now held, it was his duty to uphold and protect the local Government of India, more especially as it was composed of men who, at a great distance from this country, take on themselves, in the faithful discharge of their public duty, a great and fearful responsibility, acting, at much personal risk to themselves, to support the stability of the British power, and of the great interests committed to their charge.

Motion for the Committee put and agreed to; and the Lords following were named of the Committee: Lord President; Lord Privy Seal; Duke of Wellington; Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Marquis of Lansdowne; Marquis of Salisbury; Marquis of Camden; Marquis of Cleveland; E. De Lawarr; E. Amherst; Viscount Strathallan; Viscount Melville; Viscount Sidmouth; Viscount Goderich; Lord Auckland; Lord Calthorpe; Lord Fitz Gibbon; Lord Ellenborough; Lord Bexley; Lord Wharncliffe; Lord Durham; Lord Wallace.

Poor-Rate Returns.] Lord *Teynham* said, in moving for various important Returns, he could not but press on their Lordships the necessity of considering the present distressed state of the agricultural class, and the great obligation which lay upon Parliament to take measures for their immediate relief. He concluded with moving for a return of the amount of money levied and expended for the relief of the poor in each parish in England and Wales, for the year ending 25th March 1830; specifying the amount paid for other purposes than the actual relief of the poor.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he had not the slightest objection to afford the House or the noble Lord all the information which could possibly be required, but the last time that similar information had been applied for, a year and a half elapsed before the Returns could be procured—

considerable expense was incurred for the purpose; and he really believed that after the Returns had been made out they were never once looked at. The Returns for which the noble Lord sought would demand reference to many thousand parishes, he therefore put it to the noble Lord, whether for such a purpose it was worth while to incur so heavy an expense as would unavoidably be incurred by calling for these Returns, and the preparing them for the House?

The Duke of *Richmond* said, he was quite sure that the Returns already before the House would prove amply sufficient to establish any degree of agricultural distress arising from the unequal pressure of burthens for which the noble Lord might be disposed to contend. If his object were to prove that the land was unduly burthened, turn where he might he need be at no loss for evidence in support of that position; but it would be infinitely better if the noble Lord, instead of moving for those Returns, would give his vote against the measures of the noble Duke's Government. If the noble Lord, on the first night of the session, had voted in the minority instead of swelling the ranks of the noble Duke, it would have been a much greater public service than moving for returns of this description. To do real service to the state, noble Peers ought to support a general parliamentary inquiry into the state of the country, and there they would learn quite enough to supersede the necessity of moving for any further returns. Let the noble Lord only withdraw his support from the Government of the noble Duke, and to that extent at least he will do a public service; not but that he (the Duke of Richmond) regretted as much as any noble Peer could do, the necessity under which he felt himself of opposing the measures of the noble Duke, especially on subjects connected with the state of the landed interests.

Lord *Teynham* said, after the remarks of the noble Duke he would consent to withdraw this motion; but accompanied that withdrawal with a notice, that on Tuesday, the 20th of April, he should move for a Committee to inquire into the state of the Poor-laws, and the administration thereof—previous to which, he should move certain resolutions declaratory of his views upon that subject, allowing sufficient time for noble Lords to make up their minds as to the most expedient measures of relief. He voted with Government on the first night of the session, on the ground that respect to his Majesty required that the Address proposed by his Ministers on that occasion should experience the general support of the House, but no one could more cordially concur than he did in the assertion that the state of the country demanded immediate inquiry. [*hear*]

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, Feb. 9.

MINUTES.]—LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH took the Oath, and his Seat for the County of Down.—MR. PLANTA moved for a new writ for WINCHELSEA in the room of HENRY BROUGHAM, Esq. Chiltern Hundreds.—Mr. D. W. HARVEY moved for Accounts of the total number of persons to whom a half year's dividend on three per cent Consols became due on 5th January last; specifying the number respectively of those whose dividend for the half year did not exceed *5l.* 10*l.* 50*l.* 100*l.* 200*l.* 300*l.* 500*l.* 1,000*l.* 2,000*l.* and the number of those whose dividend exceeded 2,000*l.*:—A like account of dividends on three per cent Reduced, payable on 10th October last:—A like account of the dividends on three and a half per cents payable on 10th October last:—A like account of dividends on four per cents payable on 10th October last:—A like account of the dividends on Long Annuities payable on 10th October last:—A like account of the dividends on new four per cents payable on 5th January last:—And a like account of the dividends on three per cent Annuities anno 1726, payable on 5th January last:—With a total of the number of persons under each head.—Ordered.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS.]—Mr. *O'Connell* presented petitions from parishes in Cork, complaining of the Vestry and Subletting Acts. And after referring to the cases of the petitioners for the purpose of showing the great abuses practised on the levying of vestry rates in parishes where a very small number of the inhabitants are Protestants, gave notice of his intention to move for the repeal of a portion of the Act of George the 2nd, in order to enlarge the power of the King's Bench in granting a *mandamus* where the parishioners apply to it and complain of the levying of such rates.

Lord *Palmerston* gave notice of his intention to submit a motion to the House relative to our relations with Portugal, on Thursday, the 18th instant.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS.] Mr. *R. Gordon* said, he observed that the Act of the 9 Geo. 4. had, by some mistake, omitted to point out the method by which the sum arising from licensing Lunatic Asylums was to be disposed of; he now moved for leave to bring in a bill to authorize the magistrates of counties to call upon the clerks of the peace to pay over the money to the treasurer of the county, for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Act. These sums were now considerable, amounting in one county, to 1,100*l.*

Mr. *Lyttleton* seconded the motion, and leave being given, Mr. Gordon brought in the bill; it was read a first time.

SMALL DEBTS.] Mr. *Hume* said, he had moved for returns of the number of persons committed to the various prisons of the metropolis in the year 1829, upon arrest for debts under *mesne process;* and also for a return of the number of persons committed for small debts to those prisons, specifying the amount. He would take this opportunity to ask the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Peel) whether, after so many years' experience, he was not prepared to adopt some alteration in the law relating to *mesne process.* He knew there were a number of persons who suffered a confinement of forty days in consequence of proceedings in the Court of Requests for sums so low as 18*d.* of original debt, although the expenses incurred in procuring their release amounted at all times to many pounds. He pressed the subject strongly on the attention of the Government. He was more convinced than ever that arrests for small debts in particular, were injurious to creditors as well as debtors. The Attorney General (Sir J. Scarlett) had lately said, that to imprison an Englishman, except on the verdict of a jury, was a disgrace to the law; and yet that learned Gentleman had opposed any modification of arrests in *mesne process.* Though the facts were so notorious, they went on from year to year without any remedy being proposed. It was a crying evil of great magnitude; and he repeated, did the Government intend to propose any remedy? All those who were in sponging houses deserved the sympathy of Members; they were exposed to the most grievous exactions, and to most demoralizing conduct.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he thought that the hon. Member was scarcely warranted in assuming that nothing had been done to improve the law on these subjects for some years, when it was recollected that his honourable friend the then Solicitor General (Sir C. Tindall) brought in, and carried through Parliament a bill, only two years ago, limiting the amount of arrest on *mesne process* to sums above 20*l.* Whatever had taken place, however, he (Mr. Peel) was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of looking at the whole of the subject in detail, before they adopted any specific remedy, for he was satisfied that the adoption of any arbitrary sum, under which no arrest should take place, would have the effect of punishing with greater severity a number of innocent debtors, who would be sent to prison through the effect of the process of execution sued out in the Court of Requests, and others of local jurisdiction. He was, indeed, so deeply impressed with the necessity of looking at the whole of the law on the subject of arrests before they attempted the alteration of any particular parts, that he had even felt it his duty to recommend the consideration of it to the commission now sitting, to inquire into the practices of the higher courts of law. [*hear*] He believed, indeed, that the commissioners had made some progress in their inquiry on the subject; but as it was important that they should follow up their Report on some questions which had for some time been before them, in order that the whole might be clearly connected, and brought fairly under consideration, they had not been able to continue their inquiries on the subject of small debts to a satisfactory termination. When they had reported on the subjects now before them, the commissioners would then be able to devote the whole of their time to the inquiry; and he put it to the hon. Member whether it would not be better to wait and bring the question before men of such experience as the present commissioners, rather than incur the expense of appointing a new set of commissioners who could not be so well acquainted with the subject.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, it was worthy of notice, that out of twenty thousand arrests, seventeen thousand were for sums under 100*l.* This appeared from Returns which had already been made to that House. Remedy must be accompanied with summary process over the assets of debtors.

Mr. *Hume* said, he wished to know how soon the commissioners would prosecute this part of their inquiry? He understood that which they were now engaged upon would take two or three years.

Mr. *Peel* said, he could give the hon. Gentleman no assurance upon that point, Having commenced the inquiry into the state of the Common Law, it appeared to him that these commissioners were the proper persons.

Mr. *Hume* said, the principle of the division of labour would be of service. He hoped that the right hon. Secretary would think of some other mode of giving relief to the public on this subject than by that of the protracted labours of this Commission. No Committee of the House was necessary. His Majesty's Attorney General—he said it without meaning the slightest disrespect to that gentleman—ought to be prepared to bring forward measures of relief for the subject in such cases. He would wait for two months longer; if nothing were done in that time by his Majesty's Government, he would himself bring the matter forward.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he knew of a case where one man arrested another for 60,000*l.* without ever having seen him or had any dealings whatever with him. In his opinion all arrest for debt ought to be abolished, except after judicial proceedings.

Mr. *Hume* said, he would, in the mean time, move for Returns of the number of prisoners for debt committed to the custody of the keepers of the King's-bench, the Fleet, Whitecross-street, the Marshalsea, and Horsemonger-lane prisons, in the year 1829; distinguishing those in custody under *mesne process*, or under judgments recovered, or for costs of suit; stating how many for sums above 100*l.*, for sums between 50*l* and 100*l.*, for sums between 50*l.* and 20*l.*, and the number of sums under 20*l.* (excluding Crown debtors, prisoners for contempt of court, and persons committed by process out of Courts of Request); stating, also, the number in custody in each of those prisons on 1st January 1830.—Of the number of warrants granted for debt; distinguishing whether upon *mesne process* or on writs of execution against the person, by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and by the sheriff of Surrey; and the number of bailable processes executed by them; in the year 1829.—Of the number of debtors committed to the Whitecross-street and Horsemonger-lane prisons, on process out of the Courts of Request, during each of the last two years ending 1st January 1830; stating the aggregate amount of debts and costs separately, in each prison, in each year, showing, in classes, the number confined from one to less than ten days, for ten days and less than thirty, fifty, seventy, and one hundred days, in each year; stating, also, the amount paid out of the county or other rates for the maintenance and support of such prisoners, in each year, as accurately as possible, and of the number of prisoners committed for debt to the custody of the keepers of the Four Courts, Marshalsea, city Marshalsea, Sheriffs' prison, St. Sepulchre's Manor court, and St. Honore's Manor court, in the city of Dublin and its liberties, in the year 1829; and also, the number of prisoners committed for debt to each of the other prisons in Ireland in the year 1829; and the number in custody on 1st January 1830; distinguishing those in custody under *mesne process* or under judgments recovered, or for costs of suit; stating how many for sums above 100*l.*, for sums between 50*l.* and 100*l.*, for sums between 50*l.* and 20*l.*, and the number of sums under 20*l.* (Crown debtors and persons for contempt of Court to be put in a separate return); stating also the number in custody in each of those prisons on 1st January 1830.—Ordered.

COURT OF CHANCERY.] Mr. *D. W. Harvey* moved for an abstract or return of the number of causes and matters pending in the high Court of Chancery, to the credit of which any sum of money is vested in the Bank Annuities or in cash (presented 4th June 1829), to be prepared, and laid before the House.—He said they showed that forty millions were ingulphed in that court; and that upwards of eight hundred causes concerned property under 200*l.* value. [*hear*]—Returns ordered.

SILVER STANDARD.] Mr. *Wodehouse* moved an Address to his Majesty for a Copy of the Minutes of the Evidence of Alexander Baring, before the Privy Council, on 26th April, 1828, touching the adoption of a Silver Standard, &c. He would withdraw the motion if the Government would produce the evidence.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that he had no objection to produce the evidence; but it ought to be accompanied with the evidence of other individuals taken on the same occasion. [*hear*]

Motion withdrawn for the present.

COURT OF CHANCERY.] Mr. *M. A. Taylor* said, he understood it was the intention of a noble and learned Lord in the other House of Parliament (Lord Lyndhurst) to bring forward the subject of the Court of Chancery, and to propose some arrangement relative to that Court. He should therefore rather postpone any observations he had to make on the state of the Court of Chancery to that period, when he should be apprised of the nature of the alteration which it might be proposed to make. This was, he believed, the best course which he could pursue. He, therefore, should only repeat his determination that no circumstance should ever make him relax his efforts to cure the evils of that Court; he was not dismayed by failure; he had undertaken that task for the last fifteen years, and he meant to proceed till, in his opinion, the evil was cured; and if the measure brought down should be the same as that which was introduced in the last session of Parliament, which he conceived to be by no means sufficient, he would unquestionably submit his own proposition to the House. He should now move for Returns in continuation of those he had called for last year, to the production of which he hoped there would be no objection—namely, an account of the number of re-hearings of appeals pending before the Lord Chancellor on the first day of Hilary Term, 1830, an account of the number of cases of demurrer pending at the same time, &c.—Ordered.

East India Company's Charter.] Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, his Majesty's Government had felt it to be their duty to avail themselves of the very earliest opportunity to redeem the pledge which they gave at the close of the last session of Parliament, that as soon as possible after the commencement of the present session, they would themselves propose a Committee of Inquiry, for the purpose of investigating the state of the commerce between this country and our Indian possessions. And if, in proposing that Committee, his statement should appear disproportionate to the vast importance of the subject, or if he forbore from entering on the present occasion, into the manifold and most interesting details which were necessarily mixed up with it, he begged it to be understood, that he took that course, not from any insensibility to the paramount greatness of the question, but from a recollection of the peculiar position in which he stood that night, and from a strong feeling of the duty which was placed before them, and which the public expected they would perform with calmness and caution. [*hear*] He did not consider that it was part of his duty to submit to this House on the present occasion, the consideration of any plan for the future government of India—that it was any part of his duty to state the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers as to the renewal of the present East India Charter, or to point out any modification which might be made in the existing system by which India was governed. He trusted that they would come tonight to a calm and dispassionate inquiry into the propriety of appointing a Committee to examine into this great question, leaving the details to future consideration, when the Committee should have stated its opinion. He considered that to be the only question before them. He felt that this was an inquiry which would impose on them higher obligations, with reference to moral feeling, than almost any other in the whole sphere of public affairs; and therefore he did not wish to agitate the ultimate question precipitately.

He had also another motive for avoiding, if he could, the discussion of the details of this question, because it was not his plan to have a lengthened debate on mere opinions relative to Indian affairs. He hoped, in the first instance, that the subject would receive the most serious consideration of a Committee—a consideration worthy of the importance and dignity of the question in issue. [*hear*] He meant to propose one general Committee for the purpose of examining the great mass of documentary evidence that was ready to be submitted to the House, and also to enter on a faithful examination of persons who were conversant with all the facts connected with the situation of India, and who possessed local information with respect to the commerce carried on with that country. He proposed one Committee rather than two or three Committees, because he doubted whether the subjects to be considered were not so closely connected together, that the evidence on one point might tend to elucidate another, and therefore it appeared to him better that the whole should be laid before one body, instead of thus dividing it amongst many. He thought, if one Committee were appointed to inquire into the finance of India, another to look into the trade of India, and another to take into consideration the commerce with China, that much inconvenience would ensue. The subjects were so nearly connected, that he feared if such a course were pursued, much confusion would be the consequence. If the plan proposed by the hon. Member for Callington (Mr. Baring) were followed,—namely, that of having two or three Committees—it would not, in his opinion, answer the purpose. Such an arrangement, he conceived, would be bad. If two or three Committees were appointed, there was a very great chance of the House being bewildered, amongst various conflicting opinions from the different Committees. He would propose this Committee with the plain and honest view of having a full, perfect, and unreserved investigation with respect to the affairs of the East India Company. [*hear*] Every document connected with the trade, with the commerce, and with the finance of India, should be laid before that Committee. He proposed this Committee, not for the purpose of ratifying any engagement previously existing between the Government and the Company. In fact, no such engagement, open or secret, express or implied, existed. [*hear*] The Government in the fullest sense of the language, were free agents. [*hear*] He repeated, that he did not propose this Committee with a view to the sanctioning of any previous engagement with the Government. No such thing was in existence, and in any future proceeding the Ministers were desirous of being guided according to the result of the inquiry. As there was no such irrevocable engagement on the part of the Government—as the whole subject was open to investigation—he felt himself entitled to impress on the House the extreme importance of the inquiry into this great question.

He, however, begged to implore Gentlemen to consider that they had greater objects to look to in the progress of that inquiry, than merely to determine in what manner British commerce was to be carried on. He entreated the House to recollect that there were other questions connected with this subject, of greater importance than the extension of trade. [*hear*] They would have to consider the whole character of the Government—a Government placed over an immense extent of territory, wielding a powerful force, and administering a revenue of very great extent. They would see, in approaching the subject, a wide and ample field for inquiry and observation. They were bound to consider the various modes in which that Government affected the people over whom it ruled; they were bound to consider how any alteration might affect the influence of the Crown; and there were various other points which would also claim their attention.

He here felt it likewise necessary to speak of the East India Company; and, looking to the information of which he was in possession,—viewing the documents that were in his hands, he was bound to say that any investigation into the conduct of that body would, he believed, tend to their credit. [*hear*] He did think, that they had ever been excited by a sincere desire to promote the welfare and interest of those who were placed under them. [*hear*] Contrasting the administration of the Company with that of any other colonial establishment that ever existed, he was convinced that their conduct would redound greatly to their honour. Let Gentlemen consider, that they were legislating for a body very peculiarly situated; and let them bear in mind, that the present form of government extended over many millions of people, and that it had existed for a great number of years. Now, although he was not prepared to say that another form of government might not be devised, from which equal benefits would flow, still he must contend, that sufficient was known of the present system to induce them to pause before they rashly interfered with it. [*hear*]

In looking to the financial state of the Company, they would have to compare the amount of revenue now received with what was likely to be called for and produced in future. They would have to consider the amount of civil charges, and to see whether the gross revenue received by the Company was equivalent to those charges.

With respect to the commercial concerns of the East India Company (continued Mr. Peel) the documents that will be presented to the Committee will contain much important information. On this subject, however, I abstain from pronouncing any opinion; but I may, nevertheless, refer to the returns that will be made, as sufficient to convince any calm and right-judging man, that too sanguine an expectation has been held out as to the result of any arrangement for opening the trade with India. However, means of judging on this point will be fully supplied. It will be shewn by documents already prepared to be adduced what effect the free admission of the Americans has had—what the price of tea has been in all parts of the world—what difference there has been in the price of that article as furnished by the Company and by individuals trading on their own bottom, for private speculation—on all these points the fullest information will be given and any other information that can be procured shall be laid most unreservedly before the Committee.

Among the other considerations which will present themselves to this Committee, I have reserved for the last place that which appears to me to be the most important—the welfare and interests of those who are now subject to the dominion of this country. [*hear*] I have seen returns which make the amount of the native population immediately subject to the control of this country, not less than ninety millions of persons. [*hear*] When we consider the extent of territory over which our power is acknowledged—when we consider the enormous mass of population subject to our dominion —when we call to mind the great revolution of empires by which that dominion has been established—when we reflect on the immense distance from which sovereign authority over those regions is exercised—when we call to mind the difference in language, manners, religion, and usages, between ourselves and the almost countless thousands over whom we govern, the mind cannot fail to be amazed at the contemplation of objects so vast and various. But whatever may be the sentiments we entertain upon the question, sure I am, at least, that we must approach the consideration of it with a deep feeling, with a strong sense of the responsibility we shall incur—with a strong sense of the moral obligation which imposes it upon us as a duty to promote the improvement of the country, and the welfare and well-being of its inhabitants so far as we can, consistently with the safety and security of our dominion, and the obligations by which we may be bound. We shall undoubtedly feel ourselves called upon to consider what are the measures that may best tend to protect the natives of those distant regions from wrong—to secure to them their personal liberty and the fruits of their industry; in a word, to endeavour, while we still keep them under British rule, to atone to them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which they were exposed, in being reduced to that rule; and to afford them such advantages and confer on them such benefits as may, in some degree, console them for the loss of their independence. [*hear*] These, Sir, are considerations which, whatever may be the anxiety to extend British conquest and to maintain the rights of British subjects, must indisputably be entertained in a British Parliament. [*hear*] Avoiding, then, Sir, all minute reference to subordinate details, however important—unwilling to touch upon any topic that may provoke discussion, which, for the reasons I have already stated I am anxious to avert—I have cautiously refrained from mooting any point upon which there could be any conflict of opinions; and now, Sir, in this same spirit I shall conclude, by simply moving:

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the Affairs of the East India Company, and into the Trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China; and to report their observations thereupon to the House."

Mr. *W. Whitmore* said, he felt that the line which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Peel) had adopted in his address to the House was the most proper. He thought that the course he (Mr. Peel) had pursued, in declining to enter upon the examination of details connected with the question, and in avoiding bringing forward any points which might give rise to opposition, was, under all the circumstances of the case, decidedly the most prudent that could have been adopted. He thought the same course should be followed by all the other hon. Members who proposed to speak upon the question. They were then on the eve of an inquiry, the magnitude and importance of which certainly had not been over-stated, and perhaps could not be over-stated by the right hon. Secretary; for all men must agree that this question was one involving more extensive interests and more important considerations than any other that could now be possibly brought before the legislature of this country. But though not in the least desirous to provoke that discussion which the right hon. Gentleman so strongly deprecated, there was one observation which occurred to him, and which he was anxious to submit to the House before he resumed his place. He found that it appeared to be the intention of the right hon. Secretary to confine the duties of the Committee to an inquiry into the financial and commercial state of the Indian Empire but he considered that there were other matters of equal importance; and he felt convinced, that without a proper consideration of these matters, the labours of the Committee would not be brought to that satisfactory conclusion for which all must hope and look before they were again called upon to legislate for our vast and distant possessions. The question to which he alluded was, the state of the Law; and he maintained, that in one at least of the Indian provinces, it was such as to cry out as loudly for inquiry as any question possibly could. [*hear*] He trusted, therefore, that the House would see the necessity of the inquiry, and that the whole state of the Law, criminal as well as civil, would be brought under the consideration of the Committee. He was quite confident, that otherwise the Committee would never be able to bring their neighbours to a satisfactory conclusion, so intimately was an examination into the state of the Law connected with the question respecting Commerce. He contended that the laws affecting what was called Colonization, were closely united to the commercial question, and he declared that the Committee would but ill discharge their duties if they suffered them to pass by unnoticed. The right hon. Secretary had expressed his conviction that the Committee would enter upon their duties with the anxious desire to discharge their duties well and wisely. So far as the desire went, he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, though he must be allowed to entertain some doubt as to the performance. [*hear*] He certainly did think it a matter of doubt, whether the Committee would effect all that might be expected. He hoped, however, that in this he might be mistaken—he hoped the committee would not shrink from the labour of examining all points affecting the question immediately under their consideration; and, above all, he hoped and trusted that the Committee would be impartially chosen [*hear*]—one that should neither suffer the scale to be turned against the people of Great Britain in favour of the East-India Company, or against the rights of individuals in obedience to any popular cry. [*hear*] Having stated thus much he would only beg to remind the House that this was a vital question, and declare that the Committee would ill discharge their duties if they did not, without delay, institute an inquiry into the state of the Law as administered in our Courts and in those of a similar nature, proper to the country.

Sir *J. Macdonald.*—If the right hon. Gentleman has, as I suppose he has, prepared a list of the proposed Committee, will he object to read the names to the House? The House may then judge how far the professed impartiality is to be carried. [*hear*]

Mr. Secretary *Peel* hoped to be able to give the honourable Member a satisfactory answer. The Committee would be sufficiently extensive to ensure on all occasions a full attendance for the despatch of business; and it would also be numerous enough to subdivide itself for financial purposes. He would now read the list he had drawn up to the House. It would be seen that it was an ample one, and he hoped it would be observed that he had attempted to give the commercial and landed interests a fair representation therein. There were of necessity the names of many hon. Members left out whose services would undoubtedly be of advantage to the Committee; but he begged those Gentlemen to believe, that the omission had not proceeded from disrespect, or from anything like disregard for the zeal and talent they could bring with them to the inquiry. Hon. Members would be pleased to bear in mind that his duty had been to make a selection. He had done so to the best of his ability, and he hoped it would meet the approbation of the House. He would read the list.—The right hon. Gentleman then read the following list:—

Marquis Graham, Mr. Baring, Mr. Huskisson, Lord Viscount Milton, Mr. Astell, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Burrell, Mr. Ward, Mr. Arbuthnot, Sir Richard Vyvyan, Mr. Hart Davis, Mr. Ellison, Mr. Williams Wynn, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, Mr. Robert Grant, Mr. Stanley, Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Ashley, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Alderman Thompson, Mr. Hume, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. William Cavendish, Mr. Moore, Mr. Baillie, Mr. George Bankes, Mr. Irving, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Poulett Thomson, and Mr. Jonathan Peel,

Sir *James Macdonald* agreed with the right hon. Secretary as to the inexpediency of entering upon any detailed discussion upon the present occasion. He trusted, however, that all possible facility would be afforded the Committee to acquire information upon all such subjects as they may consider deserving of inquiry. [*hear*] The right hon. Gentleman did not understate the importance of the question upon which the House was called upon to deliberate, and on which the Committee would be deputed to inquire. Grave, indeed, were the considerations that would arise. They would have to consider, in the first place, whether a case did exist which would compel them to remain constant to that line of conduct by which, departing from all ordinary rules and principles of good policy, they maintained a great commercial monopoly—and next, they would have to determine, if this system were to be still kept up, under what regulations and restrictions it should be established, and whether free access and the right of settlement might not be granted to the natives of Great Britain; and, finally, under what rules these vast and distant countries might be regulated.

These were considerations which undoubtedly affected the vital interests of Great Britain; but he was glad to hear from the right hon. Secretary, and to hear in language which, on such subjects, had not been usually adopted by a Minister of the Crown—that the welfare of the hundred millions who are under the dominion of England is at length deemed a matter of interest and importance by the Government. He was, indeed, delighted to hear the terms in which a Minister of the Crown had spoken of his Majesty's subjects in those remote provinces of the British Empire; and he trusted that the conduct of the Committee of that House, and of the Government, would be in unison with the feeling expressed by the right hon. Secretary.

If anything could induce him to believe that there would be any departure from the line of proceeding advocated by the right hon. Gentleman, it would be that most extraordinary letter attributed to a noble Lord, (Ellenborough) who presided over the Board of Control. This production was the one on which some comments had been already made in that House, and it had then been hinted that perhaps the letter was not from the pen of the noble individual in question; and then it had been argued that the communication was strictly private. Now with this he contended the House had nothing to do; it might certainly be a matter of interest to the noble Lord and his friends, but it as decidedly could not be so to the House. It was enough for them to see and know that there was a communication addressed to Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay; and was it for his amusement? No, no; but for his official instruction—for an explanation and advice upon the political concerns of his government. The letter, therefore, could not be at all regarded in the light of a private document. That communication was directed to the Governor of a province, telling him, in a most extraordinary tone and spirit how he was to deal with the administrators of justice in that country. It was to the spirit and tone of that letter, as regarding the Government and administration of justice in India, that he addressed himself; and he contended that if the recommendation given in that communication were acted upon, the effect would be to control, and indeed utterly ruin and destroy, justice. He would ask the House if the writer of that letter wanted to bring all law and administration of justice into contempt, what better course could he pursue than by addressing such a communication as that to a person high in authority over a distant province, while at the same time the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department had been doing every thing in his power to sustain the independence of the Bench in other parts of the British Empire? And he really thought he was entitled to ask, did the noble Lord, who was supposed to be the author of this letter, disavow the fact? for, if he did not, he fancied the question was, whether they were not imposing a vast deal of unnecessary labour upon the Committee, since the noble Lord spoke with such entire confidence of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. He (Lord Ellenborough) says, "As *we* or *I* (he forgot which) may not impossibly *renew* the Charter next year"—just in the same easy style as he might observe, "It is a rainy day, and I may not impossibly think of taking my umbrella with me if I go out." [*hear, and laughter*] The answer, he was aware, was, the noble Lord merely wrote to his private friend—to a particular friend of his own. But then he would put it to the House, if this were not really ludicrous, when this letter to his private and particular friend commenced with the very familiar appellation "Sir." The fact was, he believed, that the noble Lord was not even acquainted, much less on terms of friendly intercourse and communication, with the gentleman to whom he wrote. [*hear*] But, in truth, as far as his argument went, it would make no difference whether the noble Lord was or was not upon those terms of friendship with the Governor of Bombay, since he looked not to the intentions of the writer, for which he cared little, but to the effect produced upon the public by this most extraordinary document. [*hear*]

Now with respect to the list which the right hon. Secretary had read, he wished to observe, that in his opinion the House was on all such occasions very unfairly dealt with. A long list was rapidly read to them, and then they were forthwith called upon to vote respecting the merits and fitness of those hon. Members whose names had been so hastily pronounced. And then he felt, and he was sure the House would sympathize with him in the feeling, that it was an exceedingly invidious thing to rise and object to an individual Member nominated upon the list of a Committee. Therefore was it that he felt much difficulty in bringing himself to make anything bordering upon a personal allusion in the present instance; but, he confessed, that although he was well aware the right hon. Gentleman's list contained the names of many distinguished Members, whose talents and industry could not fail to be most useful in the Committee, yet he did not think that the general complexion of the list was such as would satisfy, or perhaps ought to satisfy, the commercial and manufacturing interests. [*hear*] It was clear that it must be considered as a matter of much importance that the people of England should be satisfied that their interests were properly represented in this Committee. He thought that in the present list there was too large an admixture of what were called great Indian authorities; and he wished to remark, that looking back to the last Committee appointed to inquire into Indian affairs, it was curious to observe how little the opinions and assertions of these great Indian authorities were borne out by events. He repeated his strong feeling as to the invidious appearance which attached itself to any personal objection. Thinking as he did, that the noble President of the Board of Control had written without book, that he had written with characteristic flippancy, and in entire ignorance of the opinions of his colleagues; believing that the right hon. Secretary (Mr. Peel) was sincere in the professions he had heard with so much pleasure, and was really anxious to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of India; he would venture to suggest that the Committee would hold the balance more equally between the East India Company and the public if some two or three additional representatives of the commercial and manufacturing interests were placed upon the list. [*hear*] He merely threw this out for the consideration of the right hon. Secretary, as the decision of the Committee would not be final. He would sit down with expressing the hope that the Committee would not permit any preponderance of interests on one side or other.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know whether the Committee were to be confined to an inquiry into the present state of the government and commerce of India? He trusted this would not be the case, as much benefit might result from an inquiry into the effects which these improvements and institutions which had been made on the occasion of the last Charter had produced upon the country.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, there was no idea of imposing any thing like a close restriction upon the Committee, whose decision would, of course, be founded upon the evidence adduced before them. With respect to the word 'present,' he had found it in the motion for the Committee of 1813, and he thought himself safer in taking the very words used with respect to that Committee than he could be with any other. Now as to the representation of the different interests in the Committee, he had laboured to make it as full and impartial as possible, and he did really think the commercial interests were sufficiently represented in having introduced the Members for Liverpool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Preston, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Dublin, Limerick, and Yorkshire; and surely there was no want of the names of eminent advocates of their interests. He found the names of Mr. Baring, Mr. Irving, and Mr. Poulett Thomson, than whom none were more highly looked up to by the commercial and manufacturing classes. He begged the House once more to remember that the greatest benefit was to be derived from the examination of witnesses.

Sir *James Macdonald* begged to suggest whether there were not many gentlemen on the list who were too deeply interested in the question to come to its consideration without some bias. He thought, therefore, the list might be advantageously reduced, by blotting out the three East India directors.

Mr. *Hume* thought that more men of business should be added to the list. He recommended Mr. Stewart,* the Member for Beverley, Sir H. Parnell, Mr. Maberly, and Mr. Warburton. These gentlemen could not but prove highly serviceable to a Committee that would be so extensively engaged with financial matters. He thought the India Directors ought to withdraw; and that some gentlemen who were "sheets of blank paper" [*a laugh*] might be removed to make room for the gentlemen he had named.

Mr. *G. Bankes* said, he was very anxious to address the House upon the subject of some reflections which had been cast upon a noble friend (Lord Ellenborough). He certainly had been embarrassed on a former evening, when the subject was suddenly introduced, and at a time when his noble friend was labouring under severe domestic affliction, which had prevented him (Mr. B.) from seeing him for a long time previous, or from speaking to him upon the subject of the letter which had been attributed to him. [Lord E. had recently lost his son]. He (Mr. B.) also felt embarrassed on other grounds. He then thought there would have been a necessity of alluding to circumstances affecting another person, and circumstances for which he would be, in all probability, put upon trial. The person he alluded to was Sir John Grant, and he was, of course, anxious to avoid saying any thing which might tend to raise a prejudice against one who was shortly to be put upon his trial.—He had since, however, ascertained that the charges preferred against Sir J. Grant, were in consequence of circumstances which had taken place before his noble friend had written the letter, and therefore the difficulty was removed. He had also since seen the only copy of that letter, which was now in his noble friend's possession, and which he (Lord Ellenborough) had received from Bombay. It came from Sir J. Grant to his son in England, and through the courtesy of the latter gentleman was his Lordship furnished with this copy. And in this copy, which, having been taken in India, must undoubtedly be considered as the best authority, it appeared that his Lordship had said, not that we will RENEW the Charter, but that we will REVIEW the Charter. [*Cheers, laughter*] Thus it seems there was not only a difference between the Indian and English papers, but the chief word had been altered, as appeared, from the copy. He could assure the hon. Member for Calne (Sir J. Macdonald), and the House, that the supposition that his noble friend had the slightest intention of treating the Judges with indignity, or of attacking their independence, was equally unfounded. His noble friend entertained no such desire. Any construction of his noble friend's letter, imputing to him such intention, he (Mr. Bankes) who knew, or at least thought he knew, his noble friend so well, was convinced was a misconstruction.

With respect to the circumstances which had led to the correspondence between Sir John Malcolm and his noble friend, although he felt that a great part of the embarrassment which pressed upon him on a former night was removed, he had no wish to allude to those circumstances further than was necessary for his noble friend's vindication. He would beg first to make a few observations on the peculiar hardship of his noble friend's case. This discussion was raised at the distance of many months from the occurrence—an occurrence not very generally known in London at the time, and now almost forgotten. The paper in question, therefore, appeared as if it were a kind of manifesto issued by his noble friend as President of the Board of Control, throwing imputations on the character and conduct of the Judges in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bombay, and endeavouring to destroy their correspondence. So far, however, was this from being the case, that his noble friend's letter was a reply to a most urgent communication from Sir John Malcolm, made under circumstances which he considered of the highest importance. So deeply impressed was Sir John Malcolm with the fact that the natives of India (an attention to whose feelings and interests had been so ably and powerfully recommended by the hon. Member for Calne) were enduring the greatest distress and alarm in consequence of the new experiment which was making of extending the authority of the Judge, that he thought it necessary to send a despatch by the quickest mode of conveyance, stating the facts, earnestly soliciting the immediate interposition of the home authorities on the subject, and declaring that the tranquillity of that part of India and the honour of the Government were vitally concerned, and demanded the most prompt attention. [*hear*] Nothing could be more true than that it was our first and paramount duty, and as the hon. Member for Calne had justly observed, that it would be the first and paramount duty of the Committee about to be appointed, anxiously to consider and guard the interest and happiness of the natives of India over whom we were rulers; and he (Mr. Bankes) would say, that nothing could more strongly militate against the interest and happiness of these natives than allowing such an interference on the part of the Judges of the Indian Courts as that which had been unhappily attempted by the Supreme Court at Bombay, and which was an experiment to render the natives who resided at any distance whatever from the Presidency amenable to certain processes of the Bombay Court, to which they had until that period been strangers, and respecting which they entertained great apprehensions.

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* Mr. Stewart of Beverley was afterwards added to the List by Mr. Peel.

He had had an opportunity of seeing minutes which had been made by the Marquis of Hastings, when he was Governor General of India, during a journey which he had made into those newly-ceded provinces which at that period had fallen under the dominion of the British Crown. In those minutes, his Lordship stated, that he found one general, and indeed, as it appeared to him universal, feeling among the natives of India of abhorrence of the introduction of British law. They entertained the greatest fear of being rendered amenable, directly or indirectly, to the authority of the British Courts of justice. What, therefore, could be expected to be the consequences of the new and strange experiment which, without any adequate cause, was making upon them by the Supreme Court at Bombay? There was nothing to justify it; it was contrary to all the ideas of law entertained by any Judge who ever sat on the bench in any of the Courts of India, or by any lawyer who ever practised at the bar of any of those Courts. He regretted that he did not see the hon. and learned Member for Knaresborough in his place (Sir J. Mackintosh) or he would appeal to him on the subject, and ask him whether, while he was sitting as a Judge in India, he ever entertained such an idea, or whether, on the contrary, he would not have shrunk from endeavouring to subject to a power, which he knew they regarded with abhorrence, those natives in whose favour and defence that hon. and learned Gentleman had frequently spoken so forcibly and eloquently?

Unhappily, however, it did occur to two of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Bombay, that natives residing at a distance from that Presidency were amenable to the processes of that Court, and that if they opposed those processes they were liable to punishment. That they conceived this conscientiously, he most readily admitted; but he maintained that they conceived it in ignorance of the law. However, they issued a process directed to a Hindoo, against whom there was no pretence for such a proceeding; and afterwards took other measures for enforcing their order. The aggrieved individual appealed to Sir John Malcolm, as Governor of Bombay; and Sir John Malcolm, satisfied that such an exercise of authority on the part of the Judges of the Supreme Court was illegal and unjustifiable, used the authority vested in him, and declared that such process should not, in the first instance, be allowed during his government—a process which might so easily be made the instrument of tyranny and oppression. The opposition, however, which Sir James Malcolm made to what he conceived an unwarrantable exercise of the power of the Supreme Court was distinguished by temper, mildness, and moderation. In the first instance he tried the effect of remonstrance. He implored the Judges of that Court not to persevere in their determination until the matter had been referred to the consideration of the home authorities. But the remaining Judges, after the death of Sir C. Chambers—of whom he was bound in justice to say, that an individual more amiable as a man, or more conscientious as a Judge, never existed—persevered in their unhappy mistake; for that it was a mistake he would produce undoubted authority to show. [*cry of no, no*] He meant the decision of the King in council, on that subject. Such being the state of things, Sir John Malcolm sent home a full and faithful statement of facts, and left them to the determination of the home authorities. It was with reference to this statement of Sir John Malcolm's, that his noble friend's letter was written; and there being two vacancies on the judicial seat of the Supreme Court at Bombay (for the Chief Justice had died without having taken any part in these proceedings) to those vacancies his noble friend had alluded.

The hon. Member for Calne had upon this point gone much beyond what the expressions which had been used by his noble friend justified. It was impossible that his noble friend could be influenced by any improper motives in the appointments which he made for the purpose of filling up the vacancies in question. Both the individuals were wholly unknown to him, except by name. With respect to the appointment of one of them, (Sir Wm. Seymour,) he would refer to the words of his noble friend for the purpose of being enabled to give an explanation of those words, and to show, not only that his noble friend was not influenced in that appointment by any improper inducement, but that the motives by which he was really influenced reflected great honour and credit upon him. His noble friend said in his letter, "The puisne Judge appointed in the room of Sir C. Chambers is Mr. Wm. Seymour, of the Chancery bar. The Lord Chancellor has a very good opinion of him; and generally I think he appeared to have higher claims than any other candidate. He is a gentleman in his manners, and a man of cultivated mind. He seems to have right notions of his duty, [*hear*] and of the law, which has been so strangely misinterpreted."

Now, as he (Mr. Bankes) had observed on a former night, here was one proof of the hardship of having a confidential letter exposed. For in such a letter expressions might be used, ambiguous to any other person, but perfectly intelligible to the person to whom the letter was addressed. His noble friend had peculiar reasons for saying that the gentleman of whom he was writing appeared to have right notions of his duty. The reasons were these;—when Sir William Seymour waited on his noble friend, on receiving an intimation that his noble friend was inclined to appoint him, his noble friend put various questions to him in order to ascertain his fitness for the situation. "Sir," said Sir William Seymour, "I cannot answer you better, or in any other manner, respecting the notions I entertain of my duties, than by showing you these extracts from the writings of Sir William Jones. These extracts appear to me to comprehend the duties of an Indian Judge, and by them I am prepared to regulate my conduct." It was to that circumstance that his noble friend referred when he said in his letter to Sir John Malcolm, that Sir William Seymour seemed to have right notions of his duty.

He was sure the House would forgive his anxiety to vindicate his noble and necessarily absent friend, and to remove the unfounded imputations which had been thrown upon him. The feeling of his noble friend when he wrote his letter was one of the paramount duty (so well described by the hon. Member for Calne) of watching over the interest and happiness of the natives of India; and if the expressions which he used under that feeling were interpreted to indicate a disposition to lower the estimation, or diminish the independence, or degrade the character of the Indian Judges, that interpretation was a misinterpretation. His noble friend's sole object was, to protect the natives from the consequences of acts which it was stated by Sir John Malcolm had filled them with the utmost dejection and alarm. The question itself became the subject of consideration before his Majesty's Privy Council, which was the authority to which he had referred in a former part of his observations, and to the judgment of which authority all must bow as decisive. It was brought under the consideration of that authority, not by Sir John Malcolm, not by his noble friend, but by Sir John Grant; who, conceiving himself aggrieved by the conduct of the Governor, sent over a representation of the case to the Home Government. The case was heard before the Privy Council; and their judgment was, that in every part of the transaction Sir John Grant was entirely wrong, and that in every part of the transaction Sir John Malcolm was entirely right; and the judgment, in conclusion, admonished all who were concerned "to take notice of it, and to govern themselves accordingly." At the meeting of the Privy Council, from which this judgment proceeded, were present the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Baron, and both the Chief Justices; for the subject was justly considered as one of the greatest moment. Under these circumstances, he must contend that his noble friend's error, if error it were, was of the most venial description: and arose entirely from his anxiety to protect the natives of India from what justly appeared to him to be an improper interference with them.

In answer to the observation, that a person holding a high official situation ought not to state one opinion in his public despatches and another in his confidential communications, he had only to remark, that after the appointment of the Judges, his noble friend could not address any public despatches to them. They were responsible only to the King and to'Parliament. This was not the first occasion on which disputes had arisen between Governors and Judges in India. About fifty years ago a similar occurrence had taken place, which all who were conversant with the history of our Indian Empire would easily recollect. It happened very shortly after the introduction of the forms of English law into India, and was the first instance of any collision between the Government and Councils of India and the Supreme Courts. To such great lengths did the affair proceed, that Parliament was at length obliged to interfere. The House were aware that he alluded to the transaction which took place, he believed, in the year 1781, between Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Warren Hastings. On a reference to the Parliamentary Debates, it would be found that the subject had created a great sensation in this country; and in order to remedy the evils which had manifested themselves, a bill was brought into Parliament, to regulate anew the Supreme Court of Judicature in India, and to restrain and confine its powers within certain limits.—[The hon. Member read a portion of the preamble of the bill] He mentioned this circumstance to show that his noble friend had done no more than his duty in opposing the attempted extension, by the Supreme Court at Bombay, of the powers by which they had been invested by law. He begged to apologise to the House for having trespassed so long upon their attention; but it was impossible for him to sit still and hear the charges which were thrown out against his noble friend without endeavouring to show their utter want of foundation. All he regretted was, that his noble friend had not had a more competent advocate to vindicate him from the aspersions which had been cast upon him. He by no means presumed to say that, looking at his noble friend's letter as published in the newspapers, there was nothing in it against which an objection might be taken; but he utterly disclaimed, in the name of his noble friend, the slightest intention on his part of lowering the dignity or diminishing the independence of the Judges in India.

Mr. *Stewart* said, he was of opinion that an immediate and extensive inquiry ought to be instituted into the administration of justice in India. He especially reprobated the practice of appointing local Judges in the provinces by the Government, without due inquiry into their qualifications. Those Judges were dependent on the Government, and were removable at the pleasure of Government, which gave the Government an influence over them utterly inconsistent with the impartial administration of justice. In support of this statement, he would read an opinion which was given two years ago by the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Leach, in delivering his judgment on an appeal brought before him from the decision of one of those local Indian courts. It stated, that he had before had occasion to deplore the constitution of those Courts, as giving rise to a partial and disgraceful mode of administering justice; and that on that occasion he had represented the matter to the Board of Control, with a view to the correction of the evil, recommending that those Judges should be appointed at home: but the President expressed his opinion that the jealousies existing between the King's servants and the Company were so great, that it would be impossible to interfere. The present case had been decided in the Court of Surat, contrary to every principle of law and justice. He had forwarded copies of the proceedings to the President of the Council, as evidence of the mode in which justice had been administered in this Court; and he had taken the opportunity of requesting the President to re-consider the opinion he had before given. These facts accounted for the statement of an hon. Member, that the natives of India were averse to the introduction of the English law. On that point he differed from the hon. Member. He did not believe that the natives of India were averse to the introduction of the English law. But the House would see, from the circumstance to which he had alluded, the way in which the English law was in some cases administered in India. He was glad to find that the noble President of the Board of Control had at last got a copy of his letter to Sir John Malcolm. It appeared that the first use which Sir J. Malcolm made of this confidential letter, after reading it, was to send it to the breakfast table of Sir John Grant. [*an exclamation of no, no*] He had so understood it; and he also understood that it had been sent home by Sir John Grant to his son. Yet this was the letter which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. G. Bankes) had laboured to prove was strictly private and confidential, never intended to be made use of, and which could have seen the light only by a disgraceful breach of confidence. Of the letter itself he would say that it was most disgraceful to a King's Minister. [*hear*] In due time the House would perhaps see the letter from Sir John Malcolm, in answer to which the hon. Gentleman had said this private and confidential letter of the noble Lord was written. He should like to know by what law Sir John Malcolm was authorized to interfere with the Courts of law in India. The hon. Member had alluded to the first act by which the Supreme Courts were appointed, and to the differences between the Council and the Chief Judge at Bengal. He wished the hon. Gentleman had gone further, and had alluded to the resolutions of the House of Commons on the subject and the recal of the Chief Judge. In order to neutraliza the animosities which prevailed between the Sovereign Council and the Supreme Court, Mr. Hastings appointed Sir Elijah Impey, in addition to his office of Chief Justice of that Court, Judge of the Sudder Duannee Adaulut. The consequence was, that the subject was taken up by the House of Commons in 1782, and certain resolutions were agreed to by a majority of 53; declaring that it was highly improper that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature should hold any other office or appointment. This was followed by an Address to the King to recal Sir Elijah Impey, in order that he might answer to the charge preferred against him, and he was recalled accordingly. There certainly might be cases in which the interference of the Indian Government with the Courts might be expedient; but he denied that the case under consideration was one of them. Such interference tended to create a prejudicial dependence. In the Charter of the Supreme Court of Bombay, all persons in authority, civil and military, were enjoined to be aiding and assisting the Court in enforcing obedience to its authority. Had the Governor and Council of Bombay complied with this injunction? On the contrary, Sir J. Malcolm wrote a letter to the Judges requiring them to abstain from exercising their authority, and expressing his intention to resist it. The Supreme Court was wrong, and the question was, whether the Government was right. It was said that, by the decision of the Privy Council, the Judges were declared to be in the wrong, and the Government right. He denied that. On that occasion the only question was as to the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. There had been much talk of the East India monopoly. The trade between Great Britain and India, and Great Britain and China, were two distinct questions, and altogether unconnected with each other. The trade with British India was not a monopoly, though it was not altogether free; it was a trade to our own colonies; but the trade with China was clearly a monopoly of trade, an independent Empire conducted on different principles, and under different circumstances. He was most anxious that a Committee or Commission should be appointed to inquire into and remedy the present defects of the administration of justice in British India. At all events, he wished for the appointment of two Committees—one to inquire into the Trade between India and China; and the other, into that between India and Great Britain.

Mr. *Bankes* said, he had been misunderstood. All he meant to say was, that he did not know from whom Sir J. Grant received the letter. It was marked "private."

Mr. *Hume*.—How does the hon. Member know that that is correct?

Mr. *G. Bankes* said, he must add that he had not stated that a copy of the letter had been received from Sir John Malcolm. It was not received from Sir John Malcolm, or with his knowledge. In that copy the letter appeared marked as "private."

Mr. *Hume*.—How do you know that is correct?

Mr. *Bankes*.—All that I have stated, Sir, is, that the manuscript copy varies from the printed copy. I do not carry it further. I do not pretend that it is correct.

Mr. *Stewart* explained.—He had only inferred that Sir J. Malcolm had sent the letter.

Mr. *Littleton* said, he should not approve of the Committee reporting its opinion too early to the House upon this important question. The report of a Committee did not bind the House, but it went far towards prejudicing public opinion, and was certainly an instrument in the hands of Government to effect a corresponding feeling in the House. In the year 1813, when the renewal of the Charter was under consideration, the course taken was, the House required from the Government its views in the shape of a resolution, and then, evidence was taken preparatory to the House expressing its own views. That course was erroneous, and the result proved that it was so. All that the country had a right to expect was, that the truth should be fully and fairly investigated, and he therefore approved of the method now proposed to be pursued.

Mr. *Peel* said, in the course of the observations he had made, he had expressly stated that his hope was, that the House would reserve to itself a judgment on these important matters, and he had no difficulty in assuring his hon. friend that he, for one, should be content that, on so important an occasion, the Committee should only report the evidence, and abstain from making observations with a view to bind the judgment of the House. There might be great inconvenience in the Committee presenting a summary of the evidence. Questions might arise connected with the administration of justice; to which the Committee might think it important to call the attention of the House. If they were precluded from making observations, they would have no such power. In the case of the Committee on the state of Ireland, they had power to report observations, and they presented a general summary of their inquiries, but abstained from giving any opinion on the Catholic question. He proposed the Committee with no view to prejudice the House, and left it to the Committee to exercise its own discretion, whether any observations on the evidence should or should not be made.

Mr. *Littleton* said, the answer of the right hon. Secretary was perfectly satisfactory to him.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, the question now before the House was not the transactions which had occurred at Bombay, or the letter of the right hon. the President of the Board of Control; but the question was, exclusively the state of affairs between this country and India. As, however, reference had been made to the letter, he must, for one, enter his protest against its being considered a mere private letter. He could not admit that the letter of any adviser of the Crown, addressed to another public servant, in a very distinguished situation, and treating exclusively of matters of the very highest importance, was not fit to come under the cognizance of Parliament. Were it made the matter of a substantive motion, he should find it difficult to reconcile to his feelings the character given of it by an hon. Member, that it tended in no degree to lower the dignity or independence of the Judges. The letter was a matter of great public importance. Nothing was less compatible with the dignity of a Judge than to be in the unfortunate situation of being obliged to undergo the discipline to which a wild elephant was submitted. As to the question itself, he had heard with the greatest satisfaction the proposal of his right hon. friend, thereby redeeming the pledge given last session by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that a Committee should be appointed, and that the Committee should have all the necessary powers for going into a comprehensive, general, and effective inquiry into the interests which connected this country with British India. After the explanation which had been given, no one could doubt that this would embrace every necessary inquiry. That Committee, he had no doubt, would inquire into the administration of criminal and civil justice; and if they did not do this, they would find it difficult to enter upon the improvement of the civil condition of the natives of India. In like manner, when finances were inquired into, he trusted that the Committee would not merely investigate the amount of income, and the charges upon it, but ascertain the mode of its collection — the sources whence it was derived—how many monopolies were connected with it, and what was the effect of those monopolies. He was satisfied the Committee would be so formed as to make a complete and satisfactory report to the House. He had heard, with satisfaction, that the Committee were not to receive from Government any prescriptive system or opinions whatever. He was sorry that an impression should go forth that the right hon. Gentleman was not willing to part with any of the machinery by which the trade of India was carried on. If this were the case, the interests of the outports, the interests of the consumers, could not prevail against the opinion that Government and the Company were against those changes which the public voice wished to impress upon the Government and the Parliament. There was an opinion prevalent that there was a disposition to uphold the present system. It could not be right that the monopoly should continue as it was—an impediment to an intercourse of individuals with India, and without being a benefit to the Company. He would take the present opportunity of asking the right hon. Gentleman whether it was the intention of Ministers to deal in this manner with the Charter of another company—the Bank of England—which was of equal importance with the East India Company. He believed that it was from the abuse or misuse of the powers of the Bank of England grew most of the evils and difficulties under which this country was now labouring. He would not then go into that subject, but would say that if the productive interests of the country were now in difficulties, they were to be attributed in a great degree to the conduct of the Bank of England during the war. No one could look to the history of the last thirty years without seeing that it was in the power of the Bank of England to affect the interests of all classes of the community more than even the Crown itself. He would ask his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) whether there was any intention to deal with the Charter of the Bank of England in this manner, as it must be renewed — reviewed he should say—[*a laugh*]—in one or two years? He saw the evil of not reviewing it frequently. [*hear, hear*] He hoped the Government would follow their own example, and give a Committee of Inquiry before renewal. By so doing both the Bank and the public would be put into better security. It was his own opinion that the Bank Charter ought to be renewed, with certain modifications. Former renewals of that Charter were made without inquiry, but they were made under peculiar circumstances, when we were at war, or wanted large loans.

Mr. *J. Stewart* could not but defend the general conduct of the East India Directors, and of the official men who conducted their Government in India. He felt disposed to complain that persons were to be on the Committee who were not qualified for the task.

Mr. *Huskisson* explained.—He had not intended to cast any imputations upon the Court of Directors.

General *Gascoyne* said, he differed from his right hon. Colleague with respect to the formation of this Committee. He was not satisfied with the appointment, nor with the mode of appointing the Committee. The appointment had evidently been made merely for purposes which Ministers had already settled. Where, in this Committee, were the Members for the various commercial towns? There were none but for Bristol and Liverpool, and only one of the Members was taken from each of these towns. It appeared, therefore, to him that the selection of this Committee was one of which the House could not approve, especially with reference to what was intended in the consideration of this question. Among the rest of the names he saw that of Mr. W. O'Brien, the Member for Ennis. When he saw that name he naturally asked what it was which made that hon. Member the object of selection? and he was answered, "Oh! he has written a pamphlet in favour of the East India Company." Now that was, or it was not, a reason for naming him on the Committee; and as the hon. Member did not seem to have any particular interest in the question, he might not be very objectionable; but if there were opportunity, he (Gen. Gascoyne) thought he knew different individuals whom he might recommend, and who were at least full as well calculated to be members of the Committee as the hon. Member for Ennis, although they had not been named upon it. From this and other circumstances, he did verily believe that Ministers had already come to some conclusion on the subject, and that they intended to renew the Charter; or else they would be willing to separate the questions, and to appoint different Committees to consider first, the state of the trade to China, and secondly, that of India generally. As to the proposed Committee, he could tell them that neither the agricultural nor the commercial interest would be satisfied with it. He complained of the nominations, not individually, but generally; and he thought it indicated that the minds of the Ministers were resolved on a renewal of the Charter. He said that, because it seemed to him they had taken pains to secure a Committee that would not give a different result. He could assure them that he did not wish to be on the Committee himself, indeed he would decline a seat there if it were offered to him; for in his opinion there never had been, and never could be, a Committee appointed on a more important subject, or requiring more constant and severe attention to the subject it was called on to consider. Still he must say that he did not like the manner in which this Committee had been appointed, and he should have preferred it if it had been chosen by ballot.

Mr. *Peel* said, he did not complain of the hon. Member for finding fault with him in the appointment of the Committee, but for making his objection in that respect the ground of a suspicion that the Government intended to renew the Charter. He had stated, in the few observations with which he had introduced this subject to the House, that he did not propose that Committee with a view of ratifying any engagement of any kind, or of sanctioning any previous arrangements made by the Government with respect to any commercial or trading speculation. [*hear*] After this distinct declaration, the House would give what weight they thought due to the suspicions of the gallant General in opposition to his (Mr. Peel's) express declaration.

Mr. *Astell* said, as he was a Director of the East-India Company, he had not intended to make any remarks on this question beyond that of stating that the Directors wished for nothing more than a very full inquiry on this subject. All he had to complain of, and in that complaint he was supported by his brother Directors, was, that the inquiry had been so long delayed. Inquiry would be most useful, and would remove the mist of errors, many of which had been wilfully circulated; when they should have heard the report of the Committee, it would be for the House to say whether the duties imposed by law upon the Directors could be otherwise discharged than they were at present. He could assure the House that the Directors never shrunk from inquiry; on the contrary, they wished it; and they deplored that ignorance which now existed respecting the relations between this country and her Indian possessions, and which was the cause of considerable prejudice against them, and which had been made the means of misleading the people on this subject. When the documents should have been examined, and when the whole question should have been sifted to the bottom, things would then be better understood, and the House would see that under the management of the Directors, the greatest portion of happiness had been secured to the people of India; and they would at the same time see, not merely whether the present system could be improved, but whether indeed it could be materially altered, without great disadvantage to the native inhabitants. He was not so blind as not to admit that some improvements might be introduced: he had spoken of the system generally. He was willing, if he could, to give every assistance to the Committee in the inquiry. Neither he nor his brother Directors had any other object in view but the interest of the country, and from that they never had separated themselves, nor ever would. He repeated, that nothing was so much desired by them as an investigation into the whole question. He knew not why the acknowledged defenders of the East India Company were not to be heard in that House, and in the Committee, as well as its professed opposers; or why a right hon. Gentleman, because he had been the advocate of opinions hostile to the renewal of the Company's Charter, and because he had presented petitions to that effect from Liverpool, was, on that ground, to be appointed a member of the Committee, even to the exclusion of a Director. He claimed it also as his right, in the full belief that he was not incapacitated by the circumstance of his being an East-India Director, from doing his duty to the country. He had hesitated about making these remarks, but the observations which had been made in the course of the debate drew them from him. He felt bound to state his opinion on that point, and he fearlessly called on the House to say whether he was incapacitated to act on the Committee, and whether his connection with the Company was, in itself, a sufficient reason for his exclusion?

Mr. *Huskisson* said, he could not allow the observations just made to pass without notice. He had not been the individual who originated the objection to Directors of the Company being members of the Committee. At the same time, if he were asked his opinion on the subject, he must state that there was a difference between them and persons who had not the same degree of interest in the concerns of the Company. When the hon. Member spoke of ignorance among the people, and charged it as having been made the means of misleading them, he claimed on his part, as that hon. Member had done on his own, full credit for having in the opinions he had maintained, no other object in view but the interest of the country.

Mr. *Baring* said, as the Bank Charter had been alluded to, he trusted that as little delay as possible would be interposed between inquiry, because it was a matter of importance to the public. With respect to the present Committee, the subject was of such importance and extent, that if the inquiry was to be directed to one particular point, the members of the Committee ought to be informed of it at once. One word on the subject which had been started by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Astell). If it were not that the Committee really wanted the information which gentlemen connected with the East India Company were best able to afford for the purpose of explaining the subject they were appointed to consider, he should not notice it. The necessity for obtaining information from these gentlemen was very great; but he must say that, *prima facie,* the fact of their connection with the Company was an objection. As far as that simple fact went, it was certainly a ground of incompetency: but then it was balanced by the great advantage the Committee would enjoy from their superior knowledge of the subject. If it was a Company of another description — a Gas Company, or any other of the recently-formed Companies—no person could hesitate a moment in saying that a fair and impartial inquiry might be made without the assistance of any of the members of the Company. But it was different here, and yet the great advantage to be obtained from their information was no doubt liable to the objection that they had a strong motive to support the Company, from the great extent of patronage they possessed. With these observations he did not think that the objection that had been made was altogether without foundation; but the necessity for obtaining the information they could afford was one of paramount importance, and the main object was, to gain all possible information. On the inquiry itself, he wished to say a few words. He almost doubted whether this extensive subject was within the grasp of one Committee. The importance of all the subjects connected with it was so great, that each of them might almost require a separate consideration. The rights of millions of men—the state of the constitutions—the nature and character of the inhabitants of India, and its vast dependencies, together with the extent of trade—the finances of the Government, and the administration of the law, were all to be the subject of inquiry by this Committee. The immense distance of the country whose affairs were thus to form the subject of discussion, was another difficulty in the way of inquiry. The difficulties of an investigation into our own affairs were known to be sufficiently great; and though the commission of inquiry into the Courts of law was composed of some of the most qualified men, they had hardly been able to look into one Court. Yet this duty, in addition to all the inquiries relative to the trade, the finance, and the government of India, were to be submitted to one Committee. He must confess that it was with some apprehension he should approach the debate on all these varied and important questions; and he should go into the discussion with a strong impression, that the task imposed on the Committee was beyond their power. There was one thing in their favour. He believed the intentions of the right hon. Gentleman were clear and honest. He had not an idea, from what had already passed, what were the intentions of Government; or whether, as the gallant General supposed, they had in fact adopted any. With this feeling he should have less difficulty in the performance of his duty on the Committee; but if he were dealing with a more tricking Minister, he really should fear that the subject was too great for examination by one Committee, and that it had been assigned to them, in order that, by the length of time they would be engaged upon it, the House and the people might get tired of it, and the Charter of the Company might be got through Parliament silently, and without opposition, or even notice. However, he had every confidence in the Government, and he should therefore feel less hesitation in undertaking the task assigned him as a member of the Committee. He had had the honour of sitting on the Committee appointed to examine into the Finances of this country, and what had they done? They laboured through one whole Session, and got through the Board of Ordnance. How much more difficult was the subject now to be submitted to their consideration? In finance alone, how much greater the amount to be considered? India supported a larger expenditure than this country, in the bare expenses of the Government, after abstracting the National Debt. Under all the circumstances, he almost apprehended that the importance and variety of the subjects would be such as to bring the Committee little else but discredit, for the manner in which the service would be performed. He could therefore wish that there might be separate Committees; but, at the same time, he felt that there were great objections to such a course.—He thought the Committee would have fully enough to do, if the question of the Trade with India and China was alone submitted to them, leaving the Trade, Colonization and Laws for future consideration. The question of the extent of the Liberty of the Press—of the character of the Rights of the People—and of the expediency of admitting some of the chief men of India into the subordinate departments of the Government, might be well assigned to one Committee; while the matters of Trade and Finance and the form of Civil Government might be submitted to another. The Committee ought to have power to make separate Reports, for there were points on which, if that Committee was to be of use at all, they must report from time to time; for, if they were, at the end of their labours, to throw a great mass of papers on the table of the House, their appointment would have served to little purpose indeed. They ought to state what was the financial condition of the country, and to what extent the China trade was profitable, and what was the effect of the difference in the quality and value of tea with regard to consumers in this country. The opinions of the Committee, *valeant quantum*, ought to be stated—and not merely their opinions, but the reasons on which they were founded, in order to enable the House to come to a conclusion upon them. Under these circumstances, he felt apprehensive that the right hon. Gentleman would find the Committee had so much to do that they would move very slowly. If they did their duty to every part, they could make but little progress with such an immense question, and at the end of one Session, he feared it would be found they had but got together an unmanageable mass of matter, the consideration of which they must resume in the next. With respect to the appointment of the Committee, he would only say, that one thing which appeared to him clear beyond all doubt was, that there had been no selection for any particular purpose, but that it had been left as free as it possibly could. He thought it was as fairly chosen as any Committee could be.

Mr. *Bright* said, it appeared to him that the Government ought to have determined on some definite line of conduct, and to have brought a measure down to that House, and called on them to confirm it; and then, if doubt had been expressed, to request to refer it to a Committee. That would have been a more agreeable mode of proceeding. He agreed with the hon. Member for Callington, (Mr. Baring) that the question, by the present mode of proceeding, might be thrown over to another Session. He only rose to claim, on his own part, the fullest right to investigate the evidence laid before the Committee, when it should come under the notice of the House; and he could almost venture to propose that it should be an instruction to the Committee to report the evidence, and not their opinions; for in what situation would the House be when influenced by the weight and authority of the opinion of the Committee, without having equal time to gain a knowledge of the evidence on which it was founded? Under these circumstances, and reserving to every Member of the House the right of examining the evidence laid before the Committee, and of calling for further evidence if necessary, it was possible that the appointment of this Committee might be the best way of considering the matter. For the due investigation of the questions referred to the Committee, no man's life would be sufficient; certainly two or three years might be occupied. The right hon. Gentleman had said that some of the evidence was prepared, but how was it possible for him to know whether the Committee would be satisfied with it? Perhaps there might be occasion to send over to India. He must say he had his doubts of the advantage of appointing the Committee under present circumstances; but, as the House seemed to differ from him, he would not oppose it, although it would be impossible to say when the inquiry, if properly pursued, might terminate. If any change happened in the Administration—and who could tell what might happen—how much would the difficulties resulting from protracted inquiry be increased. He should reserve to himself the right of judging the Question just as if no Committee of Inquiry had been instituted.

Mr. *P. Thompson* wished to make a few observations on what had fallen from the hon. Member who had just sat down. During the whole of the last Session that hon. Member was loud in calling for a Committee of that House, yet now he reproached the Ministers for not coming to the House prepared with a measure, and then asking concurrence in it. He had often said, that it was not for Ministers to bring forward measures affecting the interests of large bodies of people, and he called for Committees of Inquiry on subjects with which the welfare of thousands was connected. Now he called on the Ministers to propose legislative measures, and seemed to think inquiry useless. Surely this was a little inconsistent, for was not this a question involving the interests of thousands, nay, indeed, of ninety millions of people? As far as his opportunity of judging went, he would take on himself to say that there was nothing more unfounded than the observation, that the people of this country and of India would not be satisfied with this inquiry. Had Gentlemen who made such assertions read what was constantly passing here, and had they not observed an universal call for inquiry? 'Let us be heard,' was the language of all who had met to deliberate on this subject; and he might fairly anticipate, that if they could have heard the people of India, they would have been found to hold the same language. In the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry, he thought the Government had acted most wisely; and the only doubt he felt was, whether two Committees would not be necessary in order to divide between them the consideration of so important a subject? One Committee might, he thought, be employed in considering the relations of this country with China, and another upon the general state of India; or perhaps the financial state of India and the trade of China might constitute the subject of inquiry for one Committee, while the judicial Administration in India might be submitted to the other. However, on this subject, he would not venture to do more than throw out a suggestion, as he had merely risen to reply to the remarks of the hon. Member who preceded him.

Mr. *Bright*, in explanation, said, he was a friend to inquiry, but he thought the Ministers might have prepared their own plans on the subject, and submitted them to the House, and thence to the Committee, for consideration. He remained of that opinion still.

The motion for the appointment of the Committee was then put and agreed to.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* would now propose the names of the Committee (*see page* 278) according to the list which he had previously read. But he wished to say one word only before he put the names of the Members of the Committee into the hands of the Speaker. He did not see how it would be possible to separate the financial and commercial concerns of the Company, as had been suggested; but if, in the course of the inquiry, the Committee should think that any detached portion of the great subject could be advantageously examined by a special body, the proposition might be laid before the House, and it would, no doubt, receive all the attention due to such a recommendation. In the first instance, it seemed proper that one Committee should undertake a general view of the whole system.

Mr. *Huskisson* admitted that he was well aware of the difficulty of making a selection; and that, at all events, many hon. Members must be omitted who would be capable of giving valuable assistance. He thought, however, that in the list of names, many had been included who would seldom attend, and when they did attend, who would not be very efficient.—Among the omissions, however, he found one hon. Gentleman who possessed most extensive knowledge of the commercial interests and resources of the country, and who had most advantageously and very recently displayed that knowledge at a meeting held at Leeds. He alluded to Mr. Marshall, who was one of the representatives of a great manufacturing country. On the other hand, among the insertions, he was surprised to see so many merely country gentlemen; and as an instance, he might mention that he was not aware that the hon. Member for the county in which he (Mr. Huskisson) resided, had displayed any peculiar qualifications, or was very likely to be sedulous in his attendance.

Mr. *Peel* said, he was not aware that the hon. Member for Sussex (Mr. W. Burrell) would be unable to attend. He had been selected as a representative of a county mainly interested in the growth of Wool. Sir R. Vyvian might be considered as a country gentleman, but he was one of the representatives for a very important county. Admitting most freely the right of Yorkshire to have a voice on the Committee, it would be observed that on this account the name of Lord Milton would be found in the list.—Between England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Government, great difficulty had been experienced in choosing Members properly to represent all interests.

General *Gascoyne* begged to give notice that on an early day he would move an instruction to the Committee, to take into consideration the trade with China, and the propriety of removing impediments in the way of a free trade with India.

The names of the Committee were then read.

Mr. *Hume* suggested that Mr. Stewart from his extensive and local knowledge, would be a most valuable addition to the number.

Mr. *Peel* consented immediately to that hon. Member's appointment.

List of names agreed to, with the addition of that of Mr. Stewart.

EXPORTS, REAL AND OFFICIAL VALUE.] Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, he brought forward his present motion, in pursuance of the pledge he had given on the subject, to call for papers that would show the fallacy of all the vaunted statements and deceptive Returns as to the Exports of the country having increased. Under ordinary circumstances, he would have contented himself with merely moving for the Returns, but after the assertion in the Lords Commissioners' Speech, and repeated by the Ministers, and those who supported them, he must trespass on the House with some details. He had exposed the fallacies last Session, but after the language to which he had already adverted, a repetition of the exposure became necessary. Hon. Members would, no doubt, be astonished at the great variation between what was called the Official and the Real Value of Exports; and if they looked back to the documents on the Table, for the last thirty years, they might, as he had done, collect the proofs of the extent of that variation; but at the present moment, when matters of trade were of so much importance—when a Committee had just been appointed to inquire into one great branch of commerce—and when it was held out, in the Speech from the Throne, that the Exports last year exceeded all former years—it was necessary that facts, as they actually existed, ought to be laid, in a clear and simple view, before the House and the country. He had gone through all the documents, and had collected a vast deal of useful information upon the difference between the Official and Real Value of Exports, and he had commenced his first account with 1798, that being the year after the suspension of cash payments by the Bank, and had brought it down to 1814, the year of peace, and when some discussions took place regarding the currency. Going back to 1798, it might be recollected as a matter of history that Mr. Pitt had then quoted the Official Value as only 19,000,000*l*., while at that date the real value ascended to 33,000,000*l*., and the account he (Ald. Waithman) had made out showed that the real value gradually increased from 1798 to 1814, the whole gross excess of real over the official value of goods exported during such period was no less than 240,000,000*l*., or at the rate, on an average, of more than 15,000,000*l*. per annum. The next paper he had prepared applied to the period between 1814 and 1828, both inclusive, and in this interval the official value had been as constantly increasing as the real value had done from 1798 to

1814: the advance had been gradual from 36,000,000*l.* to 52,000,000*l.* per annum; and in the last year the real value was no less than 16,000,000*l.* below the official value. The decrease from 1814 to 1819, the currency year, was from forty-seven to thirty-seven millions. Since the alteration in the currency in 1819, the Real Value had become eighty millions less than the Official Value.* It might be said, as indeed it had been said, that the Real Value was of no consequence—that the cheaper goods were obtained and exported the better; but one important question was, whether the Real Value had increased? Taking a period of thirty years, it would be found that during the last ten the Real Value had fallen off between eight and nine millions per annum, as contrasted with the ten preceding years; in the ten preceding years the increase had been at the rate of about two millions per annum. Such being the case, and such being known to be the case, there was not a junior clerk in a merchant's counting-house who did not justly laugh at the proceedings of the House, founded upon the defective information by which it was misled. Ministers asserted that the trade of the country was increasing; they had not condescended to state whence they drew their information; but he would establish that it had decreased to the amount of at least eight millions, on the average, each year during the last ten years. And yet we were sacrificing our internal trade and neglecting productive sources of real wealth to increase our nominal exports. In spite of all the schemes of Free Trade, however—in spite of the cutting-down of the ship-builders and of the ship-owners—our trade was diminished. An hon. Member said, he did not believe a word of it.—[The Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed having made such an observation.]—Mr. Alderman Waithman said it was the hon. Member for Westminster, below him, who had said so. [Mr. Hobhouse who occupied that seat, said, No, no] Whoever said 'No' to the statements, he would pledge his veracity for the correctness of them; and he would be prepared to submit to any degradation which the House or the country could inflict upon him if he failed to prove that the trade of the country had diminished to the extent he had said. Now, a word with respect to the last year. It was said that, when we took corn from abroad, other nations would take our goods in return. He had taken some pains to discover how the exports were when large importations of corn took place, and he found that there was a larger decrease in the exports then than at other times. If we received six millions worth of corn, as was the quantity, according to his estimate, of course we must export goods or gold in return. If the right hon. Gentleman had acted with his usual candour, he would have stated whether the accounts were taken upon the Real or the Official Value, and would also have informed the House that the supposed increase was owing to the great importation of corn. But they were told it was quantity and not price that was to be regarded. As goods to nearly that additional extent had not been returned, the conclusion was, that gold had left the country to supply the deficiency. As Sir John Barnard had been alluded to on a previous occasion, he should take the liberty of quoting a little of his reasoning as applicable to this point. Sir J. B's argument was—If a man were in the habit of selling a hat for a guinea, and if, by bringing down the price to 17*s.* 6*d.*, he could sell two for 35*s.*, although it was true that the profits of the manufacturer and the seller were reduced, yet, if employment were given to one thousand people, an advantage was gained by the change. But he (Mr. Ald. Waithman) would say, that if we sent out two pieces of goods instead of one, and if instead of raising the price from a guinea to 35*s.*, they sold them for 10*s.*, this, he said, was a loss. It was said, in a triumphant tone, would any set of men be so foolish as to carry on the export trade from year to year without any profit or prospect of it? He had never contended that they would, but the fact was, that in every year where embarrassments arose from over-trading, goods were sold at immense sacrifice. He could state from his own experience, and from his own sufferings, which were apt to make a man remember such things, that years of excess of exportation had been most disastrous and most ruinous. He thought it extraordinary that Chancellors of the Exchequer (he did not now allude to the right hon. Gentleman opposite in particular) but that any Chancellor of the Exchequer should be found to boast of prosperity, and to sound the horn of triumph, and to call upon the whole nation to rejoice at the extent of our trade, and the prospect of wealth and glory. Such precisely had been the case in 1825, when nothing was talked of but the elasticity of trade, the extent of our resources, and the abundance of our wealth. As this prophecy was not very happily verified, the whole blame was thrown upon the Bank of England, with whom the Government had been so many years in league and concert. Those who had availed themselves of the assistance of the Bank for a series of years, then with the vilest ingratitude turned round upon their old friends, and charged them with being the authors of all the calamities of the country. By a Return he held in his hand, he found that within the last thirty years the price of weaving a piece of cloth had fallen from 10*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.*; and the price of a quarter of wheat had fallen from above 80*s.* to about 50*s.* while the number of commitments for criminal offences had increased from four thousand to upwards of sixteen thousand. And the 3 per cents averaged sixty-two between 1800 and 1810, and were ninety-four in 1829. From 1800 to 1810 the average of wheat was 83*s.*; 3 per cents were 62 per cent; wages for weaving a piece of cambric was 10*s.* 6*d.*; and the committals for crime four thousand in number; from 1810 to 1820 wheat was at 88*s.*; stocks 65; wages 6*s.* 9*d.*; and commitments five thousand; from 1820 to 1828 wheat 57*s.*; stocks 81; wages 3*s.* 6*d.* and commitments fifteen thousand. In 1829 wheat 50*s.*; stocks 94; wages 1*s.* 10*d*; and commitments sixteen thousand five hundred and sixty four. By referring to the details, it would thus be discovered that within the last three years, despite of the march of intellect, the spirit of improvement, and the schoolmaster abroad in all directions, the produce of the poor man's industry was decreasing constantly, and the scale of crime alarmingly increasing. These were the boasted consequences of our prosperity. As to the state of the Retail Trade, the opinions entertained of its prosperity were founded on very fallacious grounds. Printed goods were exhibited in some shops at six-pence half-penny a yard, and great crowds were collected to purchase. He knew, in one case, that a person bought a very large quantity of these goods, at six-pence halfpenny, of which the Government received duty, and he afterwards retailed them at sixpence, being a loss of one half-penny in every yard, to make an exhibition of great trade. This was the way business was at present conducted, and these were the means by which an appearance of prosperity was kept up, and carriages blazoned with arms and coronets were seen crowding their doors. As to the question of taxation he must contend and strongly that the Government kept one army of Custom-house-officers and Excise-men to take the taxes, and another to take them off! [*hear*] For his part he despaired of any reduction of taxation. He saw no prospect of it. He saw no good it would do to any extent that it was likely to be carried—even if it were reduced one half. When he heard a placeman or a pensioner deplore the public distress—say how much he pitied the sufferers, and express his desire to relieve at the same time that he declared the impossibility of attempting it, he confessed he could not understand him. If a man holding a place of 2,000*l.* a-year, as did one of the right hon. Gentlemen over the way for instance, were however, to say that he felt so much for the sufferings of his neighbours that he was willing to resign a portion, or the whole of it for their relief, then, indeed, he would believe him—then, indeed, he could give him credit for sincerity. In the language of Hudibras he might say of such a placeman,

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* See Table, p. 313, 314.

> "He who hangs, or beats out 's brains,
> The Devil's in him if he feigns."

But, until Gentlemen were prepared to take that course, he did not see the prospect of any effectual relief. The retail traders of the Metropolis were losing nearly forty per cent on their stock; and the greatest mischiefs were added by the change of seasons and fashions. The first parcel of goods he ever purchased in his life was from Sir Robert Peel, and he had often afterwards obtained a reduction of twelve or fifteen per cent between the price he paid at the beginning of the season and the price he paid afterwards. These changes, the weight of taxation, and the improvident measures adopted with regard to trade, had reduced some of the most respectable tradesmen in the Metropolis to ruin; and not a day passed over his head without receiving applications from them and their families for every kind of employment, and not unfrequently to support a petition for their being admitted into the police. He wished it, however, to be understood, that it was not at all meditated by him to attack the funded interest or rob the stockholder. The more oppressive property, and that because it was not liable to change with the changes of other property, was that of the great proprietors in land. Rents were kept up by imprudent competition amongst the tradesmen themselves, and many of them had been by this, or the general stagnation of trade, so much reduced, that the right hon. the Home Secretary could, no doubt, testify to the truth of the statement to which he had just alluded, that many respectable tradesmen had, after failing in their shops, been most solicitous to obtain a situation as Policemen. The number of persons interested in the Funds would be seen by a return he had prepared on Parliamentary Documents. [*See page* 314] He firmly believed that the paper he had alluded to would be found to be the index of the increase or diminution of our Exported Produce at different periods, and by that paper it would be found that the annual value of our Exports, in real value, upon an average of six years, from 1814 to 1819 inclusive, was 45,746,976*l.* whilst upon the average of the last nine years the real value was only 36,711,949*l*, making a yearly decrease of real value in the Exports of the last nine years, as compared with those of the six years preceding 1820, to the amount of 9,035,025*l.* In this calculation he did not include the Exports of Colonial and Foreign Produce; and, had they been so included, he was satisfied that, coupled with the increase of the population in the mean time, the decrease would be found to be nearly double. The statement, according to the Finance Accounts presented annually to Parliament during the eleven years—1814 to 1825—exhibited the average official value, and the nett amount of Duty of Customs, of thirteen of the principal articles of Foreign and Colonial Produce imported into and re-exported from Great Britain to all parts of the world (except Ireland). [*See infra*] The several Accounts, with moving which he should conclude, would shew the difference between the real and official value, the falling-off in the amount of the real value of Exports, and the consequent distressed state of Manufactures and Commerce. He moved "that there be laid before the House, accounts of the Exports of British Manufactures and Produce, from the year 1798, inclusive, to Fifth of January 1814; specifying the Official and Real Value, with the Increase and Decrease in each year, as the same may be, of the Real as compared with the Official Value, and the gross amounts:—Account of the Exports, from the year 1814, inclusive, to 5th Jan. 1830:—Account of the Exports of Co-

(pass over to folio 315.*)*

Account exhibiting the Official Value of IMPORTS into, and RE-EXPORTS from Great Britain for Eleven Years, viz. 1814 to 1825; together with the Nett Payments of DUTY, and the RATES of VALUATION of the stated Articles.

Species of Merchandize.	Official Value of		Excess of		Nett Payment to the Exchequer of		Rate of Valuation in England by Parliamentary Paper of 1826 (No. 385)		
	Imports.	Re-exports.	Imports.	Re-exports.	Customs Duty.	Excise Duty.	Valuation of Imports.	Valuation on Re-export.	Difference of Value.
Cassia Lignea....	309,617	360,272	.. ..	50,655	38,052	.. ..	1/6 per lb.	2/0 per lb.	0/6
Cinnamon	917,928	1,085,785	.. ..	167,857	22,788	.. ..	4/0	5/0	1/0
Cloves	658,780	859,839	.. ..	201,059	46,886	.. ..	5/0	7/6	2/6
Cocoa	539,308	670,612	.. ..	131,304	19,418	2,688,435	50/0 per cwt	80/0 per cwt	30/0
Coffee	38,089,469	40,155,828	.. ..	2,066,359	907,877		140/0	140/0	
Cod-fish	340,630	347,622	.. ..	6,992	.. ..	.. ..	10/0	20/0	10/0
Cortex Peruvian	136,780	272,901	.. ..	136,121	65,688	.. ..	3/6 per lb.	3/0 per lb.	0/6
Mace	363,955	485,749	.. ..	121,794	30,791	.. ..	12/6	19/0	6/6
Nutmegs	464,937	474,095	.. ..	9,158	163,060	.. ..	4/0	6/6	2/6
Pepper	1,163,426	3,064,762	.. ..	1,901,336	528,830	787,978	0/4	1/1	0/9
Piece Goods of India	7,351,107	13,646,219	.. ..	6,295,112	735,744	.. ..	10/0 per piece	19/6 pr. piece	9/6
Pimento	564,754	627,617	.. ..	62,863	112,655	.. ..	0/6 per lb.	0/7 per lb.	
Spirits, Foreign	8,215,168	11,651,132	.. ..	3,435,964	2,765,183	 26,461,566	B 2/4½ R 1/8 G 1/0 per gallon. 5/0½	B. 5/0 R. 6/0 G. 5/0 per gallon. 16/0	10/11½
Total .. £	59,115,859	73,702,433	——	14,586,574	5,436,972	29,937,979			

An Account of the Value of the MANUFACTURES and PRODUCE exported from the United Kingdom from 1798 to 1813, inclusive; and from 1814 to 1828, inclusive: showing the INCREASE of, and DECREASE of, REAL, as compared with OFFICIAL Value.

No. 1.	Official Value.	Real Value.	Incr. of Real over Official.	No. 2.	Official Value.	Real Value.	Incr. of Real over Official.	Decr. of Real from Official.
	£.	£.	£.		£.	£.	£.	£.
1798	19,672,503	33,148,682	13,476,579	1814	36,120,723	47,859,386	11,738,663	
1799	24,084,213	38,942.498	14,858,285	1815	44,084,701	53,209,809	9,161,108	
1800	24,304,284	39,471,203	15,166,919	1816	36,697,610	42,955,256	6,256,646	
1801	25,719,980	41,770,354	16,050,374	1817	41,590,516	43,614,136	2,023,620	
1802	27,012,108	48,500,683	21,488,575	1818	44,564,044	48,903,760	4,339,716	
1803	22,252,102	40,100,870	17,848,768	1819	35,634,415	37,939,506	2,305,091	
1804	23,934,292	40,340,642	16,415,350	1820	48,735,551	38,619,897	- -	1,620,380
1805	25,003,308	41,068,942	16,065,631	1821	40,831,744	36,659,631	- -	4,172,113
1806	27,403,653	43,242,176	15,838,523	1822	44,236,533	36,968,964	- -	7,267,569
1807	25,090,762	40,479,865	14,389,103	1823	43,804,372	35,458,048	- -	8,346,324
1808	26,662,288	40,881,672	14,219,583	1824	48,735,551	38,396,300	- -	10,350,062
1809	35,107,439	50,242,761	15,135,322	1825	47,150,687	38,870,945	- -	8,279,244
1810	34,940,550	49,975,634	15,035,084	1826	40,965,735	31,536,723	- -	9,429,012
1811	24,109,931	34,917,281	10,807,350	1827	52,219,280	37,182,857	- -	15,036,423
1812	31,243,362	43,657,864	12,414,504	1828	52,797,455	36,814,176	- -	15,983,279
1813	32,000,580	43,000,000	11,000,000					
Gross amount of real over official value			240,210,732		Total		35,825,844	80,484,406
								35,825,250
					Gross amount of depreciation ..			116,310,250
Average increase per annum of real value over official for sixteen years			15,013,170					

*** The last year was less than any one year for fifteen years past, with the exception of 1823 and 1826, and, excepting three years, less than any for thirty-one years in real value. It is a remarkable fact, that the Exports in real value for ten years previous to 1819 inclusive, are two and a half millions more, and the last ten years eight and a half millions less in real value.

	£.
The annual value of our Exports in real value upon an average of six years, 1814 to 1819 inclusive - - - - - - - - -	45,746,975
Ditto, upon average of the last nine years, 1820 to 1828 inclusive - - -	36,711,949
Yearly decrease in real value for the last nine years, as compared with six preceding years	9,035,026

The Exports of Colonial and Foreign Produce is not included; if that were added, and the increase that ought to have been in proportion to increased population was calculated, it would probably be double.

Average Price of THREE PER CENTS; and of WHEAT; and of WAGES of WEAVING a piece of twelve yards of CAMBRICK; and of COMMITTALS for CRIME,—for the last Thirty Years.

Years.	Three per Cents.	Price of Wheat.	Wages for Weaving.		Committals for Crime.
		s.	s.	d.	
Average 1800 to 1810	62	83	10	6	4000
			per 12 yds.		
1810 to 1820	65	88	6	9	5435
1820 to 1829	81	57	3	6	15000
1829	94	50	1	10	16564

BANK return of HALF-YEARLY DIVIDENDS from various Stocks and Annuities.

Not exceeding.	Number of Persons.	Gross Number.
5	85,154	
10	42,167	
50	97,673	
100	25,822	250,816
250	15,046	
300	4,812	19,858
500	3,076	
1000	1,501	
2000	436	
Exceed. 2000	152	5,165
	Total number	275,833

From which it appears that all the Dividends exceeding £300 the half-year are received by 5,165 persons, who receive the gross amount of £8,110,182, and the whole are received by only 275,839 persons.

lonial and Foreign Produce:—Account of the Exports from Ireland:—Account of the Imports for the same periods:—Account of the Exports of Cotton Goods, from the year 1814, inclusive, to 5th January 1830; specifying each year the Increase and Decrease of Real as compared with Official Value:—Account of the Exports of Printed Cotton Goods, with the amount of Duties received, and Drawbacks allowed, upon the same."

Mr. *Hume* begged leave to second the motion; but he must at the same time take leave to show that his hon. friend was completely mistaken in the conclusions he attempted to draw from the apparent decrease of the real over the official value since the year 1814. The Tables from which his hon. friend had taken his statements were drawn up by Mr. Marshall, a gentleman with whom he had long been acquainted; his (Mr. M.'s) object was, to show that the active industry of the country had, within such period, doubled, and nearly trebled, as compared with preceding years. Of the merits of those Tables there was but one opinion; but it was a complete mistake to take the returns of official values of goods passing through the Customs as a criterion of any thing except the mere quantities. In fact they were not so intended, and they very imperfectly, as it was well known, represented values; in so much so that these accounts, in 1798, took the official values at about nineteen millions; whereas it was ascertained that the real value of our exports was in that year full thirty-three millions. The same might be said of the return of the last year's official values, taken as at sixteen millions. It was certainly true that prices had gone down; but it should be recollected that there was a very great depreciation in the cost of the imports. He admitted all that his hon. friend had stated with respect to the decrease in the official value at one period, and its increase at another; but he was prepared at the same time to show that the decrease and increase proved a state of things the very reverse of that supposed by the hon. Member.

It was said that the prices of all manufactured goods had fallen, but was it not considered how much the price of the raw material had also fallen? American cotton at one time was three shillings and sixpence a pound, now it was one shilling and three-pence. India cotton had been eighteen-pence, now it could be bought for four-pence halfpenny. But then the wages for weaving a piece of cloth in the year 1798 were fifteen shillings, now they were one shilling and tenpence. [*hear from Mr. Waithman*] His hon. friend might call 'hear!' but he wished he could get him to understand that this was the way in which he accounted for the difference of value which seemed so hard to be understood. To take, for instance, bobbinet. That at one time could not be purchased for less than a pound a yard: now it could be purchased for eighteen-pence. This was the proof of the improvements we had made in machinery, so that two men could now do as much work as five hundred at the time to which he alluded. Could any man deny that this was a great benefit? He could not illustrate the difference between the real and the official value of an article better than by referring to the price of cloves. Supposing that the price of cloves had been five shillings a pound before the war; that during the war they reached fifteen shillings a pound, and that after the war they fell again to five shillings. The official value being fixed at five shillings, and remaining the same during the war, then the real value would appear to be on the increase; but after the war, when the price again fell to five shillings, or below it, the official value would seem to be increasing. When, therefore, his hon. friend cited this falling-off of the real value with reference to the official value, as a proof of the falling-off in trade, it ought rather to be taken as a proof of its greater activity. He did not deny that there was a great depression in many branches of industry, but he contended that we were now in a better situation to meet the burthen of eight hundred and fifty millions of debt than we were in the year 1792 to bear a much smaller amount. He could not understand what all the bother and nonsense about the weight of the debt was intended for;—if the country would be but true to itself, and make the most of its resources, difficulties would be averted. When Gentlemen, who unluckily represented important and respectable towns, came down to that House preaching such intolerable nonsense and humbug, he felt inclined to ask them what would Venice, Genoa, or any other of the powerful maritime States of Europe have been without their commerce. [*hear*] Some of those notable legislators had even gone so far as to say that it would be better for England to have no foreign commerce whatever. But this was such unmitigated and irremediable absurdity, that it did not deserve a moment's consideration. Why, except for Free Trade, the people would soon be reduced to utter ruin, and driven to the necessity of eating one another, surrounded as they must be upon all sides by a political wall of brass. [*laughter*] He would wish, however, most earnestly, to see taxation more equalized, and taken as much as possible off the poor working classes, upon whom it now pressed so hard. The labouring poor at present contributed four-fifths of the taxes, while millions gave comparatively nothing. Saying that it was impossible to afford relief was equivalent to complaining that a man could not run after having been chained to the ground. Let the burthen of the taxes be imposed chiefly on property and capital, the owners of which were so forward to claim priority in representation that it would be a pity to refuse them precedence in this particular likewise. In that case he affirmed that the land would no longer be burthened with pauperism, manufacturers would flourish, and the whole body of society be improved in proportion. Let hon. Members look at soap, candles, and leather, which were respectively doubled in value to the consumer by taxation. Any Gentleman could go into a shop and buy tallow for himself at 3*d*. per pound; but when he purchased it in candles he was obliged to pay 6½*d*. or 7*d*., losing at the rate of thirty per cent in that article alone. He recommended the House to consult a document containing much useful information upon the subject, which was in possession of the Member for Cornwall, who, he was sure, would readily give a copy to any Member who might desire it. Much of the misunderstanding that prevailed relative to the value of our Exports, and Imports, arose from the want of a determinate standard by which they should be measured. There was one value fixed on the Import and another on the Export of the same article—on cinnamon, mace, cocoa, (nearly double) and coffee, for example; and one rate of duty in Scotland and another in Ireland. Hence the different conclusions from the same premises, and hence, so much misconception that might be so easily avoided.

Mr. *Robinson* said, that notwithstanding the hard terms dealt out by the hon. Member for Aberdeen against those who did not agree with him in their notions of commercial policy, he could not avoid offering a few observations to the House. The hon. Gentleman appeared to have mistaken the object of the hon. Alderman's motion, which went no further than to show that the accounts of the official value of Exports, as they were made up, could not be fairly considered as a proof of the prosperity of the country. The hon. Gentleman appeared to him also to have mistaken the argument of the hon. Alderman as to the decreased value of the Exports. In fact, the hon. Gentleman had gone so far as to infer an increase of prosperity from the decreased value of the Exports. In what did the value of the Exports consist? It consisted of two elements—the capital, and the labour employed. If then, as unfortunately was the case in this country at the present moment, the price of labour was too low to afford a fair remuneration, could it be considered in any other light than as a proof that the commerce of the country was on the decline? But no, said the hon. Member for Aberdeen, it is a proof that your commerce is increasing, and consequently is in a state of prosperity. It had been said that those who were opposed to the principle of Free Trade did not sufficiently estimate the importance of foreign commerce. But when the hon. Gentleman contemplated making other nations tributary to this country, he should remember that it was not in our power, by any measure of internal legislation, to effect so desirable a purpose. We must first get other nations to agree with us, and he was sure that a right hon. Gentleman opposite—for whose profound theoretical knowledge on such subjects he had the highest respect—he was sure that right hon. Gentleman would not say that we had yet succeeded in bringing other nations to our opinions.—The only point on which he differed from the right hon. Gentleman was this—he understood him to wish that the whole commerce of the world should be thrown open, and conducted as if mankind were all one great and friendly family, exchanging with each other the products of which each stood in need. If all the world were so disposed, he was not so stupid as to deny that the principle would be attended with the utmost benefit to mankind. But that it was not so, nor likely to become so, was an undeniable fact. Other countries, so far from agreeing with us in this principle of Free Trade, had actually resisted our policy by hostile enactments.—The Report of the French Minister recommended what it called a reasonable system of protection, and expressed an opinion that, on the principle of Free Trade, England would be able to overthrow their manufactures. Accordingly France had refused to relax her restrictive system, as the best means of contending with the commercial efforts of this country. And how did the United States of America proceed? Every one knew the restrictive nature of the late Tariff: in addition to which he could state a fact which had come to his knowledge—namely, that a committee appointed by Congress to revise the Tariff had recommended that it should be continued. In consequence of this recommendation the Tariff would be continued, so that America as well as France had refused to comply with the liberal system of policy of which this country had set the example. The right hon. Gentleman, (Mr. Robinson, now Lord Goderich) and the Government, which had adopted his views, employed, as one of the arguments in recommending their system, that other countries would follow the example of England. But how had the fact turned out? The other countries had not followed the example. Was not that a reason for re-considering this system?—All that was asked was, that it should be reconsidered, in order that, if useful, it should be continued; or, if injurious, got rid of; for no man could deny that if the system was founded in error, the sooner it was got rid of the better. So much had been said about the distress of the country, that he would only add that a sufficient quantity of it existed to justify the House in proceeding at once to inquiry. What he complained of was, that Ministers had refused to attend to the petitions of the people last Session for inquiry, and that there appeared but little probability of their attending to them now. The Speech, at the opening of the Session, held out no favourable prospect on that head. But the country would not be satisfied to let another Session go on without inquiry. No man could deny that the evils of the country originated in many causes; but the principal evil was the extreme pressure on the labouring classes. He thought Parliament had not sufficiently considered the means of giving employment to the poor. It was a subject of vital interest. If the labouring population were permitted to go on sinking in penury and degradation, it was impossible that the country could be said to be in a prosperous state. He would not undertake to enumerate all the causes of the present distress, but there were three causes which he would state as the principal:—The first was, the pressure of taxation on the labouring classes; they ought to relieve the productive industry of the country. Another cause was, the effect produced by machinery. Much ridicule had been thrown on a noble person, in another place, for assigning the improvement of machinery amongst other causes of the distress experienced by the labouring classes. The fact, however, was undeniable. Neither he nor the noble Lord intended to question the ultimate advantage of these improvements, but that their immediate effect was to throw many hands out of employment was a fact which did not admit of contradiction. The third cause to which he should refer, was the establishment of Corn Laws. He did not mean to say that the landlords should be deprived of all protection, but he would say that they ought not to be exclusively protected at the expense of the labouring classes; but that the laws by which they were protected constituted an operative cause in the production of distress. Upon the whole, if something were not done upon the subject, he should conclude the House was only competent to do injury, but incapable of doing good. He feared also, that much of our distress must be imputed to the competition of other countries. The hon. Member for Aberdeen had said much of the Free Trade principles making the world tributary on England for her manufactures; but the hon. Member had forgotten that France and America, acting on the restrictive system, had both extended their trade last year. The increase, for example, of the value of Imports into the port of Havre (the Liverpool of France), amounted last year to twenty millions of francs over those of the preceding year, and the Exports of the United States were five millions of dollars more last year than in 1828. Was it not evident, then, that other nations were benefitted while this was injured by the present system? Why should we take the Silk of France unless she reciprocally bound herself by treaty to take our Cotton and Hardware manufactures in return? In a word, why should not the system be made one of *bona fide* reciprocity, or be revised and amended?

Mr. *Courtenay* said, he was willing to admit, that the system of determining the value of our Exports by that called the "official average value," was not altogether as perfect as might be desired; but it was the most perfect that he knew of, or, he would affirm, that any Member of that House had as yet devised. He had tried one or two other modes of arriving at a value of our Exports and Imports, but found them not so successful; and he should be obliged to any hon. Member who would suggest a mode less liable to error than that of the official value. Some artificial standard was necessary, for the difference of kind and size, &c., of commodities rendered mere quantity an inefficient representative of real value. He would not then enter into an analysis of the hon. Alderman's statements, as a more fitting occasion would shortly present itself; but would content himself with contending that increase of Exports proved so far an increased activity of commerce. How could these Exports be made, without an increased amount of shipping, and of the employment of machinery and labour? Hon. Members said that because the price or rate of profit of those Exports was low, that therefore they were of no national benefit; but they forgot that the extent of the market was as the lowness of profits—that if they wished for high prices, they must count on small sales, and *vice versâ*. The hon. Member for Worcester, (Mr. Robinson) said that France and America had not followed our example in adopting the anti-restrictive system. Now it was a sufficient answer to the hon. Member to say that the Secretary to the Treasury of the United States had in his last report asserted the very doctrine which had been over and over advanced by Ministers, — namely, that the transition from a state of war to that of peace, the application of science to machinery, (which God forbid he should denounce or not appreciate,) and other concurrent causes, necessarily induced a temporary distress, for which there was no legislative remedy. Then with respect to France, it was a fact that our Exports to that country had increased considerably last year, notwithstanding the so-much-objected-to Free Trade system. When, last Session, he addressed the House on the subject, he contended that the Silk Trade, the then subject of complaint, would be extended by the very measures which hon. Members declared would be its ruin; and he appealed to the candour of every hon. Member, whether the fact was not as he had predicted. And so it would be with other branches of trade, as he would endeavour to prove on another occasion.

Mr. *Attwood* said, he was not surprised that the hon. Member for Aberdeen should be hailed as a great authority on the state of the nation by hon. Members opposite (on the Treasury bench) since his statements went to bear out their ill-founded assertions. But the hon. Member had a condition of his own, which went, if examined, to upset the very doctrines which he meant to uphold. The hon. Member had, on various occasions, contended that the present Free Trade system gave to us the market of the world; and yet strangely argued that there should be a reduction of 20,000,000*l.* of taxes, else we should be driven out of that market by other competitors. [Mr. Hume said, he did not specify 20,000,000*l.* he only mentioned a large reduction]? No matter, three, five, or ten millions, be the sum what it might,—it was equally a death-blow to Ministers. He did not doubt that, according to the official returns, the amount of Exports appeared last year greater than those of the preceding. But an examination of these official returns showed that there could be no dependence on any inferences drawn from such imperfect data. One hon. Member drew one inference, namely, that the money value of the Exports was less; another that the money value was more, — each taking some particular article as the sole criterion of the increase or decrease. He regretted that such documents as these trade accounts should occupy the attention of the House. If arguments were to be founded on such documents, they should at least be framed on a less absurd and preposterous plan. When a statement founded on them proceeded from the Throne—when his Majesty was made to speak like a Custom-house clerk — when in the midst of awful calamities and impending changes, the people, who looked forward with anxiety to the Throne and the Parliament, were mocked by statements founded upon such documents,—if the Ministers intended to alienate the people, and proclaim their inefficiency to the country, it was impossible for them to adopt a more effectual course. He valued low prices as much as any man, but he dreaded a rapid transition from high money prices to low money prices as a great evil. It was impossible not to see that the real value of the Exports of the country had been misrepresented. A fictitious and capricious value had been placed upon them, without having any standard, either in the real value of the article itself or any other value which could be put upon them. What would the House think when they were informed that the official value of the Exports from this country to Europe, as compared with the Imports for the last six years, exceeded 110,000,000*l.* sterling? This showed upon how fallacious and unreal a foundation these official returns were made. He could easily understand the disappointment which the country would feel when, groaning under the most urgent distress, they expected some substantively efficient measure from the Government, but were met only by a Speech from the Throne which could give any thing but satisfaction at home, and must provoke (he would almost say) the contempt of foreigners. [*hear*]

Mr. *P. Thomson* said, if the hon. Member had brought a just accusation against his Majesty's Ministers, a much juster accusation could be brought against him. He believed the distress of the country to be great, though not universal; but however great it might be, he could not believe that a remedy for it existed in the use of language that must inflame, or that it could answer any useful purpose to proclaim any part of the House to be indifferent to the distress of the people. The hon. Member having described on a former evening his object as to the depreciation of the standard, the House now knew how to meet him, and gentlemen must beware how they aided a plan which was calculated to be a fraud on the country.

Mr. *Attwood* said, he must protest against personal motives being attributed.

Mr. *Thomson* said, he did not intend to impute personal motives.

Mr. *Attwood.*—If any hon. Member imputes to me any measure of dishonesty or fraud it is perfectly false. [*hear, and order*]

The *Speaker* requested the hon. Member to abstain from such observations. He felt persuaded that the hon. Member for Dover had used the observations only in the way of argument.

Mr. *Thomson* said, in reference to the opinion the hon. Member was known to hold, he must repeat what he said; that he could not but conceive that a measure which would reduce the standard of the country was one calculated to effect a fraud; and he was glad of an opportunity to speak of the measure, that the House might not be led to adopt schemes of that kind. The distress occasioned by over-production was not remediable by legislative enactments, nor could any retrenchment cut off a very great sum from the expenditure of the country. A remedy might be found in a mutation of taxation. A large proportion of the taxes pressed on the industrious classes, whilst those who were better able to bear them were exempt. The hon. Member (Mr. Attwood) had said, that any one who asserted, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtenay) had, that we could receive Imports from a country which prohibited our Exports, asserted what was absurd and dangerous. He (Mr. Thomson) considered, that it was equally absurd and dangerous to assert the contrary. The Imports must have been purchased either by our Exports or those of some other country. He wished the system of official values not to be abandoned, because it showed quantity more conveniently than any other mode.—He would not say more on this subject now, as many opportunities would occur when it might be more advantageously discussed.

Mr. *Fyler* said, he felt himself called upon to answer the observation of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtenay) which implied that Trade was getting better, and that the experiment as to the Silk Trade had succeeded; by asserting that there was now the greatest distress in the Silk Trade, and that principally occasioned by the measures of last Session. Many large Manufacturers were now insolvent. He quite agreed with those who said that France had not met us half-way in our advances to promote a Free Trade, and this was a reason why it should not be continued.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, he would not enter into the discussion at that late hour, though, if any thing could move him, it would be the quantity of unnecessary and incorrect matter which had been lavished on the subject.

Mr. *Trant* said, he must complain of the use of the word 'fraud' in the speech of an hon. Gentleman, and said it was unfair to attribute improper motives to those Members who stood up in their places honestly to discharge their duty. He noticed this because what was said in that House went forth to the country, and he repeated that such assertions ought not to be made. He would say why his attention was called to the question of the currency. He had listened with attention to the debates, and when he found it stated that the money was accumulating in a few hands, and the general condition of the people was falling off, he thought it time for independent men to [speak out. It was a lamentable state, and it was, in the political body, what would be called in the physical a determination of blood to the head. [*hear and a laugh*]

Mr. *Thomson* explained: when he used the term fraud, he meant not to apply it to individuals, but merely to represent that any act to depreciate the currency would be a fraud on the country.

Mr. *Attwood* said, he thought all persons who were paid in a depreciated currency, had a fraud committed on them.

Motion agreed to: Accounts ordered.

Supply.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the preliminary Resolution on the Lords Commissioners Speech—"That a Supply be granted."

The Marquis of *Blandford* regretted that some Member more conversant with the forms of the House did not rise to oppose the Speaker's leaving the Chair. The distresses of the country were so great, the cries of the people for relief were so loud, and the promises of his Majesty's Ministers were so vague and unsatisfactory, that he felt himself called upon in duty to oppose *in limine* the granting of one shilling of supply at present. He would therefore move, as an amendment, "That this House will not vote any Supply or Estimate until the grievances of the people be taken into consideration, and relief for their distress be granted."

The Chairman of the Committee (Sir A. Grant)—[as the Speaker had left the Chair without the noble Marquis having risen in sufficient time to propose his Amendment] intimated that such Amendment was informal, as the House were now in Committee.

Mr. *Hume*.—The motion is regular—it requires only a verbal alteration; and its principle I approve:—Before I grant a supply (said the noble Marquis) let there be a redress of grievances.

The Amendment was then altered, by the substitution of the word 'Committee' for 'House.' It stood, as put in the Committee, as follows:—

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that no supply be granted, until the grievances and distress of the people be taken into consideration, and redress be granted."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he did not come to the House prepared for any such amendment as the present. He understood, certainly, that an amendment was to be moved in the Committee of Supply on Friday, to which the present motion was a mere formal preparation. He hoped the noble Lord would withdraw his motion, or, if he were determined to press it to a division, he thought the better way would be to postpone the Committee, as, in the present state of the House, [twenty-eight Members only were present], no division could take place, the calling for a division would be to have the House counted out. The noble Lord had certainly adopted a novel course towards the House, and which was not likely to make a very favourable impression on the public generally; but he had the power, and he must use it as he pleased.

The Marquis of *Blandford*.—I am no party to any understanding as to any motion on Friday. If hon. Members are not present to do their duty to the people, it is no fault of mine; here am I to do my duty; I shall divide.

The division being called for, proceeded; but as it appeared that there were not forty Members present, the numbers could not be declared, and Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair; and forty not being then present, he declared the House to be adjourned.

Of the twenty-eight Members who were present, there were as follows :—

For the Motion 24. For the Amendment 4.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, Feb. 11.

WRITS FOR EAST RETFORD.] Mr. *S. Lumley* presented a petition from the Burgesses of East Retford, praying for new writs for the election of two Members for that Borough to be issued forthwith.

The petitioners, amongst other matters, submit "that, by the Laws and Constitution of this realm, the petitioners cannot be deprived of their franchise as Freemen of the borough of East Retford without the consent of the three estates of the realm, and the petitioners therefore submit humbly and respectfully to the serious attention of the House, whether the House are acting with justice to the petitioners, to deprive them of their franchise without the consent of the three estates: that the petitioners do not presume to question the principle which governs the House in cases of disfranchisement, but they submit, for the consideration of the House, whether it is not notorious that no Act of Disfranchisement can pass without clear proof that the larger portion of the electors are corrupt, and the petitioners submit that the evidence and petition already before the House establish the fact that the majority of the present electors of the borough of East Retford are not corrupt, and that majority would have been shown to be much larger but for the schisms and other circumstances referred to in the petition: that the petitioners will not presume to question the power of the House to suspend for a short period the issuing of new writs for filling up vacancies in the House of Commons, but the petitioners submit that such extraordinary power ought to be exercised with extreme care: that the period of three Sessions of Parliament is by no means a short period: that the issuing of a new writ would not interfere with any ulterior measures which the House may in its wisdom see fit to adopt, while the precedent of keeping the representation of the people incomplete is manifestly fraught with the utmost danger to the principles of the Constitution; the petitioners consider it a peculiar hardship, when their legal existence is at stake, to be deprived of the important means of defence which they would enjoy if represented in the House by burgesses of their own choosing: that the House, having come to the decision that no further evidence is necessary, the petitioners submit that the case is now ripe for the decision of the House, and they humbly represent that no decision can be so inconsistent with the principles of justice and expediency as an entire suspension of proceedings: that the petitioners would have submitted with patience to any judgment at which the House might have arrived for remedy of a public grievance, but when no remedial measure is persevered in, nor any thing done beyond passing sentence of forfeiture against the petitioners, they humbly conceive that a new state of things has arisen, in which they are justified in renewing their remonstrances, and they humbly pray that the House will direct new writs to be issued, and to which they are clearly entitled by the present Law: the petitioners therefore most humbly pray, That new Writs for the return of Burgesses to serve in Parliament for the Borough of East Retford may forthwith issue."

Mr. *Duncombe* presented a petition from certain owners and occupiers of lands in the town and neighbourhood of Boroughbridge, complaining of the pressure of general distress, and praying for the enforcement of strict economy in the national expenditure, a repeal of the Malt duties, and an alteration of the present system of licensing Public-houses.

LAW REFORM.] Mr. *O'Connell* presented a petition from several individuals, praying for such a Reform in the Law as would make it what it was not at present —cheap, intelligible, and expeditious. The petition also prayed the House to call upon intelligent persons, to draw up draughts of an "all-comprehensive code of law" for this country. He would read some extracts from it, because the subject was of great importance, and because he might hereafter call further attention to it. The petitioners said, that in so far as the respective consciences of the petitioners will allow, they entertain the sincerest disposition to conform themselves in all things to the good pleasure of those who are set in authority over them; that when by any of them a wish is expressed to know what that pleasure is, he is bid to look to the law of the Land; that when a man asks what the same law is, he learns that there are two parts of it, that the one is called Statute Law, and the other Common Law, and that there are books in which these same two parts are to be found; that when a man asks in what book the Statute Law is to be found, he learns that so far from being contained in any one book, however large, it fills books composing a heap greater than he would be able to lift; that if he thereupon asks in which of all these books he could upon occasion lay his hands and find those parts in which he himself is concerned, without being bewildered with those in which he has no concern, what he learns is, that the whole matter is so completely mixed up together, that for him to pick out the collection of those same parts from the rest is utterly impossible; that if he asks in what book the Common Law is to be found, he learns, that the collection of the books in which, on each occasion, search is to be made for it are so vast, that the house he lives in would scarcely be sufficient to contain it; that if he asks, who it is that the Statute Law is made by, he is told without difficulty, that it is by King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled; that if in continuation they proceed any of them to ask, who it is that the Common Law has been made by, they learn, to their inexpressible surprise, that it has been made by nobody, that it is not made by King, Lords, and Commons, nor by any body else; that the words of it are not to be found anywhere, that in short it has no existence, it is a mere fiction, and that to speak of it as having any existence, is what no man can do without giving currency to an imposture. When upon observing that by every judge it is spoken of as a reality, and that he professes to be acting under it, they ask whether it is not he that makes it, they are told that this is what no Judge ever does, and that by any of the learned Judges a question, what part of the Law is of his making, would be received with indignation and resented as calumny; that when seeing men put to death, and otherwise grievously punished by order of the Judges, a man asks by what authority this is done, he learns that it is by the authority of Statute Law or Common Law, as it may happen; and if he thereupon asks whether, when it is upon the authority of the Common Law that the Judge does this, it is not by this same Judge that this same Common Law is made, he still receives the same assurance that no Judge ever makes law; and that a question, what part of the law is of his making, would be received with indignation, and resented as calumny, while the truth is, that on each occasion the rule to which a Judge gives the force of law, is one which on this very occasion he makes out of his own head, and this not till the act for which the man is thus dealt with has been done, while by these same Judges, if the same thing were done by the acknowledged legislature, it would be spoken of as an act of fragrant injustice, designated and reprobated in their language by the name of an *ex post facto* law; all this while they are told that they have rights given to them, and they are told to be grateful for those rights. They are told that they have duties prescribed to them, and they are bid to be punctual in the fulfilment of all those duties; and so (they are told) they must be if they would save themselves from being visited with condign punishment; hearing this they would really be grateful for these same rights, if they knew what they were, and were able to avail themselves of rights of which they have no knowledge; being in the nature of things impossible, they are utterly unable to learn for what as well as to whom to pay the so called for tribute of their gratitude: as to these same duties, they would endeavour at least to be punctual in the fulfilment of them, if they knew but what they were; but to be punctual in the fulfilment of duties, the knowledge of which is kept concealed from them, is equally impossible; that which is but too possible, and too frequently experienced by them is, the being thus punished for not doing that which it has thus been rendered impossible for them to do; thus while the rights they are bid to be grateful for are mere illusions, the punishments they are made to undergo are sad realities; finally, thus it is, that they who in so far as such oppression admits of their being so, are his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, are dealt with as were the children of Israel under their Egyptian task masters; and the petitioners hear of tyrants, and those cruel ones; but whatever they may have felt, they have never heard of any tyrant in such sort cruel, as to punish men for disobedience to laws or orders which he had kept them from the knowledge of; they have heard much of cruelties practised by slaveholders upon those who are called their slaves, but so far as regards the mode of treatment the petitioners thus experience, whatever be the cruelties practised upon slaves, never have the petitioners heard this to be of the number of those cruelties; the negro, so long as he does what he is commanded to do, and abstains from doing that which he is forbidden to do, the negro, slave as he is, is safe; in this respect his condition is an object of envy to the petitioners, and they pray that it may be theirs; they have heard not a little of the pains taken by the House in the endeavour to put an end to those same cruelties; they cannot refuse to any such endeavour the humble tribute of their applause, but they hope they are not altogether unreasonable in their wish to receive from the hands of the House the benefit of the like endeavours, and what the petitioners hereby pray for, is as follows: "1st, that the House, in and by its votes, may be pleased to give invitation to all persons so disposed to send in each of them a plan of an all-comprehensive code, followed by the text thereof, this text, either the whole of it at the same time, or in successive portions, as he may find most convenient; 2nd, that for indemnifying each such contributor from the expense of printing, the House may be pleased to give authority to him to send in such his work in manuscript to any person authorized by the House to print its proceedings, that is to say, for the purpose, and subject to the limitation, hereinafter mentioned, under the assurance that the same will be printed along with the other proceedings of the House, in like manner as Acts of Parliament are at present; 3rd, as to the persons of such contributors, the petitioners humbly insist that, from the liberty of sending in drafts for this purpose, no person shall stand excluded, no not any person whatsoever, for suppose, for example, a foreigner to send in a draft better adapted to the purpose than any draft sent in by any of his Majesty's subjects, the petitioners see not why his being so should debar them from the benefit of it, and assuredly they see not any reason whatever for any such apprehension as that by the House, the circumstance of the draftsman's being a foreigner should ever cause a less well-adapted draft to be applied and sanctioned in preference to a better adapted one; 4th, as to the expense that might be eventually attendant on the printing of such drafts, it is no more than the petitioners are perfectly aware of, but there are two arrangements which, taken together, they cannot but rely on as sufficient to reduce within a moderate compass the amount of that expense; 5th, one is, that it be an instruction to every contributor that no such contributor shall receive the benefit of the accommodation thus afforded, unless to each article, or set of articles, in his proposed code, the reason, or set of reasons, by which it was suggested, on which it is grounded, and to which it trusts for its explanation and reception, be appended; 6th, the other is, that by the House power be resolved to itself, by the hands of any person or persons for that purpose thereto appointed, to put a stop at any time to the printing of any such draft, after which, should the impression be continued, it will be at the contributor's own expense, but that, to assist him in the faculty of thus making a virtual appeal to public opinion, such part of his draft as shall have been already printed shall be delivered to him, to be disposed of as he shall think fit," &c.

IRISH NEWSPAPERS.] Mr. *O'Connell* moved for Returns of the number of Stamps issued to each Newspaper in Ireland for one year, ending 5th January, 1830; and of the sums paid to Newspapers in Ireland, from 5th Jan. 1829 to 5th Jan. 1830, for printing Proclamations; distinguishing the sums paid to each Newspaper by title, and place of publication." Ordered.

SMUGGLING.] Lord *G. Lennox* obtained leave to bring in a bill for the relief of parishes from the expenses of maintaining the wives and families of men convicted under the laws for the prevention of Smuggling, and sentenced to serve in his Majesty's navy.

Mr. *F. Baring* (such bill having been ordered) said, he rose to call for an explanation from the Admiralty, respecting their treatment of a man of the name of Millar, who had been sentenced in December, 1824, to serve on board one of his Majesty's ships for the space of five years, in consequence of his participation in some smuggling transactions. On the 23rd of December of last year, the term of his imprisonment expired, and he then applied; but in vain, for his release. He repeated the same application on his arrival at Plymouth; his officer forwarded the application to the Admiralty, who returned for answer that the man should be paid off with the rest of the crew on his arrival at Portsmouth. A few days afterwards the vessel arrived in Portsmouth harbour. Millar, on the expiration of his term, had firmly, but respectfully, refused to perform the duty expected from him. In consequence he was thrown into irons, and captain Elliott, his commander, who appeared to have acted throughout the business with considerable kindness, applied, on arriving in port, to the Admiralty for directions how he was to act. In consequence of such application a Court-martial was ordered to sit upon Millar; and by that Court-martial, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of his case, and of the excellence of his character, he was only reprimanded, told to be more cautious in future, and discharged. The hon. Member said, that he would make no comment upon these facts: he would merely ask for an explanation of the authority by which all this had been done. If the law gave the Admiralty the power of protracting the service of a person convicted of smuggling thus indefinitely, some enactment was wanting to regulate the duration of a punishment which might last for six, seven, or ten years, instead of five, as was evidently intended. He wished to know, first, why Millar's discharge had been refused in the first instance? And next, by what authority Millar had been placed on his trial for life, after the period of his service had ceased?

Sir *G. Clerk* said, that Acts of Parliament, by which smugglers were permitted to serve on board of his Majesty's ships in lieu of being imprisoned for the pecuniary penalties to which they had rendered themselves liable by transgressing the law, had warranted the term of Millar's service; and he must contend, from a review of these Acts, that there was not one of them which limited the time of service to five years. The first question, therefore, to be considered in Millar's case was this—had he a right to claim his discharge at the end of five years? And then, supposing for the sake of argument, that he had such right, was he, having been offered full pay on board, authorized to disobey the orders of his commanding officer? He (Sir G. Clerk) contended that on both those points the decision must be clearly against Millar. As to the question why the man had been tried by Court-martial, the answer was easy. The Admiralty felt that as the question had been raised by Millar, without his having a shadow of legal ground on which to rest it, it would be for the benefit of the service to have Millar tried by a Court-martial, in order to have greater publicity given to their decision. The hon. Member opposite had said, that if there were any Act of Parliament in existence by which the Admiralty could prolong the service of a smuggler to seven or eight years duration, it would be necessary to remedy such an evil by legislative enactment. Now he could assure the hon. Member that such a legislative enactment was quite unnecessary, for the Admiralty had no wish to prolong any smuggler's term of service beyond the period of five years.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S LETTER.] Dr. *Phillimore* wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman opposite, whether any order had been sent out by his Majesty's Government for the recall of Sir John Peter Grant from his situation of Judge in the Supreme Court of Bombay?

Mr. *Peel* said, no steps had been taken for the removal of the learned gentleman, the matter was under the consideration of the Privy Council.

FEES IN CRIMINAL COURTS.] Mr. *Peel* gave notice that he would, on the 17th February, move for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of all Fees required from individuals when acquitted on their discharge from any Criminal Court.

EAST RETFORD.] Mr. *N. Calvert* said, that as the case of the Borough of East Retford had been well known for several years, he did not mean, in bringing forward his motion, to trouble the House at any length. He had no personal feeling in this question; and he thought it very hard that any such motive should be attributed to him. His object was one of strict justice and fairness. Under all the circumstances, he should say no more at present, except to claim his right to reply to any argument or objection that might be raised against his motion, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to prevent Bribery and Corruption in the Borough of East Retford."

Mr. *Tennyson* hoped, that he should not be accused of pertinacity, if, after so many decisions against extending the forfeited franchise of East Retford to the town of Birmingham, he still presevered in what he considered a just cause. He now rose to propose an Amendment on the Motion of his hon. Friend. On this occasion, he was labouring under a new embarrassment. The last time this question was discussed, he believed it appeared that the average opinion of the people of Birmingham was, that the measure he proposed would give them perfect satisfaction. But since that period, a considerable change had taken place in the average opinion. The general distress had created a great alteration of opinion; and the people attributed that distress to the general corruption, neglect, and misconduct of Parliament. The consequence was, that at Birmingham they had taken steps for their own protection. This, however, would not alter his course. He would still go on, and endeavour to obtain his original object. He had, last session, urged on the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel), the necessity of extending the benefit of representation to the great commercial and manufacturing towns. Government, however, seemed anxious to keep up the old state of things, at the expense of the country, and, he must say, at the expense of common-sense. Under these circumstances, he felt it to be his duty to pursue the course he had formerly taken. That the right of electing Members to sit in Parliament should be taken from East Retford, on account of its notorious corruption, did not, he thought, admit of dispute. It was proved, that in the election of 1826, out of one hundred and sixty-six persons who voted, one hundred and fifty-five received bribes. It was proposed to extend the franchise to the hundred of Bassetlaw, but the freeholders of Bassetlaw were already represented by two hon. Gentlemen—he meant the Members for Nottingham; while many populous towns—for instance, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield—were unrepresented. It was not only absurd, but it was dangerous, to withhold the benefits of representation from places such as these; for he felt that, in times of pressure, a catastrophe would be the certain result of that want of representation. He could not forget the Political Union Society recently established at Birmingham. The prospectus of that society merited the consideration of the House, and it would be most prudent, by giving to Birmingham the right of electing representatives, to form a link between that Political Union and the House. He concluded by moving, "That all the words after 'that' be omitted, for the purpose of introducing the following:—'Leave be given to bring in a Bill to exclude the Borough of East Retford from electing Burgesses to serve in Parliament, and to enable the Town of Birmingham to return two Representatives in lieu thereof.'"

Mr. *Marshall* begged leave to second the motion. In his opinion, the franchise ought to be extended to Birmingham, instead of being given to strengthen an interest which already possessed an overwhelming influence.

Mr. *Batley* said, he thought it was contrary to the principle of the constitution that such towns as Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield, should not be properly represented; and whenever a specific motion was brought forward for imparting to them the right to return Members to serve in Parliament, he should give it his strongest support. But he certainly would not benefit those towns by disfranchising other places:—he would not agree to that which would be a bill of Pains and Penalties on East Retford.

Viscount *Howick* said, in consequence of this question having been introduced so soon, he was precluded from making the motion of which he had given notice. He meant, however, to vote for the proposition of the hon. Member for Bletchingley; and if it were not carried, it would then be open to him to move his own resolution as an amendment to the original motion. The hon. Member for Hertfordshire had moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent Bribery and Corruption in the Borough of East Retford; but the motion which he had meant to propose, if he had come down in time, would go to declare, "that the abuses which were alleged to exist in East Retford, were not confined to that town, but were notorious in many cities and boroughs in the United Kingdom." Such was his opinion; and therefore he thought it was much better to propose a general remedy for a general evil, instead of applying particular remedies to particular places—a course which experience showed did not serve any good purpose, and was positively bad in practice. He originally voted for the motion to disfranchise this borough, not to punish the electors for the crime laid to their charge, but in order that the franchise taken from East Retford should be given to Birmingham, which, was an improvement in the representation, was an alteration desirable to be procured. But the experience of the last three sessions had greatly changed his views on the subject; and he agreed with the hon. Member who had last spoken, that it would be better to extend the franchise directly to great commercial and manufacturing towns, rather than to benefit them by disfranchising other places. He felt that, in taking a contrary course, the friends of Reform were playing the game of their opponents, and lending their countenance to that which, however gravely put forward, was neither more nor less than a mockery and a delusion. The House ought to be cautious in dealing with cases of this kind. The doctrines laid down with respect to them was, that punishment should not be inflicted on all, except all were shown to have been guilty. This doctrine was perfectly just. But the present proceeding was opposed to it; for here punishment was not regularly inflicted by the regular course of law. This was a bill of Pains and Penalties,—an *ex post facto* law—by which the Parliament was constituted judge, jury, and executioner. No man, he was sure, could seriously say that bribery could be put an end to by disfranchising any certain place. The proper remedy would be to adopt a general measure, instead of pursuing this dilatory and uncertain course—a course as dilatory and as uncertain as the Court of Chancery. He very much feared that the motives of many of those who supported this measure of disfranchisement were not exactly what at first sight they appeared to be. He believed it was not the crime of bribery which excited their indignation, but the clumsiness with which it was effected. They did not wish to put an end to those abuses, but to keep them from the public eye, and to conceal from the light of day their own secret crimes. This it was that induced them to vote for the disfranchisement of East Retford. Such was his belief; but he certainly did not expect that a motive of this kind would have been openly proclaimed in that House. He alluded to the opinion of the right hon. Member for Liverpool, who, in a speech delivered last year (a speech which he did not hear, but which he had read with astonishment), used the following remarkable words:—"What, then, remains behind? Parliamentary Reform. I trust it will long remain behind. I trust we shall always be able to resist that Reform. I am sure, if the motion of the hon. Member for Bletchingley is lost, the difficulty of resisting Parliamentary Reform will be greatly increased." He (Viscount Howick) felt no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman. He had here made an admission for which he thanked him. Individuals who thought as the right hon. Gentleman did, were willing to give up some of the outworks of corruption, that they might be the better enabled to defend the principal stronghold. They thought that East Retford ought to be partially sacrificed, in order to prevent the whole system of corruption from being overturned. Just as in a bull-fight a cloak is dropped to turn aside the rage of the mad animal, while his assailant prepares more securely to destroy him. If the public were ignorant of the undue means by which a large majority of the Members of that House obtained their seats in it, they might declaim against the venality of the voters of East Retford; but, notorious as these circumstances were, he thought it better to pass over the present case in silence till they were prepared to deal with others equally flagitious. It might be hopeless to obtain complete Reform at present, but we might at least abstain from such hypocrisy and insincerity as to pass a bill against an individual rotten borough when so many more demanded equal punishment. He trusted that a dread of public contempt, if no better motive, would prevent the House from taking such a course, and that if they were not disposed to adopt the natural plan for the prevention of bribery and corruption, they would reject the bill of the hon. Member for Hertfordshire. He regretted that he was prevented by the forms of the House from following up his observations with certain resolutions which it had been his intention to propose. Such being the case, he should merely read them as part of his speech. He concluded with reading the following resolutions:—"That the existence of bribery and corruption in the election of Members of that House had frequently been established by evidence at the bar. especially in the instances of Penryn and East Retford; that it was notorious, however, that similar practices occurred in the majority of the other boroughs in the country; and therefore that it would be better to abandon the useless and expensive course of proceeding by bill to disfranchise particular places, and in lieu thereof to adopt some measure for a general Reform of the Representation."

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he could not content himself with giving a silent vote on this occasion. Being himself a Radical Reformer, and desiring a complete and thorough Reform in every thing corrupt in the country, he was anxious to make an example in every particular case of corruption that came within the general rule. He thought an hon. Member was mistaken when he stated that the House was now called upon to act in a judicial capacity, and decide whether the electors of East Retford had been guilty of bribery and corruption, and that the fact was not proved against the borough on the occasion of the last election. If the fact were not proved, then certainly the hon. Gentleman ought to oppose the bill of the hon. Member for Hertfordshire, which proceeded on the supposition that bribery and corruption existed. The hon. Gent. argued that bribery was not proved. He (Mr. O'Connell) had read the evidence in the case, and was convinced that East Retford continued a sink of bribery and corruption up to the present moment. It was quite true that the existence of bribery, on a recent occasion had not been proved, because the time of payment had not arrived; the bribes were due, but had not been paid. The voters sent Members into the House, and gave credit for the bribes, putting faith in the parties for the forty guineas a-piece. The noble Lord (Howick) seemed to think that as all the voters of East Retford had not been proved guilty, all should not be punished; and argued, that though there might be a guilty majority, yet there was an innocent minority, whom it would be wrong to visit with punishment for the faults of others. But let it be recollected that boroughs acted by majorities—that majorities, and not minorities, sent Members to Parliament; so that, supposing a few voters to be free from corruption, yet was the borough corrupt for all purposes of representation; consequently, the majority ought to be punished, and the borough prevented from ever again sending Members to that House. His opinion was, that the right of representation ought not to belong to any private individual. He had heard and believed that many Members sat in Parliament who were the nominees of noble Lords, but this was a contradiction in terms of the spirit and letter of the Constitution. Let us not talk of the Constitution, if noble Lords, contrary to the resolution of the House, send their nominees here, as I know they do—to be sure I do, [*laughter*]—every one knows that there are actual nominees of Peers sitting in Parliament. The period would come when the people could no longer be deluded upon this subject. Every man knew that the principle of the Constitution was, that the Crown could not touch a penny of any man's property in the shape of taxes, except through his legal representative; and if taxes were levied upon persons not duly represented, it was, in point of principle, a direct fraud. He should vote for every measure of Reform, and for this among the number. Why let East Retford escape, because, as the noble Lord said, its punishment would be the punishment of a single corrupt borough, when so many others were equally corrupt? Ought the attack to fail, on the ground of its being an isolated one? Suppose, that, during the late severe snows, one hundred and fifty wolves, compelled by the inclemency of the weather, had descended from the Pyrennees into France; that after having done a great deal of mischief the inhabitants rose against them, and one of the number was clumsy enough to get himself into a corner while the others escaped; what would the people say if it were declared, "Oh, this is an isolated individual, let us not kill him till we can get at the other one hundred and forty-nine, who are quite as bad as he." He, for one, was for destroying the criminal that had been caught, and would not act upon this principle; he should vote for extinguishing the franchise of East Retford, and transferring its privilege of electing Members of Parliament to Birmingham.

Lord *Normanby* fully agreed with the noble Lord (Howick) that the voters of East Retford were not singly or peculiarly guilty, but he was of opinion, that as their case had been brought forward, and their guilt proved, an example should be made of them. He wished to take advantage of their delinquency, for the purpose of making a beneficial change in the representation, and transferring the elective franchise of East Retford to Birmingham. He thought this course preferable to extending the franchise so as to make it take in the hundred of Bassetlaw: if that were done, the inhabitants of the hundred would have double votes, one for Members for the borough, and a second for county Members. He could not approve of this. He thought that with the increasing cry which prevailed through the country on this question, it was time for Government to take an open and manly line of conduct in relation to the subject.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, he could not give a silent vote on this question. Still, recollecting that only a few months had passed since, at an advanced period of the last Session of Parliament, he had had an opportunity of stating fully (as he did) his views of the subject now under consideration, he did not think it necessary to go again over the ground which he had then traversed. But he must be allowed to say, that every thing which had occurred within the last few months—every thing which was now passing—every thing in the condition of the country, which even those who ran could read—every thing that occurred in every quarter—pointed out to him as it did to every dispassionate observer, the great and increasing importance and a thorough conviction of the necessity of dealing with a corrupt and rotten borough, like East Retford, not by extending the franchise to the adjoining hundred of Bassetlaw, the inhabitants of which had already votes for Nottinghamshire, but by disfranchising it altogether, and transferring the elective privilege to the great and populous town of Birmingham, which was altogether unrepresented. He felt the increasing and urgent importance of this in reference to the general question of Reform; and he was not afraid to avow his feeling, as he now did, that it was of the utmost importance we should deal with the matter under consideration so as best to guard ourselves against the growing danger of sweeping Reform on principles too abstract and general. He avowed that to be his feeling, and called upon others who thought with him upon the subject to take up this defensive position against the dangers which pressed upon us from every quarter. If by the influence of his Majesty's Government in this House he should be driven from the position which he now occupied,—if the present proposition for a moderate and reasonable Reform were defeated by means of that influence,—much as he should regret it, he should be driven, very reluctantly, to fall back upon another position, which would also be defensive. Taking, as he now did, the best situation and point of defence he could command against large, wild, and sweeping innovations upon our established institutions, he would maintain it as long as practicable, and when driven from it, as he might be by the means alluded to, he should then take up another line of defence. His principle was, to deal with the evil that came before us, in order to confine the remedy, if possible, to the immediate case which appeared to require its application,—an object best attained by a speedy administration of the remedy. When he said, hypothetically, that if the amendment of the hon. Member for Bletchingley were lost, it would be lost by means of Ministerial influence in that House, he used expressions which were perfectly Parliamentary; and he would add, that that influence had been exercised to the utmost extent to which it could be legitimately pushed in cases like the present. It was seen, that where no such influence had been exercised, the view and intention of Parliament was to transfer the elective franchise from a corrupt borough to the important towns of Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, &c. As far as the matter depended on the House of Commons, they had admitted the principle of conferring upon the great towns that had grown up to their present magnitude and importance in proportion to the growth and increase of our wealth and commercial resources, a substantial representation. The representation of Penryn, as far as that House was concerned,—as far as the Commons House of Parliament could,—was to have been transferred to Manchester. Now, when it was peculiarly necessary to show sympathy with the productive classes,—when it was necessary to give them the means of laying a fair statement of their sufferings before Parliament, with a view to an attempt to relieve them,—there should be a tendency on the part of the House to transfer the franchise of this corrupt borough to the town of Birmingham. From the bottom of his heart he said so, and with the utmost sincerity; with a deep sense of the general and profound feeling possessing the minds of the men of this country, not of the ignorant and uninformed rabble, but of men of education and intellect, as competent as the Members of that House to form a sound and judicious opinion upon the circumstances of the country. Looking at the unsettled and disquieted state of mind prevailing among such persons,—a state of mind that existed not only in reference to their own circumstances, but in reference to the condition of the industrious, agricultural, and manufacturing population of the country,—it would be most gratifying to his feelings, as doubtless it would also be to those of the great mass of the community, if they could persuade themselves that among his Majesty's Ministers there did exist a just sense of what the Commons House of Parliament ought to be in the practical administration, and working of the constitution of the country. The events which had taken place of late years might have taught Ministers a little practical wisdom; and they might also have derived instruction from the working and consequences of these events. As much as any man he rejoiced at the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. As much as any man he rejoiced at every vestige of the Roman Catholic penal code having been effaced from the pages of our Statute-book. As much as any man he rejoiced that the improved spirit of the age had wrung from Government successive concessions in favour of liberty, concessions in favour of intelligence, concessions in favour of commerce, concessions in favour of general improvement; but when we looked at the history of these concessions, was it creditable to, or consistent with, the character of the legislature of this country, that we should always appear to grant such concessions only at the moment when prudence and necessity compelled us no longer to withhold them!

Under a deep impression, a firm conviction, that many other individuals took a similar view of the subject, and entertaining a hope that his Majesty's Ministers would be alive to the changes that were working around them, he entertained some faint hopes (he confessed they were only faint) that Government would feel disposed to reconsider the question now before the House, and treat it in a manner different from that in which it was treated by them in the last Session of Parliament. He did not wholly despair of it being reconsidered when he heard the noble Lord who moved the Address (Lord Darlington) with an ability and good feeling which did him infinite credit, stating the reasons that induced him, after having sat for seventeen years in Parliament, to undertake a task generally assigned to younger Members, and also entering into an explanation of the grounds upon which he occupied, for the first time, a place upon the Ministerial benches. The noble Lord had thought it necessary to state the reasons that induced him to move the Address, and he did so with great propriety. He told the House that during seventeen years he had been a constant friend and supporter of liberal principles of Government,—that he had seen with satisfaction the advances recently made towards such principles, and that he hailed with pleasure the circumstance of his Majesty's Ministers having adopted measures that had been recommended by the other side of the House. The noble Lord supported the present Government because, forsooth, they were a Tory Administration, governing on Whig principles. [*hear*] When he heard this sentiment cheered by so many hon. Gentlemen at the period of its being first uttered by the noble Lord, he might be excused if he found ground for hope in the fact. It was also necessary to bear in mind the fact, that Ministers had appointed to the office of first Law Adviser of his Majesty in that House, a learned gentleman (Sir J. Scarlett) who was Attorney-General when his late lamented friend Mr. Canning was at the head of the Administration. By the way, upon that occasion, as on the present, the noble Lord appeared anxious to support the existing Administration in common with many of his friends, because the course taken by it was consistent with their views and feelings. Another right hon. Member (Mr. Abercromby) who was appointed to a high official situation by Mr. Canning, had been recently promoted to a place upon the bench in Scotland by the Government. He greatly rejoiced that this appointment had taken place. He had long known that excellent individual, he had long known the value of his public character, and the extent of his private virtues. He would now say of that gentleman in his absence (the House being unfortunately for itself deprived of the advantage of his services) what he could not have said in his presence, —namely, that a person of a sounder or more correct mind—of greater sterling good sense—of a more honest and uncompromising spirit, he did not know. That right hon. person would carry into his high office a resolute and honest determination to reform abuses if they existed. A fitter person to fill the situation allotted to him could not have been recommended to his Majesty. He rejoiced at the appointment, and sincerely thanked the King's Ministers for it. Connecting all these concessions and appointments (at which he rejoiced as proofs that the spirit which actuated the government of Mr. Canning had not been entirely lost sight of,) he said he rejoiced; and why?—because he thought it possible that the application of the principle of concessions might also have been extended to the present question. He felt the more confident in his expectation, because each and every one of the individuals who now cheered the Government for acting on Whig principles had been among the most zealous supporters of such Reforms. A near connexion of the noble Mover of the Address, since elevated to the House of Peers, but who then represented the county of Durham in Parliament, had supported such a measure. But if it were to be understood from the silence of Ministers that they still adhered to their former line of conduct with respect to the question now before the House,—that they intended to support the extension of the elective franchise to the hundred of Bassetlaw,—he, for one, should deeply lament it, because, under such circumstances, he thought that the impression occasioned out of doors by such a course would be far from favourable to the general interests of the country. He conceived it was quite impossible that any one in the situation in which he stood with respect to a town of equal importance with Manchester, Birminghan, or Leeds,—one of the greatest towns in point of wealth, and power, and importance in the commercial transactions of the country,—it was quite impossible that he should not almost daily ask himself the question, "How was it possible for him, a Member for Liverpool, to doubt the importance of such a town as Birmingham,—of such a town as Manchester,—of such a town as Leeds, being represented in Parliament?" His constituents must feel how incompetent he was to discharge the duties assigned him as their representative, but still he was prepared to say, from the frequent communications he had with them (from which he derived much material information to his own great benefit and better qualification for the discharge of his duties in Parliament),—he was prepared to say, what his constituents would freely admit, that the fact of their having representatives in Parliament was a great and substantial benefit to them. He could not flatter himself that he had been nominated upon the East India Committee out of any compliment to himself as an humble individual: doubtless, his name was upon the list because he represented a wealthy, active, and important community. Then he asked himself, if Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds had also representatives in Parliament, would the House have been able or inclined to exclude them from being heard through such representatives upon an occasion so important to their interest? It would have been impossible that such a thing should have taken place. Last summer he had spent a fortnight among his constituents at Liverpool, and a shorter period at Manchester, that great seat of the manufacturing interests. From the communications he had had with the most influential and intelligent persons in both those places, he derived much valuable information connected with their peculiar interests and those of the country at large,—information which never could be obtained by formal deputations forwarded to the Board of Trade. It was by duly considering the results of such intercourse, and collecting general opinions on given subjects, that the interests of the public could be best consulted. Why, then, should places capable of affording such sources of information be excluded from the advantages of representation? Upon this principle, when he proposed that the name of Mr. Marshall, the Member for Yorkshire, should be placed upon the East India Committee, in the room of that of the hon. Member for Sussex, because his hon. friend the Member for Yorkshire had paid considerable attention to the subject of India, and the hon. Member for Sussex had not, what did his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) say in answer to this proposition? Why, that the Committee was very numerous,—that he had endeavoured to select and place it in some representatives of every separate interest in the country, and that the hon. Member for

Sussex had been nominated because he represented the Wool Interest. [*laughter*] He owned that the solemn manner with which his right hon. friend stated his reason about the Wool Interest had nearly overcome his (Mr. H's) gravity; and he felt disposed to ask whether there was a county Member in the House who did not represent something of the Wool Interest as well as also other interests connected with agriculture? When his right hon. friend talked of the Wool Interest being represented by the Member for Sussex, he (Mr. H.) asked the hon. Member for Staffordshire (Mr. Littleton), who was also in the Committee, and indirectly represented the hardware and mineral interests of which Birmingham was the centre, whether those interests did not deserve to be directly represented in that House? Did not these interests form one of the great branches of our national resources? Was the great manufacturing town of Birmingham unrepresented, or the hundred of Bassetlaw represented, as regarded wool, by the Member for Sussex, and as regarded every thing else by the two Members for Nottinghamshire, the worthier of sending Members to Parliament? But now turning from this point, which was merely a question between Bassetlaw and Birmingham, and one that did not admit of a doubt, he came to another consideration. He saw in Birmingham lately an Association which, as far as he could perceive its elements, principles, and operations, seemed exactly formed on the model of the Catholic Association; for it had its subscriptions, its funds, its meetings, its discussions, and its great agitator. [*hear, and laughter*] The purpose of this Association was to raise a universal cry for Parliamentary Reform,—to carry the question by exaggerating the difficulties, abuses, and distresses of the country. Admiring, as he did, the talent of the gentleman who took the lead (Mr. Attwood) at the Birmingham meeting, he, for one, would much rather see that Gentleman in the House of Commons,—as fortunately he saw the hon. Member for Clare in the House of Commons [*hear, and a laugh*],—he would rather see the leader of the Birmingham meeting here as the representative of that town, than in conducting such an Association, sending forth these statements and appeals to the country, which was perhaps too prone, at the present moment, to act on the apprehensions generated by them. These were the reasons which induced him to support the amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Bletchingley. If it were lost, he should have no farther concern in the business; for it seemed almost indifferent to him (at least he found little consolation in the alternative), whether the representation remained in the rotten borough of East Retford, or was extended to the influence controlling the adjoining hundred of Bassetlaw.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he could assure the House that he was by no means unwilling to give an opinion on the present question. His silence hitherto had arisen from deference to his right hon. friend who had just sat down; and who, having been referred to in the discussion, he supposed would wish to avail himself of the earliest opportunity of replying to the allusions that had been made. He had also another reason for his silence. This was not the first occasion on which this question had come before them. The House had, seven or eight times, declared that the franchise of East Retford should be extended to the hundred of Bassetlaw, and he thought, therefore, that there could be no doubt on the mind of any man that he should adhere to his former conduct, and to the former conduct of the House, in shaping his course on the present occasion. He certainly should vote for the motion of the hon. Member for Hertfordshire, because that motion was, in his opinion, most consonant with his views of correcting an established abuse. His right hon. friend had said that he was no Reformer. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) begged to claim for himself the privilege of disclaiming that title also. His right hon. friend, however, thought by the course he proposed to adopt, he should oppose the wilder schemes of Reform, and take up a defensive position against all attempts to carry such schemes into effect. But he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) on the other hand, thought his course was most consistent with the Constitution of that House. He thought that there was great danger in going even one step towards general Reform, — and such a step he thought this to be. His right hon. friend had told them how important it was that Birmingham, and Leeds, and Manchester, and other great towns should send representatives to that House; and, by what his right hon. friend had said on that subject, he had plainly indicated that whenever a measure for giving representatives to such places might be brought forward, he would so depart from the general views he had laid down, as to vote for those measures. His right hon. friend had clearly intimated a disposition to go these further lengths. In so doing, his right hon. friend might think that he was only taking up a defensive position still; but by such a course his right hon. friend would most assuredly go on shifting his position in such a way that, though his right hon. friend might still mean to act on the defensive, there would, at last, be nothing left to defend. His right hon. friend, too, had tried to throw upon the Government the odium, if odium it was to be considered, of not going the length he wished the House to go; and said, that in the event of the rejection of the motion he supported, he should feel himself relieved from the restrictions which, until now, he had imposed upon himself. If, however, his right hon. friend were really desirous of maintaining the Constitution of that House, and of opposing all sweeping measures of Reform, he would find that the course which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) proposed to adopt was at once the most prudent and the best calculated for those views which his right hon. friend professed to entertain. He had said, and he begged leave to repeat, that he was no Reformer. He was quite sure that the House of Commons, as at present constituted, surpassed any similar body in any other country, and he chose rather to remain in the secure possession of these certain advantages than trust to any theoretical views, however specious, for uncertain benefits. Yet, though he was no Reformer, he had never opposed the punishment of corruption: but at the same time he did not seek out cases of corruption with the view of gaining Reform in Parliament, but merely in order to punish delinquents.

The precedents of the House on subjects of this nature he apprehended he was but following on the present occasion. In the case of Grampound it was not thought advisable to transfer the franchise to the neighbouring hundreds; and he was prepared for extending the same principle to Penryn; and for this reason,—that the hundreds abounded in boroughs,—that the adjacent country, in fact, was so studded with boroughs that no voters could be got to infuse life into the decayed places. He therefore had voted that the franchise of Penryn should be transferred to Leeds. His right hon. friend taxed them with inconsistency because they did not adopt with respect to East Retford the same course they had adopted in the cases of Grampound and Penryn. But let him ask his right hon. friend how long he had entertained these opinions? In the case of Penryn, the late Mr. Canning, who then led the House, so far from being inclined to advance a step, and to give the franchise to a large town in order to take up a defensive position, declared his wish and intention that we should infuse new voters into Penryn from the circumjacent country. He did not recollect whether his right hon. friend voted with Mr. Canning on that occasion. His right hon. friend had enlarged on the importance of the representation to large commercial towns. For his own part he was the last person to underrate the representation of the commercial interests; but when his right hon. friend said that those interests were not represented in the House of Commons, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was totally at issue with him. Let his right hon. friend recollect, that when it was proposed to lay a tax on iron, the persons engaged in the iron trade found in the exertions and ability of his hon. friend the Member for Staffordshire (Mr. Littleton) and of other hon. Members, an ample compensation for the want of a particular representative. He would not detain the House longer. Since the former decisions of the House on this subject, he had seen nothing to alter his opinion. He should therefore adhere to the vote he had formerly given, because he thought it more in unison with the practice of Parliament, and because, when ulterior measures of Reform were brought forward, he should be better able to resist them.

Mr. *C. Grant* said, it was with great regret that he had heard the speech of his right hon. friend who had just sat down. His right hon. friend, in a very lofty tone, commenced an attack on his right hon. friend (Mr. Huskisson), who sat near him. Now what had his right hon. friend (Mr. Huskisson) said? Why merely that he had taken up a defensive position against the wilder schemes of Reform; that he thought it the duty of the House to watch the signs of the times; and that he regretted that the Government had not only done so, but seemed determined to continue in the opposite course. His right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), for his part, declared that he would resist the first step; but it happened that he (Mr. Grant) had seen the fate of this doctrine of resisting first steps. It happened that he had seen the meaning of such language. It happened that he had heard the same language delivered in the same assumption of tone, by all the right hon. Gentlemen who had sat on the Treasury Bench. And what had it come to? What had been its course but a course gradually lingering on from partial to actual death. This was not looking to public principle and to the general good. No, it was a timorous, half-consenting, half-suspicious line of conduct, which took away all the advantage of concession, and, by denying that which ought to be granted, invited demands for that which ought to be refused. His right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had told them, that he had voted for the transfer of a franchise to Leeds. His right hon. friend voted for the transfer of a borough-franchise to Leeds. Why, he thought that his right hon. friend resisted first steps, [*hear*]—that he adhered to the Constitution of that House, inflexible to persuasion, to eloquence, to influence of whatever kind. But no,—his right hon. friend really voted for the transfer of a franchise to Leeds. Well, then, there could be no question of principle in the manner of his right hon. friend voting; and he thought that his right hon. friend, until he declared it, had forgotten his former vote as to Leeds. Was it not, then, trifling with the House, in a question of this nature, to say, "I resist first steps?" Was it not a mere mockery of debate, to say so, when they knew that if there were two franchises before them, his right hon. friend would give one of them to a large town? He appealed to the House if this were the way in which so grave a question ought to be treated. But his right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was extremely indignant with his right hon. friend (Mr. Huskisson), because his right hon. friend thought that some portion of the exacerbation of the country arose from the conduct of the Government. Now, at the tremendous risk of incurring the anger of his right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) he begged leave to say that he held the same opinion. Had there not been meetings such as had never taken place before? Were there not loud complaints and great dissatisfaction? Were there not signs and symptoms sufficient to make every thinking man pause? And yet his right hon. friend told them that he had seen nothing which could induce him to alter his past conduct. If they refused every thing, then every thing would be asked; if they refused that which was just, that which was unjust would be demanded. Every body knew that the demands of a people under excitement were always much higher than they would be content with having conceded when irritation had subsided. He well knew that the people of England dreaded innovation; that they were sincerely attached to their old institutions; and he knew also that it was judicious to preserve them in that temper, by proceeding, in individual cases of abuse like this of East Retford, in a manner which should be most advantageous to the public interest. While he admitted that this was the disposition of the people, he was inclined to believe that if this temperate mode of remedying abuses were refused them, they would be driven to attack those landmarks which his right hon. friend was so anxious —and justly so anxious—to preserve. His right hon. friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had referred to a circumstance which took place during Mr. Canning's administration. But in that instance what had been done? The Government exercised no influence, and what was the result? Why the House agreed that the franchise of Penryn should be transferred to Manchester, and he acquitted the House, therefore, of all participation in goading the people to overstep the bounds of prudence in their demands. Blame did not attach to the House. It was, however, still in the power of the House to satisfy the just demands of the people. If the popular feeling were just, honest, and English—if it were such as the House was known to participate in, in the name of common-sense what was the spell of Bassetlaw which induced Ministers to resist the popular demand. The people of England—the British public—justly feeling the importance of representation, came to that House, told them of great communities that were unrepresented, and the Government met them,—

with what?—with the hundred of Bassetlaw. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that on a certain occasion the iron trade had been protected in that House. But were they thus to argue from the interference of individual members on a particular question; or were they to appeal to the common sense of the matter? He would tell the Government of large communities, consisting of thousands of individuals, whose capital was not to be numbered by hundreds or by thousands, but by millions, he would tell the Government of the enterprise, the spirit, the weight, and the importance of such communities, totally unrepresented; and placing these in the balance against the hundred of Bassetlaw, he would leave the result to the common sense and the consciences of hon. Members who heard him.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* wished to explain. There was one point on which his right hon. friend had misunderstood him. He knew and stated that he acted on this question according to precedents; the result of which was, that the franchise should be extended to the hundred, unless the hundred were so small, or so full of other boroughs, that such transfer became unadvisable. In this case the hundred did afford a sufficient number of voters in other boroughs.

Sir *F. Blake* said, though nominally it might be an extension of representation to transfer the franchise to the hundred, yet as he did not know under whose influence the hundred of Bassetlaw was, he thought it would be better to disfranchise the borough altogether. [*Cries of Question became very loud and general*]

Mr. *Peel* said, he was not surprised at the anxiety of the House to come to a decision on a subject which had already been so frequently and so fully discussed, and he could assure hon. Gentlemen that for this reason it was not his intention to trespass long on their patience. He rose from a wish to disembarrass the question of the extraneous political and personal allusions of his right hon. friend the Member for Liverpool. His right hon. friend argued, that because the Government had selected the same gentleman as Attorney-General who had filled that office under the administration of Mr. Canning, they therefore should adopt the same course in respect to the franchise of a corrupt borough as had been adopted by the House in the time of that right hon. Gentleman. His right hon. friend had passed a high eulogium, in the justice of which he (Mr. Peel) fully concurred, on the great learning and talents of Mr. Abercromby. He was happy to have the opportunity of selecting to fill the important office of Chief Baron of Scotland, a gentleman of the acknowledged talents, and great skill in the Scottish law for which that right hon. gentleman was distinguished. In every thing which had been said of that learned gentleman he fully concurred, but why his right hon. friend should infer from that appointment that Government would now be prepared to consent to the transfer of the lapsed franchise to a large town, instead of extending it to the adjoining hundred of Bassetlaw, he (Mr. Peel) was at a loss to conceive; for if they were to follow the course pursued at the time alluded to, it would be to extend the franchise to the adjoining hundred. He owned he could not see what his selection of the hon. Member for Sussex, on a former evening, as a Member of the Committee on Indian affairs, because he represented the interest connected with the growth of wool, had to do as an argument on this question; nor could he see the force of the ridicule which his right hon. friend endeavoured to throw on that selection, and the cause which he had assigned for it. He recollected, that, in a speech made by an hon. Member, last year, on the subject of wool, it was stated, that in the northern parts of China, there would probably be a considerable outlet for our woollen trade. Remembering that, and believing that if the prospect were realized, it would afford a market for one of our staple commodities, he did think it only what was due to that interest to place on the Committee a gentleman representing a part of the country greatly interested in the production of that article. That, he thought, was a reason why an air of ridicule should not be thrown on his selection of Mr. Burrell. He would now put it to the landed interest whether there was a preponderance of that interest when they saw his right hon. friend object to the name of one country gentleman on the Committee, and ask to displace Mr. Burrell by inserting instead of his name that of Mr. Marshall, as a representative of the manufacturing interest. In this he saw no proof of the ascendancy of the landed aristocracy in that House.

He (Mr. Peel) did not repent of having preferred the name of Mr. Burrell to that of Mr. Marshall, and he must repeat, he could not see the force of the ridicule which his right hon. friend endeavoured to cast on him, because in that selection he had not forgot the interest of that staple commodity of our manufactures and trade. He would now say a few words on the subject before them, and would be very brief, as he was sure that most hon. Members were now heartily tired of a subject which had been already so frequently discussed. In the propositions before the House there were four courses from which they were to choose. The first was to issue the writ for the borough of East Retford at once, because some hon. Members seemed to think that the evidence in proof of general bribery in the borough was not complete, and that whatever corruption had existed, was already sufficiently punished by the long suspension of the issue of the writ. The second course proposed for adoption was that of the hon. Member for Hertfordshire, who was for extending the franchise into the hundred of Bassetlaw. The third was for taking the franchise altogether from East Retford, and transferring it to Birmingham; and the fourth was that proposed by the noble Lord (Howick), which went, in his (Mr. Peel's) opinion, to cast an imputation of corruption on all the cities and boroughs in the kingdom. Of these four, he was prepared to adopt that of the hon. Member for Hertfordshire. He objected to the first proposition,—that for an immediate issue of the writ—on this ground, that though the evidence did not afford proof of any individual guilt, yet, to his mind, there was sufficient proof of a prevailing habit of bribery in the borough; and as the House had already declared that the borough was corrupt, and ought to be punished, it was, he thought, too much to ask that the writ should now be re-issued. With respect to the proposition of the noble Lord, whom he always listened to with respect, because every thing which he pressed on the attention of the House he brought before them with great clearness and ability,—he owned it was one in which he could by no means concur. It was one declaratory of the general prevalence of bribery and corruption in all the cities and boroughs in the kingdom. Now, if he were to admit this, which he did not, but if he were to admit it, it would be an argument in favour of the proposition of his hon. friend the Member for Hertford: because if the cities and boroughs were generally corrupt, it would be a good reason for transferring any franchise which Parliament might have at its disposal, not to any town, but to a county; for the noble Lord's motion did not extend to charge bribery against the counties. He would admit with the noble Lord that there did exist more of bribery and corruption in boroughs and cities than counties, and that, as he had said, would be an additional reason for extending the franchise of this borough to a large body of county voters; but he could not go with the noble Lord in the declaration of general bribery and corruption amongst the boroughs and cities. He could not bring himself to consent to include in such a charge the borough of Westbury, which he had the honour to represent, or to involve its respectable electors in so sweeping a censure. [*A laugh, in which the right hon. Gentleman joined.*] The noble Lord did not include counties in this charge: he represented a county himself. [Cries of "No, no."] Well, then, a borough; and he (Mr. Peel) would have no objection to the noble Lord applying this charge to his own borough, if he so pleased, but he believed he would get few hon. Members to join him in applying it to the places they represented. He hardly imagined that the hon. Baronet near the noble Lord, (Sir F. Burdett) would consent to such a censure upon his constituents. Taking, then, the proposition of the noble Lord as one to which he thought the House would not consent, he would now come to that of the hon. Member for Hertford, for extending it to the adjoining hundred of Bassetlaw. The argument of his right hon. friend was not understood. His right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that every case of the kind before them should rest on its own abstract merits, and that he saw circumstances in this that induced him to think that the safest course would be to extend the franchise into the neighbouring hundred. But his right hon. friend the Member for Liverpool, (Mr. Huskisson) in a manner unworthy of his great talents, had endeavoured to throw ridicule on the extension of the franchise to Bassetlaw. He (Mr. Peel) had voted for that proposition before; and he saw nothing in the argument of his right hon. friend to induce him to depart from the same course on this occasion. Some allusions had been made to the influence which the Duke of Newcastle would obtain by the extension of the franchise to Bassetlaw; but it was not necessary for him to state that he could not have any private inclination to promote the political influence of any one opposed to Government. As the thing had been alluded to, however, he would declare, upon his honour, that the support which Government gave to the proposition of his hon. friend, for extending the franchise to the hundred, was not the result of any communication or any understanding whatever with the noble Duke alluded to. [*hear*] But the fact was, as understood, the interest of the noble Lord would not be promoted by the extension of the right of voting to the hundred. There were in that hundred two thousand freeholders, and if he were correctly informed, there did not exist any great leading interest amongst them.

In stating his intention of giving the same vote on this question now as he had done on former occasions, he must not be understood as expressing himself hostile to the extension of the franchise to large towns. He had voted for the transfer of the franchise from Penryn to Manchester, and on that occasion he stated if, on a future occasion, a majority of the inhabitants of any borough should be proved guilty of bribery and corruption, he should not object to the transfer of the franchise to a large town, with this understanding —that there should be a division of franchises, at the disposal of Parliament, alternately between the landed and commercial and manufacturing interests. He saw no reason to change that opinion, but he thought that there were circumstances in the case of East Retford which should induce Parliament to extend the franchise to the adjoining hundred. This question had been so often under the consideration of the House, and the House had expressed its opinion upon it by so decided a majority, that he did not think it necessary for him then to restate the arguments which he had urged before, on the motion of his hon. friend; but one element in the case which weighed with him was the consideration that the county of Nottingham sent only eight Members to Parliament, and he saw no good reason why that number shonld be reduced to six. The same consideration did not exist in the case of Penryn. He also considered that this extension would act as a punishment amongst the guilty electors, while it would not take away the right from those who were innocent. The throwing in upon the borough this large number of freeholders would, to use the language of an hon. Member not then in the House, be a punishment, by "sluicing" them with these two thousand fresh voters; and that the electors of East Retford so considered it, was proved by their protest to that House against the proposition. Now, considering that the question had been eight or ten times discussed, and not apprehending any preponderance of the landed interest in the House from this accession, he thought it would be the safest course which the House could pursue, to adhere to its former decisions; but should it now, contrary to those decisions, adopt the amendment of the hon. Member (Mr. Tennyson), he (Mr. Peel) had no hesitation in declaring that he should feel it his duty not to oppose by any vexatious delays the passage to the other House of the bill which the hon. Member would in that case bring in; for, after the decision of to-night, be it what it might, he did hope not to hear the name of this borough again.

Mr. *N. Calvert* rose amidst cries of 'question.'—He said, he was anxious to state, that he had no personal acquaintance with the Duke of Newcastle, and was not influenced in this motion by any considerations for the influence of that noble Lord. He did not believe, indeed, that the noble Duke would obtain any increase of influence by the extension of the franchise from East Retford to the hundred. There was a Duke of Newcastle, who, when Minister in the reign of Geo. II., had very great influence in the borough, and it was said gave places under Government to most of the electors, but he believed the present Duke possessed very little if any influence there, and certainly no leading influence in the hundred.

Mr. *Huskisson* in explanation, begged to observe that his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) had mistaken his argument about the appointment of Sir J. Scarlett as Attorney-General. What he said was, that seeing a Tory Ministry acting on Whig principles, he thought they would not object to the course which the hon. Member (Mr. Tennyson) had proposed. As to the objection which his right hon. friend supposed him to entertain to the landed interest being on the East India Committee, he could assure him that in that he was also mistaken. He had not objected to the hon. Member for Sussex because he was connected with that interest; but it would be an error to suppose the landed aristocracy were not fully represented in the East-India Company. The first name on the list was that of the Marquis Graham. There were also those of Lord Chandos, Mr. Cavendish,—all names connected with the great landed aristocracy. His argument against the hon. Member for Sussex being on the Committee was, that he could not be said to represent the wool interest more than any other country Gentleman. His right hon. friend seemed to think that because the hon. Member for Sussex lived in the immediate vicinity of the South Downs, he was therefore more immediately a representative of the wool interest, and he (Mr. Huskisson) alluding to that observation, had asked, where were the representatives of the iron interest? It was true that many Members represented the counties in which iron was produced very well, but not one represented the iron interest.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, as his right hon. friend, in his explanation, had thought proper to amend his argument, he (Mr. Peel) felt it also necessary to explain. In the first instance his right hon. friend's argument certainly was, that in consequence of the appointments already alluded to, and in consequence of the Government having adopted one great principle, they ought also to adopt the other principles of Mr. Canning.

Mr. *Huskisson* begged to repeat, that, considering this Administration to be a Tory Government, supported by Whig principles, he had contended they might have adopted this one Whig principle with the rest.

Mr. *C. Grant* explained. He did not mean to throw out any insinuation against the Government, or attribute motives to them which they had disclaimed.

Mr. *Lumley* hoped if it were thought to be impracticable to come to a decision this session, it would be considered best to let the question fall to the ground, and issue new writs for East Retford.

Lord *Darlington* said, whatever might have fallen from him the other night (on moving the Address) as to the ground on which he would support Ministers, he must state to the right hon. Member for Liverpool, that he had, whenever the subject was discussed, always voted for the motion of the hon. Member for Hertford.

The House divided: For the original Motion 126; For the Amendment 99: Majority 27.

List of the Majority.

Arkwright, R.
Apsley, Lord
Arbuthnot, rt. hon. C.
Arbuthnot, Col.
Ashurst, W. H.
Ashley, Hon. W.
Alexander, J.
Alexander, H.
Baker, E.
Bankes, H.
Bankes, G.
Bankes, W.
Beresford, Sir J. P. bart.
Beresford, Marcus
Benson, Ralph
Brydges, Sir J.
Brecknock, Lord
Becket, rt. hon. Sir J.
Batley, C. H.
Barrard, G.
Balfour, J.
Bell, M.
Bastard, E. P.
Cholmeley, M.
Chichester, Major A.
Carrington, Sir E. C.
Campbell, A. of Blythewood.
Cust, Hon. P.
Cust, Hon. E.
Calcraft, rt. hon. J.
Courtenay, rt. hon. T. P.
Castlereagh, Lord
Clark, Sir G.
Croker, rt. hon. J. W.
Cockburn, rt. hn. Sr. G.
Cartwright, W. B.
Clive, H.
Cox, J.
Cooper, R. B.
Cockerell, Sir C. Bart.
Corry, Hon. H. T. L.
Dundas, R. A.
Dawson, G. R.
Davis, Hart
Darlington, Lord
Dottin, A. R.
Dawkins, Col. H.
Doherty, J.
Duncombe, Hon. W.
Downes, Lord
East, Sir E. Hyde
Forrester, Hon. J. G. W.
Fitzgibbon, Hon. R.
Farquhar, J.
Freemantle, Sir T.
Fane, Sir H.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Gordon, Sir W.
Gower, Lord L.
Graham, Marquis of
Grant, Sir A.
Grosvenor, Gen.
Gye, F.
Hardynge, rt. hn. Sir H.
Hill, Sir R. Bart.
Hill, rt. hon. Sir. G.
Hastings, Sir C. A. Bt.
Holmesdale, Viscount
Ingilby, Sir W. A. Bt.
Irving, J.
Knox, Hon. T.
Knatchbull, Sir E. Bt.
King, hon. Gen.
Lowther, Lord
Lennox, Lord G.
Lowther, Col.
Lushington, Col.
Leake, W.
Lewis, rt. hon. F.
Lygon, Hon. Col. H. P.
Marryatt, J.
Murray, rt. hon. Sir G.
Mundy, F.
Mundy, G.
Manners, Lord C.
Manners, Lord R.
M'Leod, J. N.
Moore, G.
Martin, Sir T. B.
Manning, W.
Northcote, H. S.
North, J. H.
O'Brien, W. S.
Osborne, Lord F.
Paul, Sir H. St.
Pitt, J.
Peel, rt. hon. R.
Peel, W.
Peachy, Lieut-Gen.
Perceval, S.
Peach, N. W.
Planta, J.
Prendergast, G.
Robinson, G. R.
Strathaven, Lord
Sugden, Sir E. B.
Stopford, Lord
Smith, Ald.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerset, Lord E.
Sanderson, R.

Sotheron, Adm. F.
Stewart, J.
Spottiswoode, A.
Sadler, M. T.
Seymour, H. B.
Thompson, L.
Talmash, Hon. F.
Trench, Col. F. W.
Townshend, Hon. J.R.
Thynne, Lord H.
Vivian, Sir H.
Ure, Masterton
Valletort, Lord
Van Homrigh, P.
Willoughby, H.
Williams, Owen
Wetherell, Sir C.
Walpole, Hon. Col. J.

TELLERS.
Ross, Charles
Calvert, Nicholson

List of the Minority.

Attwood, M.
Althorpe, Lord
Barclay, C.
Barclay, D.
Blandford, Lord
Bentinck, Lord G.
Bernal, R.
Brownlow, C.
Burdett, Sir F.
Blake, Sir F.
Beaumont, T. W.
Baring, A.
Baring, F.
Callaghan, G.
Cavendish, Hon. H.
Cavendish, W.
Carter, J. Bonham
Craddock, Col.
Calvert, C.
Duncombe, T.
Davis, Col.
Davenport, E.
Dawson, A.
Denison, J. J.
Denison, J. W.
Ewart, W.
Ellis, Hon. A.
Easthope, J.
Ferguson, Sir R.
Fortescue, Hon. G.
Fergusson, Cutlar
Fazakerly, T. N.
Ferguson, Sir T.
Fyler, T. B.
Gascoyne, Gen.
Guest, J. S.
Grant, rt. hon. C.
Grant, R.
Graham, Sir J.
Gordon, R.
Hoye--(of Southamp.)
Huskisson, rt. hon. W.
Hume, J.
Howick, Lord
Hobhouse, J. C.
Hutchinson, H.
Jephson, C. D.
Labouchere, H.
Langston, J.
Littleton, E. J.
Lester, B. L.
Lamb, Hon. G.
Milbank, M.
Marshall, J.
Marshall, W.
Martin, J.
M'Donald, Sir J.
Morpeth, Lord
Nugent, Lord
O'Connell, D.
Pendarvis, E. W.
Parnell, Sir H.
Palmer, C. F.
Phillimore, Dr.
Palmerston, Lord
Protheroe, E.
Ponsonby, Hon. G.
Robarts, A. W.
Robinson, Sir G.
Rumbold, C. E.
Rickford, W.
Russell, W.
Russell, Lord J.
Rice, T. S.
Scarlett, Sir J.
Slaney, R. A.
Smith, V.
Smith, W.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stewart, Sir W. S.
Thompson, Ald.
Taylor, M. A.
Thomson, Poulett
Wells, J.
Westenra, Hon. H. R.
Warrender, Sir G.
Wodehouse, E.
Wood, Ald.
Wood, C.
Wood, J.
Wilbraham, G.
Wall, Baring
Warburton, H.
Whitmore, W. W.
Wilson, Sir R.
Waithman, Ald.
Wyvill, Marmaduke

TELLERS.
Tennyson, Charles
Normanby, Lord

Paired off.
W. J. Denison.

Lord *Howick*, on the question being put, that the Bill be now brought in, said, it was his opinion that it was extremely unfair to fasten on one single case of political delinquency, like that of East Retford, while it was so notorious that the borough thus stigmatized formed only a component part of a widely prevailing system, deserving of reprobation and reform. He would have punishment inflicted indiscriminately on all culprits of every class, high or low, wheresoever they might be found. It was an incontrovertible fact, that undue influence, whether in the shape of money or otherwise, had been long exercised in every election throughout the United Kingdom. To cause this undoubted truth to be openly declared by the House of Commons was the object of his resolution. It had been already fully admitted by a noble Lord who filled a prominent part in the administration several years ago (Lord Castlereagh), and the correctness of the statement was too generally established to be questioned from that day to the present. It was suggested by a right hon. Gentleman opposite, that he ought to be prepared to bring in a bill for the prevention of bribery, grounded on his proposed resolution. Now the course which he intended to adopt was this:—after the passing of the declaratory resolution, he might move for the appointment of a Committee, which Committee should be empowered to draw up a scheme for Parliamentary Reform. But were he presented with the alternative of stopping short in his career, or supporting the hon. Member for Hertfordshire, he would not hesitate a moment in his choice. It was his determination to oppose that hon. Gentleman, because he thought his bill an imposition on the country. He considered it a mere mockery to disfranchise a single borough in the existing circumstances of the country, when no person was blind to the means by which numbers procured seats in that House. Perhaps it might be said that by opposing this bill he was virtually encouraging bribery. In reply, however, he could only say, that while abuse at its full growth walked boldly through the land, he would never be brought, at sight of a solitary instance of corruption, to feign a horror and indignation which he did not feel.

The House again divided; Ayes 154; Noes 55—Majority 99.

List of the Minority on Lord Howick's Motion.

Baring, Alexander
Batley, Charles H.
Bernal, Ralph
Brownlow, Charles
Barclay, Charles
Barclay, David
Blandford, Marquis of
Blake, Sir F.
Burdett, Sir F.
Cavendish, Henry
Cavendish, Wm.
Cholmeley, Montague
Davies, Colonel
Davenport, Edw.
Dawson, Alexander
Easthope, J.
Fazakerley, John N.
Fortescue, Hon. G.
Ferguson, Sir R. C.
Gordon, Robert
Howard, Henry
Hume, Joseph
Hoye —— (of Southampton)
Hobhouse, J. C.
Ingilby, Sir W. A. Bt.
Lamb, Hon. G.
Labouchere, Henry
Lumley, John S.
Morpeth, Lord
M'Donald, Sir James
Martin, John
Marshall, Wm.
Nugent, Lord
O'Connell, Daniel
Philips, George
Pendarvis, Edw. W. W.
Ponsonby, Hon. G.
Pallmer, N.
Protheroe, Edw.
Russell, W.
Rice, Thomas Spring
Smith Vernon
Stewart, J. (Beverley)
Tennyson, Charles
Thompson, Ald. W.
Thomson, Poulett
Warburton, Henry
Waithman, Ald.
Wilbraham, George
Whitmore, W. W.
Wells, John
Wood, Ald.
Wood, Charles
Wood, John

TELLERS.

Howick, Lord
Normanby, Lord

Mr. N. Calvert then brought in a Bill to prevent Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Burgesses to serve in Parliament for the Borough of East Retford; which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday, 26th of February.

COURT OF CHANCERY.] The *Solicitor General* (Sir E. B. Sugden) said, he rose for the purpose of introducing to the notice of the House his amendments of the law relating to certain matters which had been the subject of particular decisions in the Court of Chancery. It was his intention to introduce five different Bills to alter the law which those decisions had established. The first Bill related to Illusory Appointments. The law of England was favourable to every latitude in the disposition of property. To that liberal principle was owing the introduction of powers of appointment; thus, for instance, if a father were desirous of reserving to himself on his son's marriage a power of appointment, he might do so. There were two sorts of powers of this kind in the law. The one was an exclusive power, by which the father had the power to give the property to one son, or to a few, and to exclude all the rest. The other was a more general power, by which all the sons were included. Now, at law, if one part, however small, were given to some of the sons mentioned in the appointment, the substance of the settlement was sufficiently answered. The exigency of a general power was complied with, if in the appointment of 100,000*l.* there were given to one son 99,999*l.* and 1*l.* to the other; because the law had not the means of pointing out the extent of the sum to be given to each individual. But equity at an early period assumed a power of interfering, on the ground that such an execution of the power was not within the intention of those who had created it, and had frequently declared that some of the appointments thus made were so small as to be illusory, and therefore a case for equitable interference. The authority thus assumed, it was contended, was dangerous, as it must depend almost entirely on the arbitrary distinctions taken by each individual Judge of the Court of Chancery; and it likewise added, the evils of delay and litigation. It was often asked where the line between illusory and valid appointments could be drawn, or what standard could be referred to as that by which a good appointment could always be known. The difficulty of finding such a standard had been often felt, and the power thus assumed by the Courts of Equity has led, as it must lead, to great and unnecessary litigation; so that at last almost all men had agreed in saying, it would have been better that the Courts of Equity should never have possessed such a jurisdiction, but should have left the matter as it stood at law. It occurred to him that the evils he had mentioned might be prevented by the adoption of one general rule. It had been truly held that the introduction of the Equity jurisdiction had proved injurious, and that it might safely put an end to, and the matter left to the Judges at Law to do what was requisite. The Bill which he was now about to propose had met, he was happy to state, with the approbation of those professional gentlemen who had directed their attention to the subject. It had the sanction of the leading members of the profession. The object of it was to restore the law to its old state, and to put the equitable rule on the same footing as the rule at law, so that there should be no such things as Illusory Appointments known in our Courts after the passing of this Act. Any person who might be desirous of bestowing a portion of any given sum upon a particular individual must express his intention, and the money would then go as he had expressed, and this act would not allow a subsequent interference with the disposition of property under an appointment, where the power of appointment itself had made no distinct specification of the amount to be given to the different individuals mentioned in it. This would do no injury to any one; but he trusted it would be found productive of considerable benefit, by stopping a great mass of needless, vexatious, and expensive litigation; while, on the other hand, no hardship whatever could result in any way from the change. Any person who should desire to distribute a specified sum in a particular way would require only to express his desire, in order to have it scrupulously enforced. He concluded with moving—"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the Law relating to Illusory Appointments."

Mr. *O'Connell* said, it would be very great presumption in so humble an individual as himself to differ on a legal subject with the hon. and learned Gentleman. In the Bill alluded to, however, he conceived that a slight mistake had been made which would require amendment, notwithstanding the general propriety of the measure, which he was quite ready to admit. The existing system was indeed one which much needed reformation, and he would be the last to oppose the progress of what must prove in the main an improvement; he therefore concurred entirely with the honourable and learned Gentleman, that the Law, as it was now administered in Equity, upon the subject of Illusory Appointments in particular, absolutely required amendment. There was, in fact, no rule in Equity, but a question in Equity, as to the Appointment, or as it might be more truly and conveniently described, the apportionment of property. In every case of distribution of this particular kind, the Court entered upon the inquiry with a view to see whether a substantive share had or had not been given to the various objects of the power of appointment. This raised a question, but gave no rule whatever. The object of this Bill was to correct that evil which was most enormous, and which was made more enormous, inasmuch as the Equity Judges differed so much among themselves as to what was, and what was not an Illusory Appointment, that there existed nothing like a rule upon the subject. That this was the fact he could most easily prove; for he could show intances (if quoting cases in that House were not rather too technically forensic) in which they had widely differed from each other; so that the law upon the subject was as unsatisfactory as it could be. Two learned Lords in this country disagreed more than once upon the point, but law was distinctly laid down, and the plain rule could never be at variance with itself. He accordingly desired to see Equity so far assimilated to law as would prevent the recurrence of expensive and uncalled-for litigation. In law, the appointment of sixpence out of one million of pounds was sufficient to satisfy the power. In Equity the rule was different, the Equity Judges requiring a substantial execution of the power of appointment. Between the Courts there was, therefore, the widest possible difference. But this was not all. The Chief Baron sat as a Judge sometimes in a Court of Common Law, and sometimes in a Court of Equity; and that appointment which he would one day hold to be a good execution of the power, he would treat on the following day in a different, in a diametrically opposite manner. That was the state in which the law stood at present, the Judge changing his doctrines as he changed his wig. The law was, besides, liable to another objection. He had asked several unprofessional gentlemen of ability and intelligence, with whom it had been his fortune to converse at different times, whether they understood what an Illusory Appointment was, and they invariably answered that they did not. Now he would ask whether that system was one which ought to be preserved, of which men of knowledge and intelligence were entirely ignorant. The fact was, they were as much unacquainted with the law of Illusory Appointments, as if it were a law preserved only in the Arabic, or, worse than that, in the Otaheitean language, for some did understand Arabic. He would not trouble the House further on this subject, except to make one suggestion. By the present law the father was possessed of absolute power in making the distribution in what manner he pleased. The check which Equity opposed to this absolute power was mischievous, because it encouraged litigation; but it might be made most useful if properly exercised. He wished the honourable and learned Gentleman to recollect that with which his practice must have made him acquainted, namely, the fact that an unfortunate or distressed father would go among his children, and make a sort of auction of his power of appointment, in order to see who will give him most for his preference. With respect to that, he would suggest that it might be as well to take away that absolute power of appointment, and to make it imperative to give each of the children an equal share. This plan might, to some persons, appear mischievous, but it had been tried, and succeeded well in France. In his opinion it would restore peace to families if an adequate share were given to each of the children. If it were good, as he thought it was, to make any amendment, that amendment ought to proceed further than the one now proposed.

The *Solicitor General* replied. — He could not accede to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Clare. He could not consent to take away from the father his legitimate and reasonable power of apportioning to his children as he might think proper, acting on the impulse of his affections and the dictates of his judgment. It was for this very reason that he admired the excellence of the English Law, although the hon. and learned Gentleman would have him depart from it to follow the questionable example of France. His Bill would trench neither on the rights of parents nor children. Why ought they to divest a father of so important a right, the exercise of which might prove so serviceable in the exigencies of his family? The French Law gave the father the smallest quantity of power over his own property; but he thought such a system ought not to be introduced here. If bargains of the nature described were at any time made, a Court of Equity, on being applied to, would immediately set them aside for the benefit of the children. The rule he should recommend would break in upon nothing —it would work no mischief, but must amend many real practical tangible grievances, which could not be terminated too soon. The bill now proposed would leave any one at full liberty to declare the portions into which he wished his property to be divided, and he believed it would be found to operate as a general benefit. It would not only be a great good in itself, but it would be highly beneficial, as offering an assurance to the people that the Government were anxious to see whether they could introduce any good amendments into the laws; and that although they might be opposed to those reforms which they well knew never could be carried into execution, they were willing to propose such as were capable of being practically effectual, and to follow up with industry and attention any proposal that would conduce to such an end.

Motion agreed to.

Liability of Real Property, &c.] The *Solicitor General* moved for leave to bring in a Bill to facilitate the Payment of Debts out of Real Estates. A few words would suffice to explain its object. He proposed to extend to Covenants the Act of William and Mary, which at present only related to Bonds; for, by the Statute of William, the Bond Debts of an Estate, even in the case of the heir being an infant, were recoverable in Equity, but not Covenants, which were held liable in Common Law. He proposed to extend the power of the Courts of Equity to Covenants, and to enable them to give a title to the estates of the infant which were sold under their jurisdiction. At present, by a strange anomaly, the Court of Chancery possessed and exercised the power of selling the infant's estate, but could not give a title; so that a purchaser was obliged to wait till the infant became twenty-one years of age. He proposed to remedy that defect, and also to grant the Court of Chancery the power of giving a title in the case of devised property. The next object on which he begged leave to say he had expended many weeks' consideration was, to extend the 6th of his present Majesty, which was itself an extension of the Statute of Anne, so as to make the contracts of heirs liable out of their real estates, and to invest the Court of Chancery with the power of giving a title. The giving the Great Seal the power of granting a title, in cases of sales effected under its jurisdiction, of the property of infants, femes covert and lunatics, was the next object of his Bill. He also proposed to give it the same power in the cases of infant and lunatic trustees and mortgagees. At present lunatics were liable for all contracts entered into when in a state of sanity; but the Great Seal, under whose jurisdiction their property fell, had not the power of granting a title, though they exercised that of sale. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving, for leave to bring in three other Bills:—First, a Bill to facilitate the Payment of Debts out of Real Estate;—Second, a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Property of Infants, Femes-covert, and Lunatics; Thirdly, a Bill to amend the Law relating to Lunatic and Infant Trustees and Mortgagees. The Motion was agreed to.

COMMITMENTS FOR CONTEMPT.] The *Solicitor General* moved for leave to bring in a Bill, the object of which was, to amend the Law relating to Process of Contempt, and Commitments for Contempt, by Courts of Equity. The House would be aware that Courts of Equity acted *ad personam*, and not *ad rem*, and in all cases an appearance was necessary; and that a violation of its rules or orders were necessarily punishable by confinement of the person, instead of a levy on the property. In no case, but one provided by a special Act of Parliament, when the party must be brought to the bar, could that appearance be entered without the consent of the defendant. Much had been said of the conduct of Lord Eldon upon this subject; but he could assert that no man could be more tender of the personal liberty of the subject, and he never committed an individual for contempt without the most anxious consideration and most earnest desire to avoid that painful extremity. In consequence of steps taken by that noble Lord, persons confined merely for non-payment of a sum of money, as for costs of suit, could he discharged under the Insolvent Act; but he (the Solicitor-General) was convinced that the time had arrived in which relief should be carried much farther, and he thought he could establish, without difficulty, the justice and expediency of altering the existing law. The Commissioners upon the Court of Chancery had suggested the fitness of shortening the process, and he proposed to render it much shorter than they had considered necessary. In the bill he had framed, he made use of some portions of the measure which had been founded upon the report of the Commissioners, and which had been brought in by the present occupant of the Woolsack (Lord Lyndhurst) when Master of the Rolls. He could not think, and never had thought it right, that men should be confined, perhaps for life, within the walls of a prison, because they had not the means, even if they had the inclination, to put in answers to bills filed against them; he, therefore, proposed to relax the system, and to afford a remedy, to which, he believed, no objection could be raised. As it stood, the law was not to be endured; and against poor men, in some cases, it operated with unmixed bitterness; but let the cases be ever so rare, if they could exist, it was highly proper that the evil should be met and redressed. When once a man was lodged in a gaol for contempt, there was no obligation upon the party lodging him there to take the slightest notice of the prisoner for the rest of his life. He believed that there was but one existing instance of the kind, and there the man merited what he suffered, for he remained in the county gaol for the purpose of evading an act, which he ought in justice to perform. A poor man, a tailor, in Coventry gaol, after he had been there for seven years, had written to him (the Solicitor-General); with very few exceptions, he found the parties who occasioned the imprisonment disposed to aid him in the task of setting free those who were confined; and the poor tailor, having been released from prison, had been put in possession of his estate, which had been mortgaged, and had since written a grateful letter, in which he stated that he had never known a state of such comparative affluence and happiness. The evil arising out of the non-entry of appearances was capable of an easy and an immediate remedy, and it was this:—to enable a party to enter an appearance for a person who would not enter it for himself; if it were not done within a reasonable time by the defendant himself, it should be done for him, and the gaoler authorized to release the individual in contempt. The object of imprisonment was to get a certain act performed, and as soon as it was performed, either by the defendant or by others, the object was answered. At the same time he wished the change to be accompanied by this provision; that where justice could not be done unless the defendant himself put in the answer, the Court should have the power, upon application, to prolong the confinement. He begged hon.

Members to observe that there was a great difference between this amendment and the present state of the law. Now a man might be left in gaol year after year to the end of his life without the slightest notice of his being still in existence; by the change he proposed, the imprisonment of no man could be prolonged without special application to the Court, and that with due notice to the party. The principle of the law of this country, he was proud to say, made no distinction between rich and poor; laws must necessarily operate in different ways upon the rich and upon the poor; the rich man suffered in his purse, perhaps, while the poor man was obliged to suffer in his person; but all must be made to be obedient to the law, however high or however low their rank. When he came to investigate the state of the Fleet Prison, he saw clearly that some alteration was necessary; but it was a mistake to assert that the parties there confined for contempt were victims of the Court of Chancery—they were victims of the law, which law it was expedient to amend. The present times, and the present state of men's minds, were favourable to that alteration; and without assuming the slightest credit to himself for taking advantage of this disposition, which did not before exist, at least to the same extent, and anxious to shun all comparison in every other respect with his able predecessors in office, he had undertaken to draw the attention of the Legislature to the subject. When he first visited the Fleet, he found, he believed, thirty-seven prisoners there for contempt of the Court of Chancery: one had been there for nineteen years, another for sixteen, a third for twelve, a fourth for ten years; and so on with others for shorter periods. He found also, to his great astonishment, that the persons sent there by, and thus considered victims of, the Court of Chancery, all held the most lucrative situations in the prison. The cook had been confined in contempt for six years, although he need not have remained there for six days, had he chosen to give up his flourishing office. The hotel keeper had been ten years in prison, without the slightest necessity for stopping there; and his place, he was informed, was worth from 200*l.* to 300*l.* a year. The individual who occupied the tap—a situation producing from 150*l.* to 200*l.* a year —had been committed for contempt, and had already remained there for six years. Another person was a solicitor, he had been in the Fleet three years, and need not have been there as many days; but he was now domiciled, and practised his profession with much success. He had, however, found in similar confinement one gentleman, who had for thirteen years been in a state of imbecility, and who was therefore utterly incapable of putting in any answer to a bill in Chancery. Had he died, he would indeed have been lamented over as one of the victims of the Court; but what was the fact? He had been kept in prison for the convenience of others; and he had made no hesitation in telling those others, that if they did not set him at liberty, he would issue a commission of lunacy against the imbecile gentleman, and have a guardian appointed. What was the result? In December 1829, an order for his discharge was produced by his friends, dated in August, 1827, which for their own purposes they had till then kept in their pockets, and would have allowed him to die a victim to the Court of Chancery. Besides this gentleman, there were two wretched individuals both out of their minds: although one was sane enough to do wrong, though he would not do right; the other was merely a silly idiot, who did not know right from wrong. For the cases of such persons it was obvious that a provision should be made; and he proposed that the Court should be empowered to assign to them counsel and solicitors, even though no commission of lunacy had been issued against them. Both these persons had been discharged, and were now under the care of their families. The hotel-keeper, the tapster, the cook, the solicitor, and others were now all discharged from the contempt, and were no longer liable to be detained. In every case in which a poor man made affidavit that he was unable to discharge the expenses of a suit, he would be immediately brought to the bar; and if upon inquiry that allegation were not controverted, or, being controverted, was shown to be true, relief would be given to the suffering party.—[At this moment the noise in the House, which had prevailed to a considerable extent during the whole of the hon. and learned Gentleman's speech, increased beyond what it had previously done].—He said he had undertaken the duty of bringing before the House the motions then submitted to its consideration from an imperious sense of duty; he was anxious to proceed with them in the manner most consonant with the wishes of the House; [*cheers, and cries of order, order, order*] and, for his part, he could not conceive any object better worthy the attention of Parliament than the consideration of measures for giving freedom to those who might otherwise be condemned to pass their lives in prison, without hope of relief; and who, if Parliament did not interfere, might in vain ask for assistance. He could not conceive how a House of Commons could be better employed than in vindicating its own character, and in giving relief to persons by whom relief was so much needed. Before the recent interruption he was about to state, that one of the objects of his measure would be to give relief at once to any man who made out a case of poverty. Of the gratifying effects of that species of relief, administered under very touching circumstances, he had recently an opportunity of witnessing a remarkable instance. A poor Welchman was brought up to the court for the purpose of being discharged, on the ground already mentioned. The poor Welchman could not speak a word of English; an interpreter was procured, and the moment the objects and intentions of the Court were explained to him, his countenance lightened up with joy and gratitude, and thus he received the assurance that he would be released from that prison in which he might, but for that humane interference, have been doomed to end his days.

The object, amongst others, of the bills which he sought to introduce, was to give all cases requiring it the species of relief conceded in that just mentioned. For this purpose he should propose that four times in the year a King's Counsel and a Master in Chancery be appointed to visit the prison, to report upon its state, and make a representation of the persons whose cases required relief, upon which a solicitor and counsel should be assigned to them, and the questions on which they were at issue with other parties brought to as speedy a decision as possible. From his knowledge of the Chancery bar, he could state, whenever a poor man came before it, the question amongst his learned brethren was, not who *would*, but who *should* be the counsel of the pauper.

There was another reform he meant to introduce, which was this, that whenever any man was ordered to execute a deed, and that he did not immediately comply, the Court, instead of imprisoning him, should execute the deed for him; and whenever it was proper for any man to do any act, it should not be necessary to confine him for the remainder of his life, but the Court should proceed at once as if the thing were done. He would even carry that principle further—he would apply it to the case of fines and recoveries. Levying a fine, and suffering a recovery, was nothing more than a circuitous mode of conveyance; and whenever it was directed by a Court, he would have the Court act for the refractory party. Whatever was the nature of the act to be done, whenever it was decided that it should be done, then let it be the business of the Court to see its own commands carried into effect. By the returns made in the year 1821, out of thirty-one persons then in custody, there was one who had been confined for a period of nineteen years, and he declined to accept his liberty on the proposed terms. There was another who had been confined fifteen years, and who was at that time in a state of imbecility. The return of 1827 gave the name of one man who had been confined twenty-five years; but he, so far from wishing to be liberated, procured an affidavit of debt to be made against him, for the purpose of his further detention, in order that he might preserve to himself the enjoyment of confinement, in despite of the Court by which he was originally committed—so remaining voluntarily in prison. Of the number in prison in 1827, he had now the satisfaction of stating, that the cases of the greater part were in a fair train of being satisfactorily disposed of; and an effect of the measures he proposed, would be, to bring that object to its immediate accomplishment; then the system which he proposed to introduce would have fair play, and the means of acting upon a clear prison. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a Bill accordingly.

Mr. *Hume* said, he was far from undervaluing the labours of the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down, on the contrary, he appreciated them highly; but he must be allowed to say that many of the returns upon which the hon. and learned Gentleman had founded his observations were laid upon the table of that House at his (Mr. H.'s) instance. Neither could he concur with that hon. and learned Gentleman in the eulogium he had pronounced upon the late Lord Chancellor. — In the year 1821 he visited the prison, and, after having obtained some information on the condition of the persons confined there, he felt it his duty to address a letter to the Lord Chancellor, upon the then existing state of the law, and upon the unjust sufferings to which those individuals were exposed. The fact was, that cases of those persons could not be brought before the House with effect, unless by a public officer of the Crown; for such an individual alone possessed the facilities, and stood upon the 'vantage ground, which enabled him to do what the case really required—to wrest from confinement the victims of the Court of Chancery. The statements which he (Mr. H.) made upon the occasions when those returns were ordered, were fully assented to by the present Lord Chancellor, when a Member of this House, and to the authority of that noble person as decisively supporting the alterations of which he had always been the advocate. What he complained of, and what he thought the House and the country had a right to complain of, was, that Attorneys and Solicitors-General, instead of amusing them with fine language, had not before that time introduced some measures of reform and amelioration in the state of the law. Never before the motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman made that night, had they brought forward a single proposition for the improvement of the legal institutions of the country, upon which so much of the well-being and happiness of the people depended. The improvements in the law, then before the House, would do the hon. and learned Gentleman by whom they had been proposed infinite honour, and could not but prove to him a source of satisfaction and honest pride the longest day he had to live—yet other Attorneys and Solicitors-General had enjoyed their large incomes, and all the rank and patronage and advantages of other offices, without ever bestowing a thought upon the many whom a single act of theirs might have set at liberty. Yet nothing could be further from the thoughts of those great officers than discharging that solemn and important duty. They, so far as he could perceive, had neglected every thing but their own private interests, leaving hundreds of unfortunate individuals to pine in prison and in suffering. The censure upon those functionaries was the highest praise of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, as were his praises their condemnation, for the shameful neglect of duty of which they had been guilty. It was with the utmost difficulty he could imagine how the late Lord Chancellor could have reconciled it to his conscience, of which he had so often spoken, to remain five and twenty years in office without once making a proposition for the amelioration of that Court over which he presided. What was there for him at any time to do, but to say to the Attorney or Solicitor-General—do what is necessary—and immediately it would have been done; had but he spoken the word, the old and intolerable system would have been abolished at an instant's notice. There was one case in the year 1821 which had in an especial degree attracted his notice; it was that of an old woman who had been one and twenty years in prison, and who was allowed to remain there up to the time of her death. The people of England had claims for the remedy of those abuses of which they were not aware, and yet they went on from day to day sanctioning abuses for which the law officers ought to be held responsible, but which up to the present moment they had never held out their hands to correct. In support of the truth of that assertion he need only refer to the evidence supplied by the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down; a speech which reflected upon him the highest honour; though he (Mr. Hume) could never be brought to join in the eulogium which it contained upon the merits and conduct of the late Lord Chancellor Eldon; for with the fullest powers to see his own orders executed, it was acknowledged that he did not see that necessary work performed; and that where he wanted power for the purpose, he did not take measures for coming to Parliament to supply him with the requisite means of accomplishing the ends of justice. Why, then, was that meed of praise to be conceded to him, which was due alone to those who had exerted the powers intrusted to them for the public good?

The *Solicitor-General* said, he could not but feel the praises of the hon. Member for Montrose as most painful, seeing that they were only given to him in the form of censures pronounced upon the conduct of his predecessors. It was by no means correct to argue that they had done wrong in not anticipating his measures. He stood in a different situation from what they did; especially as respected time and circumstances. What might have been extremely proper for him to propose to Parliament, various causes might have prevented them from bringing forward; but this, he submitted, formed no ground of censure against them; and greatly did any censures pronounced upon them detract from the value of the praises with which he had just been honoured by the hon. Member for Montrose—indeed nothing was more calculated to damp the ardour of a public officer, than thus to sound his praises at the expense of his predecessors.

Mr. *Hume* said, he should be extremely sorry to damp the laudable efforts of any public functionary, but he would put it to him whether the conduct of his predecessors, if like his, would not have led to similar results?

Lord *Althorp* said, that when in former Sessions his hon. friend the Member for Montrose had addressed the House upon the abuses of the Court of Chancery, he had naturally and justly expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of those by whom the abuses in that Court were allowed to exist; and it was perfectly natural and just that when complaints of that nature were at length rendered groundless by the conduct of public officers, that the same hon. Gentleman, the Member for Montrose, should contrast the conduct of the present law officers of the Crown with that of their predecessors.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* complained of the sweeping anathema which the Member for Montrose had pronounced against all who had filled legal offices under the Crown. The hon. Member had taken them severely to task, and he (Sir Charles Wetherell) would take him to task. He would ask that hon. Member where he was all the time the Chancery Commission was sitting? It was well known to all who sat upon that Commission that the noble Lord whose conduct had been so severely censured, uniformly attended that Commission; and though a lawyer of the highest eminence, and a magistrate of the highest order, yet he attended that Commission, and communicated with the youngest tyro of the law amongst its members upon the most perfect terms of equality. The other members of that Commission, consisting as it did of great equity authorities, of barristers, and of men of business, experienced from his Lordship the courtesy in which he never failed towards any man, and that respect for their sentiments which was worthy of his own high character. Lord Eldon went to that Commission, and he said that whenever his presence could aid their deliberations, or afford the smallest light or assistance, then would he be present; and that whenever his absence would conduce to the objects for which they had been formed, then would he be absent. In saying that, he was only stating a fact which was known to every member of the Commission, and in which he should be fully borne out by an eminent and learned civilian (Dr. Lushington) whom he did not then see in his place, but who was a member of that Commission, and who had heard those sentiments from the lips of the noble Lord himself. If that hon. and learned civilian were then in the House, he had no doubt that he would bear testimony to the accuracy of the statement then made, and to the expression of sentiment which he (Sir Charles Wetherell) attributed to the noble Lord. Now he would once again beg leave to break a lance with the honourable Member for Montrose: why did he not come down to the Chancery Commission? Why did he not come down to that Commission with his information in his pocket and enlighten them all? He was a legal reformer, and an ecclesiastical reformer—a reformer of the church, and of the finances—an omnigenous reformer—an encyclopedical reformer—why did he not then come down and lay before them the stores of his learning in matters regarding the Court of Chancery? Why did he not there meet that noble Lord who said, that when any thing in which experience could be of service came before them, he should be sure to attend if required, and who, when any thing that might, from consideration of delicacy or any other cause, be better discussed in his absence, then would he, with as equal certainty, make it a point not to be present. But no; the honourable Member for Montrose did not think proper to come forward upon that occasion; he kept his complaints *in petto* till the noble Lord went out of office, and then he stood forward to pronounce against him a sweeping anathema, all the while taking a special care not to mention any one of the services which that noble Lord did to the substantial improvement of the administration of justice. He said nothing of the expenses in fines and recoveries which that noble Lord abolished. He did not tell what every man of property in the country was interested in knowing, that no improvement of an estate could, under certain circumstances, be effected, until that noble Lord had completed such amendments in the law as rendered it unnecessary in some cases for a man to sell, and then re-purchase, before he could raise money for the most obvious improvement upon it. There was not a man in the country, learned or unlearned, who must not have felt indebted to the noble Lord for that useful alteration. Again, they heard nothing from the honourable Member for Montrose respecting the improvements which Lord Eldon effected in the state of the law relating to executors. Before that alteration, an executor might have 100,000*l.* of the testator's estate in his pocket, and when sued at law for the payment of the debts of the testator, might apply to a Court of Equity, and obtain an injunction to restrain proceedings at law, and all the while proceedings were pending he might keep the 100,000*l.* in his pocket, as the honourable Member had kept the boasted returns about Contempts in his pocket. The noble Lord put an end to that practice—he made the money be paid into court, and put a complete bar to all the evils of the ancient practice. But it would be vain that he should attempt to do justice to the public services of that noble and learned person. He was not prepared—it would take much more time than circumstances allowed, to enumerate even a portion of the great services Lord Eldon performed, both as a Minister and a Judge. He was not prepared at a short notice to give so good a syllabus of his merits as the hon. Member for Montrose had given of his demerits; he could not do injustice to those merits by then entering into them at length, unfitted for the task as he was by no trifling degree of indisposition. Those two orders of Lord Eldon which he had already adverted to were of the highest importance, as every professional man well knew, and as many men of property could not but occasionally feel; to these he might add many more did time allow; but he must say, that when that noble Lord had now retired from the vortex of public life—from that political collision in which he had been engaged for so many years, it was rather hard to deal out to him such a measure of injustice; he would say egregious injustice; to endeavour to lay upon his back such stripes and lashes as those which the honourable Member for Montrose sought to inflict. Lord Eldon, one of the most amiable and excellent of men, was at the same time one of the greatest and most learned of lawyers. There never existed that man who laboured more assiduously in the exercise of his profession, or manifested in the whole tenour of his life juster sentiments of morals and of religion—no man who more happily united in himself great general talents with the science of a lawyer, the learning of a scholar, and the courtesy and principles which distinguish a gentleman. Combined as all these qualities were, in an almost equal degree, it was difficult to say in which he most excelled. It was rather hard, then, that after five-and-twenty years of public service, the honourable Member for Montrose should now come forward, at the end of two years, against the noble Lord, with what might well be called his posthumous complaints. As he was on his legs, he would advert briefly to the charges of the honourable Member against the various individuals who had filled the offices of Attorney and Solicitor-General. Many of them had come from the honourable Member's own side of the House—the late Sir Samuel Romilly for example; he of course meant to include that learned and eminent person in the sweeping condemnation which he had pronounced upon the class of official delinquents whose conduct failed to meet with his approbation. To his mind nothing could appear more ungracious than for the honourable Member for Montrose to enlarge, with such extraordinary severity upon the conduct of legal functionaries, when his own side of the House was at all times ready to furnish the state with a quiver of law officers. It should be remembered, that the present Attorney-General came from that side of the House, and had not, up to the present moment, proposed any legal reforms; but it was hardly fair to say any thing of him, he was too fresh and green in his office to be made the subject of much animadversion. As to the general principles of the bill, he entirely approved of them, as he should think that any gentleman at the bar must do. It had often happened to himself to walk down to Doctors' Commons, to look at a will, in order that he might save some unfortunate suitor the fee; he did not mention this with a view of taking credit to himself, but rather to show that every member of the profession was ready, if a person could but show that he had a likely case, to put forth his best energies and efforts to assist him.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he thought the several Bills which the Solicitor-General proposed to introduce gave every promise of being highly useful, and as such they claimed his support. It seemed to him that his honourable friend (Mr. Hume) had not been quite fairly dealt with; he had been attacked because he had not previously joined in the complaints which had been preferred against Lord Eldon; but after all, on the showing of his own eulogists, what had that learned Lord done for the country? He had received more than half a million of its money, and in return, introduced two measures into Parliament. In his opinion, his hon. friend (Mr. Hume) had just grounds for blaming the learned Lord, from the fact of his having been so many years in power, and not having, during all that period, found time to do what the Solicitor-General had done in one year.—Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

CURRENCY.] Mr. *Attwood* moved for accounts of the amount of Sovereigns and Half Sovereigns issued by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, from 2nd May 1828 to 31st December 1829, both inclusive:—Also, of the same received by them during the same period; distinguishing the amount paid, the amount received, and the balance:—Also, of all Sovereigns and Half Sovereigns coined at the Mint for other persons than the Bank of England, from 2nd May 1828 to 31st December 1829, both inclusive.—In submitting this motion, he must say, it frequently happened that Ministers, in the course of their observations to Parliament, alluded to and quoted from documents which were not before the public, from which circumstance a considerable degree of embarrassment took place. It was a practice, therefore, which it was extremely desirous to have obviated; and to him the best way of obviating it appeared to be to have all such documents previously laid before both Houses of Parliament. A remarkable instance of this kind resulting from the want of this sort of information, occurred the other night in the other House, when the Duke of Wellington had occasion to address their lordships on the currency, in the course of which he made various statements, none of which had been regularly placed before Parliament. It however, appeared to him that most of the noble Duke's statements were consecutive on the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the year 1828—their respective amounts agreeing exactly, with the exception of a difference of six millions between the country bank notes and the sovereigns. This was not a question to which he should so seriously call the attention of the House, were it not, in his opinion, the one which, of all others, was most important and interesting to the whole country at the present crisis. He well remembered the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Peel) on this subject some few years ago, when he had assured the House that they were then within reach of the goal, and had only to exercise a little firmness to arrive at it. But how did the matter present itself now? Was the goal arrived at? No; and yet the Minister still exclaimed, "Oh, trust to us; we shall do every thing that is right, and therefore you must not expect any inquiry!" The Government was committing the most fatal and most disastrous of errors, and he besought it to take warning while it was not yet too late, before they entailed upon it a responsibility greater than any Government could bear. According to the Duke of Wellington's statement, there was now a circulation of sixty-five millions in the country; from which the Premier argued that they were wrong who complained of there being any want of money in the country. What was the meaning of this statement, that money was universal? But was it so? He would ask the landlord—did he obtain the same rent as heretofore? He would ask the merchant—did he obtain the same profits as heretofore? He would ask the manufacturer—did he employ the same number of hands as heretofore? He would not ask those on the Treasury benches whether the same money was received there as heretofore, because he did not intend to deny it; but he would ask them—did they not find that with the same money they had much greater power. The French were in the habit of distinguishing between their two sorts of money, by calling the one *monnoie forte*, and the other *monnoie foible;* and he thought that similar terms might with justice be used in this case. It was by concentration that money obtained this force and power; and it was therefore deducible, from the circumstances which he had stated, that there was much less money in the country than there had been formerly. Having shown from argument that this must be the case, he would now proceed to show the same point from facts. It was very evident to him that the whole of the tables upon which the Duke of Wellington had gone were founded in error. The Exchequer was receiving twenty millions less than during the war—the landed interest twenty millions less, and the labouring classes not half so much as at that former period; in fact, these latter, instead of money, were obliged to be content to receive butter, hats, clothes, and such like commodities, in exchange for their services; and one instance that he had heard of carried this so far that a labourer having received a leg of mutton for his labour, and having a child to be baptised, he took his joint to the parson, and begged him to cut off as many slices as were equivalent to the baptismal fee. If there were really sufficient money in the country, or if the Ministers really believed that there was, why did they not propose the appointment of a Finance Committee who might inquire where it lay concealed, and devise the proper means for putting it into circulation? The real fact was, that the statements of the present gold currency, as made by the Duke of Wellington, were entirely in error. In the Duke's estimate of the amount, he took it for granted that every sovereign that had been coined since 1824 was still afloat in the country; in no way did he make any allowance for the prodigious quantity that must have found their way out of the country as exports, with the exception of one batch of six millions, in the course of a certain period of eighteen months, and of which the Bank was cognizant; but how many were there exported of which the Bank knew nothing, and could know nothing? Every now and then it was the interest of the merchant to export according to the vibrations that took place, and the only way in which those small vessels which imported cheese, butter, eggs, &c. were paid, was by sovereigns. Let the House also consider, that the number of absentees were now reckoned at one hundred thousand; and did not those gentlemen take any of the currency away with them? To these reductions of the actual currency was also to be added that most important one, caused by the melting of sovereigns. Formerly the Birmingham and other manufacturers employed a broker, in London, to purchase gold for them; but now they found the easiest way to be to melt down sovereigns as they wanted them. All these, then, were ways in which the gold currency must have rapidly diminished, and for which no allowance had been made in the Duke of Wellington's statements. The honourable Gentleman concluded with moving for the Returns described at the opening of his Speech.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, although the hon. Member had accused the Members of his Majesty's Government with supporting their views by fallacious statements respecting the currency, he believed he should be able to show that the hon. Member had formed erroneous conclusions upon the nature of those statements, and that he had himself been guilty of errors not less material than those which he imputed to the Government. The foundation of the principal argument of the hon. Member rested upon the view which he took of certain statements made in another House by the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government, and by him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) in the House of Commons, for the purpose of drawing comparisons between the circulation of the country at one period and another, and from these comparisons endeavouring to arrive at some conclusion on the question, of whether or not the distress was produced by the state of that circulation. Now, these comparisons were formed on data of precisely the same character—the calculations were made on foundations precisely similar; and if they were erroneous, as the hon. Gentleman seemed to suppose, at one time, they were equally erroneous at another, and therefore the errors, as far as the mere question of comparison went, were calculated to produce very little effect. All that the noble Duke contended for, and all that he himself desired to be drawn from them, was to find some corresponding data, approximating in period and circumstances to each other, through which they could form a comparison as accurate as the subject would admit. The hon. Gentleman says, that the noble Duke urged these comparisons, so formed on erroneous foundations, as a reason for believing that no distress existed in the country. Now he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) denied that the noble Duke used these calculations for any such purpose. The noble Duke used these calculations as a reply to the statements of those who thought that the evils under which they supposed the country to be suffering could be remedied by an unlimited circulation of paper. For that purpose he endeavoured to put them in possession of the amount of the circulating medium in the last year, as compared with another year in which that unlimited currency was allowed. To begin with the first of the hon. Member's opinions:—He holds that the gold in circulation cannot be so much as twenty-eight millions, because there is no allowance made for the amount withdrawn from circulation for exportation or other purposes. Now the fact is, that the whole amount of gold coined at the Mint has been forty-four millions one hundred thousand pounds, and it is in that surplus of sixteen millions one hundred thousand pounds that the noble Duke found the means of accounting for the quantity removed from the circulation, and which the hon. Member erroneously supposes was not taken into the estimate. But he would tell the hon. Member why it was, that the noble Duke assumed twenty-eight millions to be the amount of gold in circulation. He thought the hon. Member would admit that so long as the foreign exchanges were in favour of this country, there could be no danger of the gold in circulation going abroad as an article of commerce. He was confident, although it would not be unlike some of the assertions of the hon. Member if he maintained the reverse, that while the exchanges were in our favour, no great quantity of gold would be sent abroad by the merchants; and, although some few gentlemen might take a small quantity with them for the ordinary demand of travel, as long as the exchanges were favourable, even that small quantity would ultimately find its way back again; for the advantages obtained by it were too obvious to be passed over. As to those who required their rents to be remitted to the continent, he need not surely say that no gentlemen under such circumstances would ever require those remittances to be made in English sovereigns. But then a period might come when the exchanges would be unfavourable to this country. It was impossible, he believed, to say to what extent the gold of the country found its way abroad at such a time, but the calculations by which they endeavoured to make an approximation to the truth were founded on this opinion—that for every sovereign sent abroad there was a demand made for one to replace it on the gold in the hands of the Bank of England. Now this calculation he really did not think an unfair one, for as the gold, under such circumstances, was collected from every part of the country to be expended, so in proportion to the vacuum thus created was the demand on the Bank to fill it up with a fresh supply. But even supposing that the drain created in such cases was greater than this calculation would account for, still he thought that the difference might be naturally accounted for in another way. As in the event of the exchanges being in favour of this country, the estimate was wholly formed on the amount of gold which passed through the hands of the Bank of England, without any reference to the importations of bullion by individuals, so at other times, supposing that some which remained in the hands of individuals was exported in addition to that demanded from the Bank; he apprehended they would, by taking these two additional circumstances into consideration, arrive at a conclusion not very foreign to the truth. At all events, he had stated the amount vested and withdrawn from the circulation in this manner to be calculated at sixteen millions five hundred thousand pounds, and he thought that was a sum sufficiently large to justify and bear out the assertion, that the present circulating medium amounted to twenty-eight millions of gold. The hon. Member had found by some calculations of his own, that at the conclusion of the war there were ten millions of guineas in the country. Now, it should be recollected, that for a considerable portion of that war, the guinea was selling abroad at the price of twenty-seven shillings, and that the temptation of this price caused every exertion to be used through the country for the purpose of collecting them, although the exportation of bullion and guineas was then declared to be contrary to law. Now the fact was, although the hon. Gentleman supposes the amount to have been ten millions, the whole quantity called in, when the sovereigns were issued, was only four millions. He mentioned this merely because the hon. Gentleman seemed to suppose there had been an exportation of guineas after the coinage. Passing now to the objection of the hon. Member, with reference to the statements on the circulation of Bank paper, he thought it would be in the recollection of the House, that at the time he introduced the measure with respect to the withdrawal of the one pound notes from circulation, he took that circulation to amount to two millions and a half. One calculation produced two millions one hundred thousand; another, two millions four hundred thousand; and therefore he thought the fair average would be two millions five hundred thousand. But the hon. Gentleman contends that the calculations and statements of the noble Duke, authorized and supported by his, would make the amount six millions. Now, here again he must say, that the hon. Member completely misapprehended the nature of the noble Duke's statements, and did not make sufficient allowance for the large number of notes which, previous to the termination of the system, were either destroyed or withdrawn from circulation. At the time of the passing of the law for the abolition of the power to issue small notes, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had expressed an opinion that the place of the small notes would be supplied in the circulation by others of a higher denomination. Of the truth of that assertion the hon. Member had intimated some doubt, and he should, therefore, take leave to read a short account of the amount of stamps issued for *5l.* notes and upwards for the quarter which succeeded the announcement that no more small notes were to be issued. It will be remembered that the time to which the circulation of small notes was limited was the 5th of April, 1829. Now it appeared the amount of stamps issued for notes of *5l.* and upwards, was, on the

5th of April, 1827	£382,000
5th of July, ——	244,000
10th of Oct. ——	285,000
5th of Jan. 1828	317,000
5th of April, ——	318,000
5th of July, ——	258,000
10th of Oct. ——	458,000

And now, approaching the period when the circulation of the small notes was to terminate, he found the number of stamps issued on the—

5th of Jan. 1829, to be	£876,000
5th of April, ——	737,000

Showing, on a comparison with the two corresponding quarters of the year 1828, an increase of sixteen hundred and thirteen thousand, as compared with six hundred and thirty-five thousand. He thought it right to trouble the House with this detail of figures, because the hon. Member had expressed considerable doubts of the accuracy of the statements; and because it might lead to erroneous ideas of the amount of paper withdrawn from circulation. There was one other subject to which he wished to advert in a very few words. The hon. Member had alluded to the amount of gold which passed through the hands of the Bank of England; but did the hon. Member recollect that individuals, by the new regulations at the Mint, had the facility of taking bullion to be coined, and that the amount so coined on private account was above one million five hundred thousand pounds in a year and a half? Having said thus much, he should not trespass further on the attention of the House, but conclude by observing, that he could have wished the discussion on these subjects had been postponed until the hon. Member was in possession of all the information he desired, as he would then have had an opportunity of meeting him when he was armed with all that knowledge which he seemed to think had been withheld. He would do the hon. Gentleman the justice to say, however, that although he could not help feeling he had been guilty of misrepresentations, he believed them to be more the effect of want of information than of any intention to mislead.

Mr. *A. Baring* said, he confessed, that although these discussions did not produce much at present, they tended, in his opinion, to elicit information, and to make the House better acquainted with a very complicated subject. He thought, too, that the statements put forth by the noble Duke in another place were made much too positively and confidently, when the nature of the question was fairly considered; for, although the grounds of the calculations were very clearly explained by the right hon. Gentleman, yet he conceived it to be quite impossible from those calculations, or from, indeed, any other, to come to an accurate conclusion with respect to the real amount of gold remaining in the country. The amount of small notes, and the stamps issued for those of five pounds, depended on accidental circumstances; and he must contend that a great quantity of gold had, from the alloy of the sovereigns being silver, found its way into the crucible. Every one who looked at the sovereign now must perceive that it was of a much darker colour than that issued formerly, because the alloy was now composed of copper; but until that had been adopted, it was for years a kind of trade in Paris and Birmingham to melt down the English sovereigns on account of the very small quantity of silver which they contained. While on that subject, he would say that it was well worth the while of the Government of this country to look a little at the expense of the Mint. In France the Mint paid itself from the profits obtained by the Master; but in this country the Master and his assistants cost from one to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, without taking into consideration the very large gain derived by the Master from the coinage of silver. That coinage had been nearly nine millions, and the profits on it, which were very considerable, had gone without any inquiry into the pocket of the Master. It had been stated, with some appearance of truth, that the total value of commodities in transit from one individual to another, was reduced from one hundred to sixty millions; and he, therefore, thought it not unfair to presume, that the circulating medium may have been reduced in the same proportion. He should not now trouble the House further; but as it was sometimes imputed to him that he made speeches which were one half in one way and one half in the other, [*a laugh, and loud cries of hear, hear*] he should say that the facility of local circulation in the one case was perhaps fairly balanced by the security obtained in the other, and on that he would rest his defence.

Mr. *Attwood* repeated, that he had heard nothing which induced him to change his opinions; he re-asserted his original propositions; and maintained, that both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government, had greatly overstated the amount of gold that had been, and that was, in circulation.

Motion agreed to: papers ordered.

SUPPLY.] The order of the day being read for the House to resolve itself into a Committee, The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "That a Supply be granted to his Majesty."

Mr. *R. Gordon* said, he wished to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman with respect to the salaries of public officers. It was well known that half-pay officers, before they received that pay, were obliged to make an affidavit that they possessed no civil employment whatever. What he wanted to know was, whether, in point of fact, officers holding their military rank, and at the same time holding civil offices under the Crown, did or did not receive their military as well as their civil pay? He was aware that it might be said, that the regulation to which he alluded only extended to half-pay. There was also what was called the unattached pay of general officers. There were one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty general officers by whom this was received; so that if all the Ministry were composed of such officers, they would receive their military as well as their civil emoluments. He wished also to know what general officers received as colonels; he believed, from six to seven or eight hundred a year. The particular question, however, which he wished to ask was, whether, in point of fact, naval and military servants of the Crown did, while they received civil allowances, also receive military or naval allowances?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the best mode of obtaining accurate information on the subject would be by moving for a return of the individuals in question, and of the nature and amount of their receipts. As far as he was able to answer the hon. Gentleman, he could state that general officers, who had regiments, did not forfeit the advantages arising therefrom when they accepted civil situations under the Crown. The regiments were the rewards of military services, and of those rewards they were not deprived. As to half-pay general officers, he was not aware that there were any who held civil appointments under the Crown. With respect to naval officers, the only one who received half pay and held civil appointments, were a few of the Lords of the Admiralty. These were always considered as being employed in their profession, and received their half-pay, together with their civil emoluments.

The Speaker having put the question,

Mr. Ald. *Waithman* objected, at that late hour (it being past twelve o'clock) to any proceeding for voting away the public money, and moved as an Amendment, that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. *Hume* supported the Amendment, and hoped that the wholesome practice which prevailed a few years ago of never voting a shilling of the public money after twelve o'clock, would be renewed. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would postpone his Motion and bring it on at an earlier period of the evening.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the only Motion to be made in the Committee, if the Motion now before the House were adopted, was the very general one —"that a Supply be granted to his Majesty." Till that Motion was carried the hands of Government were tied, and they were unable even to lay the estimates on the Table.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, he had no wish to embarrass his Majesty's Government, but he must discharge his duty conscientiously. He objected to granting any supply until he knew what Ministers meant to do in the way of reduction and expenditure; and what was the exposition which they were prepared to make on the financial condition of the country.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* observed, the only way to hasten an exposition of the financial state of the country, was to agree to his right hon. friend's Motion; for unless the House went into a Committee of Supply, *pro forma*, the nature and amount of the estimates could not be submitted to the House.

Lord *Althorp* allowed that he thought the Motion might be acceded to; for it was merely that some supply should be granted to his Majesty. If any hon. Member thought that no supply whatever should be granted, then an Amendment, such as that proposed by the hon. Alderman, was justifiable. Conceiving, however, that such was not the hon. Alderman's wish, though he felt the indispensable necessity of a great reduction of taxation, he implored the hon. Alderman not to persevere in an Amendment which would prevent the production of those estimates, which alone would give the means of ascertaining what reduction might be made.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, he had misunderstood the matter and would withdraw his Amendment.

The Marquis of *Blandford* said, he was regardless of the taunts to which he knew he should expose himself by opposing the Motion, but he felt it his duty to take that course. He was quite sure his Majesty had been imposed upon, and was not aware of the extent of the distress which existed in the country. The best mode of awakening his Majesty's mind to that fact was, in his opinion, the constitutional one, of refusing to grant a Supply for the Public Service. He should, therefore, repeat the Motion "That the House do now adjourn." On this Motion a division immediately took place—

For the Adjournment 9; Against it 105; Majority 96.

Mr. *Hume* afterwards urged the expediency of bringing on public business at an earlier period of the evening.

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was agreed to.

SMUGGLERS.] Lord G. Lennox obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the relief of Parishes from the Expenses of maintaining the Wives and Families of men convicted under the laws for the Prevention of Smuggling, and sentenced to serve his Majesty in his naval service, which was accordingly read a first time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, Feb 12.

MINUTES.] The EARL OF HUNTINGDON took the Oaths and his Seat.—Mr. Sneyd, from the Bank, presented an account of all Exchequer bills and other Government securities purchased by the Bank, or advanced for the public service, in the year ending 5th January 1830: an annual account of Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt; And also; copy of all applications made to the Bank of England for advances to Government, for the year ending 5th of January 1830, with a copy of the minutes of the Court of Directors thereon:

COAL TRADE.] The Marquis of *Londonderry* presented a petition of Peers and Commoners, proprietors and lessees of coal mines near the rivers Tyne and Wear, praying for the renewal of the inquiry on the subject of the Coal Trade, which was read, and ordered to lie on the Table. His Lordship then moved that the Committee appointed in the last Session, to take into consideration the state of the Coal Trade in the United Kingdom, together with the duties of all descriptions and charges affecting the same, as well in the port of London as in the several other ports of the United Kingdom, and to report to the House, be revived.—In making this Motion, he said, he should not have taken that opportunity to address their Lordships on the subject, had he not been honoured by being intrusted with the petition he had just presented, embracing one of the largest interests of the country, and an interest they were especially called on to support. He had, as their Lordships would recollect, called their attention to the coal trade last Session—a discussion took place—a Committee was appointed, and a large body of evidence was collected, and laid on their Table. This trade embraced nearly all the wealth of the north of England; and the task of again calling their Lordships attention to it might have fallen into abler hands, but into none more zealous; and he should think it his duty to endeavour to persuade their Lordships to re-appoint the committee of last Session, to continue and prosecute the investigation into every part of the trade. Odium had been thrown on the coal-owners, as if they were the cause of the rise of price, particularly during the late severe season; but the fact was, that the coal-owners of the north received no more when coals were high-priced in the market than when they were low. The best means to prove all these points was to have an examination. Coals were never sold at the pit's mouth for more than 16*s.* a chaldron, and to the consumers in London they were now charged 50*s.* All the difference between 16*s.* and 50*s*, allowing 10*s.* or 11*s.* for freight, was engrossed by the extraordinary charges laid on the coals between the pit's mouth and the consumer, in the shape of duties and imposts levied in the port of London. To rectify these abuses, he would call on their Lordships to institute an inquiry. The coal-owners laboured under a grievance—not an imaginary grievance, like that partial distress which was felt at one place and not at another—and into this grievance they wished their Lordships to examine. The noble Duke at the head of the Government had already given his attention to the subject, and had seen the profligate waste which occurred about the mines when he was himself in the north. He had seen immense heaps of coal burning to waste in every part of the country. If their Lordships would only establish that coals should be sold by weight instead of by measure, all that waste he had mentioned would be spared. During the recess he had noticed that some petitions had been presented to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, which he did not mean to refer to with any view of refuting their statements, but only to state that the coal owners were so certain of proving their case before their Lordships, that they did not think it necessary to reply to those petitions. Their Lordships would recollect that a bill was before them last Session for forming a railway to bring coal to the Tees—which was thought so improper, that a noble Lord opposite considered it necessary to move certain resolutions in order to prevent similar bills being passed through that House. When the bill for making the Clarence Rail-way was passed, in which the noble Marquis (Cleveland) took a great interest, it could not be carried into execution, and it remained a dead letter. It was proposed to raise three hundred thousand pounds, but not one hundred thousand pounds could be raised; the parties to the bill then went to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, and asked them to subscribe to open up their field of coals. The City of London, however, knew its interest too well to subscribe, because they knew that it was altogether a job. The Clarence Rail-way Bill was in fact a dead letter. He only mentioned this fact to justify the coal-owners for not having noticed the matter at the time. He had also observed that his noble friend had received some communication from the Coal Committee of the City of London, and he hoped that his noble friend would communicate that to the coal-owners, whose wish it was, to have every facility given to inquiry. He should not have addressed to them at such length, had he not had the honour to be intrusted with the petition that represented as much wealth, respectability, and talents as any petition to which their Lordships' attention had ever been called. The petition was signed by several noble Peers, by several Members of the other House, and by a number of opulent and respectable men. His Lordship concluded with moving the revival of the Coal Trade Committee.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he had no objection to the re-appointment of that Committee, and that it should continue its inquiries, and carry them forward to a conclusion. He would give every attention to the subject; but as his noble friend knew that he had another Committee to attend, that on the East-India affairs, he hoped care would be taken to call the Committee together on days when the

Members could attend. As for the communication he had received from the City of London, his noble friend could not expect that he was to state that to the House. He could, however, assure their Lordships that there was nothing in that communication inconsistent with the inquiries of the Committee.

Motion agreed to.

SETTLEMENT OF GREECE.] The order of the day being read, Lord *Holland* said—I was, I confess, my Lords, disappointed and surprised on the first day of the Session, to learn from the Lords Commissioners Speech that the pacification and final settlement of Greece was not yet in such a state as to enable his Majesty's Ministers to lay the papers connected with this subject before Parliament. If I were at first disappointed, a very little reflection, in my own mind, allayed my disappointment; and this disappointment was more allayed when I further reflected—considering, as I do, that the proceedings, in this case, were anomalous; that the delay might be considered as an auspicious circumstance, tending to make the final settlement of Greece more advantageous to Europe in general and to this country, and more honourable to his Majesty's Crown. And why, my Lords? For this reason. The unexpected delay occurring in the completion of these arrangements just at the meeting of Parliament, enabled and invited Parliament to express its opinion, as no explanation has been afforded it of the state of the negociation, as to the principles on which it will consider the settlement of Greece advantageous to this country, and honourable to his Majesty's Crown; and I now call on you, my Lords, to seize this opportunity of declaring your sentiments and recording your opinions. The Motion with which I shall conclude, will be to call on your Lordships to admit those principles which I stated on a former evening; and they are so true, that in them all your Lordships must concur. At least, they are so obvious to my mind, that there is no Peer, I believe—and, indeed, no man of sound mind—who will not acquiesce in them; and it will not be necessary for me to take up much of your Lordships' time in bringing you to agree to the sound principles contained in my resolution. But it is not enough to show that these principles are true—your Lordships must also be satisfied that the situation and circumstances of England, as well as the duty and interest of the Crown, make it right and proper now to act on them. I must fairly acknowledge that it is not sufficient to induce Parliament to adopt a proposition, unless it be also shewn that it be expedient. I readily admit, that more is requisite than to prove the truth of my proposition. My resolution may contain sound principles, just and prudent in their application; but it may not be necessary or useful that Parliament should at this time say anything about them. I am bound, I admit, not only to prove that these principles are just, but that your Lordships would, by the expression of your opinion, promote the advantage of the Crown and be of use to the country. To this part of my subject, therefore, I shall more particularly direct your attention. My Lords, in doing this, I am aware that calling on your Lordships to express an opinion on this subject, implies a degree of distrust in his Majesty's advisers, either in the intention or capacity of those intrusted with the the conduct of the negociation. I fully acknowledge, and, moreover, I will own, that my distrust rests on the grounds of general observation on the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, which observation does not give me confidence in them, particularly as to their conduct in our foreign relations; that it is from distrust—from distrust founded on observing the conduct of his Majesty's Government, particularly their conduct in managing our negociations—and I feel that it would not be fair in me, it would be disingenuous, not to speak explicitly and openly and freely on the subject. I think, in general, it is neither very Parliamentary, nor very fit nor proper, to make the reasons why an individual distrusts his Majesty's Ministers, a subject of discussion. But it is fair that I should state my opinions sincerely; and, therefore, it is necessary that I should say a word or two on the subject. In doing so, (and I mean not to speak but with sincerity), I may say many things which are irksome and disagreeable to particular persons. But I can assure your Lordships, that in expressing myself bluntly, honestly, and sincerely, I have no intention to offend any individual. I can assure your Lordships, and your Lordships will believe me, that in expressing distrust of his Majesty's advisers, as to their foreign policy, it is not done with a view to disturb them in the possession of power, or to establish any systematic opposition to them. To this Government I do not profess any direct or great hostility, nor do I give it any direct or systematic support: to remove them from office is not my object. I gladly acknowledge that his Majesty's present Government has on one important subject done the State great service, I am ready to acknowledge this—though I do not feel that overflowing gratitude which some persons express—but, I may repeat, I can assure your Lordships that I have no wish to place other persons in the situation of the present Ministers; for I expect that they will yet do greater services. Though I distrust these Ministers, I do not move my resolution with any view to remove them from their situation. To the present Government I feel an obligation; because whatever may be their opinions and systems, when they see that the opinions and feelings of the people and of the country are made up against them, they give up their own system, which is a course that deserves commendation. When they have ascertained the temper of Parliament and the feelings of the people, whatever line of policy they may before have resolved to act on, they manifest a laudable deference—they discard all their former professions — they turn round against all their former precepts; and, with a justice and moderation I admire, they do that which is right with a calmness and firmness I can never too much applaud. But when not forced into any particular line of conduct—when there are many paths before them—when, from the inactivity or apathy of the public they are allowed to choose their own course, they generally choose that which is wrong. I have no hostility to the Ministers—I do not wish to put others in their place—I have no such views; I do not "assault" his Majesty's Government; but I wish, from seeing what has been their conduct, that Parliament should admonish the Ministers, and by their voice direct them in that path from which, unless they are admonished, they are sure to go wrong. It is on this ground that I think it necessary, at this the eleventh hour, to call on Parliament to admonish the Ministers, and direct them in what they have to perform.

To the first objection which might be made to my Motion, therefore, I have this Reply:—It must be granted to me in argument, that the Ministers do need the interference of Parliament; and, also, that when Parliament interferes, they take the correction willingly—they swallow their physic like good boys, and deserve praise. [*laughter*] It is necessary, however, that your Lordships should enforce good advice; and it will be impossible for you to adopt my resolution without finding the Ministers fully prepared to admit and adopt it. My Lords, I rest my objection to the conduct of the Ministers upon the results of that conduct in foreign affairs. In the first place, I cannot help remarking, that whatever may be the final pacification of Greece, if it shall be such as I am most anxious to see—if that unfortunate country shall at length have a good Government; it is obvious that if this can now be accomplished, it is demonstrable in argument that the final pacification of that country might have been obtained heretofore more to the honour and advantage of Great Britain, and with less risk to the tranquillity of England, and less risk to the tranquillity of Europe. Immediately after the battle of Navarino, and before the rupture between Russia and Turkey, and before the successes of Russia in Roumelia and Bulgaria, it is obvious that it might have been then achieved by the exertions of the three confederated powers in a better and more efficacious manner than after the war between the two powers, and after the success of their ally in Bulgaria and Roumelia. This is so plain a proposition that it is not necessary to prove it. It is merely a statement of facts of common and plain sense evident to every man. It is only necessary to call to your Lordships' recollection how his Majesty's Government stood at the period when the noble Duke made his first appearance in this House as First Lord of the Treasury. I must call him the First Lord of the Treasury, as that other name sounds, in my opinion, neither English nor constitutional; but if I must use it—when he made his first appearance in the House as Premier, what was the situation then I ask, of Great Britain? She then stood as she always ought to stand — noble and commanding. She was, if not above all her compeers, not excelled by any—she stood the first and foremost of the great powers which had entered into a great confederacy for the benefit of mankind, and for preserving the repose of Europe. And what were the circumstances which placed her in this situation? First, France, which we must always consider as most emulous of our glory—I will not call her our rival—had only recently acceded to the confederacy, induced to do so more by an unwillingness not to be of the party than from any great and comprehensive views of the general good. Russia had consented, and great praise is due to the Government of that day, and to the noble Duke for the part he took in signing the protocol. Russia consented to make a sacrifice of her own interests to our views, and shewed the great value she set on our co-operation by entering into a cordial and friendly alliance. My Lords, our possessions in the Mediterranean, in the vicinity of the theatre of war, gave us a command—gave us a considerable degree of influence—more than either of the other confederates. But above all things, the great respect which the Greeks had never ceased to profess for this country through their long five-years' struggle, secured Great Britain a paramount influence in the confederacy. It was seen in many respects by Russia and France—it induced them to place their squadrons under the command of a gallant English Admiral—and they had reaped the advantage they foresaw—which every body would reap who placed confidence in a British Admiral—they reaped glory and conquest. That Admiral is a great commander. He is a man who will stand high in the pages of our history, and will be spoken of hereafter with great honour. That commander achieved a great victory with an inferior force; with a force even ludicrously inferior he long baffled a superior force; and finally, by as successful an action as is on record of the British navy, he achieved a glorious victory, which elated all the other parties, and seemed likely immediately to promote the views of the three confederated powers concerned in the engagement. Such was then our situation. Look, my Lords, at the contrast now. Let us look at the language and conduct of the Government of the present day. In the first place, as to their language. When the news of that victory reached England, your Lordships will recollect that the present Cabinet had recently been formed, and when the country was to be informed of this victory the vocabulary was ransacked for an ungenerous word to express distrust and disgust of that victory. That word introduced it into the King's Speech that they might tarnish the laurels of the only British commander who had, in modern times led a combined and confederated was even put into the sacred mouth of his Majesty; the Ministers introduced it into the King's Speech—he said the Ministers, for the word was theirs—they force to as great a victory as I ever recollect in our naval annals. It was only in this country that this victory was called "untoward." The French King spoke of it in very different language; and the Emperor of Russia distinctly and directly approved of it. The Ministers called it "untoward." But why, when it was so well calculated to promote the great end the confederates had in view, and even bring the affairs of Greece to a happy conclusion? In this manner, then, my Lords, were the prospects of Greece blighted—its hopes disappointed, and its expectations frustrated by that single word "untoward." I am not, as I have already said, in the possession of any papers: neither have I any information by which I could lay before you the exact succession of the dates of those events which I have mentioned, or to which I may hereafter have occasion to refer. It is not from any official documents, or from any thing more than common rumour, that I state a blockade of the Dardanelles was proposed; but whether I have it, or have it not from such sources, it is a matter of public notoriety, announced in the newspapers. In this it was understood the British Administration acquiesced; Russia was the active party, France did not object. But it was maintained that the permanent blockade was not to be agreed to; for the Turks would be more likely to yield to the wishes of the three allied powers, if they would only sit still with their hands before them, and let those said Turks commit every conceivable cruelty they chose upon those unfortunate beings whom they thought proper to designate as their subjects. There was a difficulty about this proposed blockade of the Dardanelles. If it had originated with the English, all that difficulty would have been removed; and if Great Britain had only been true to its ancient ally, as the Turks were called, the weakness and humiliation of the Turks would not have been exposed—not that I feel, I confess, as much regret at the misfortunes of the Ottomans as perhaps other noble Lords now in this House. Amongst other causes of regret arising from the manner in which this extraordinary course of public policy has involved us is, that whereas we might have received the confidence and gratitude of Russia in the exercise of the discretion intrusted to us, we have, by an opposite policy from that which common sense and common prudence dictated, given her reason to suppose that we entertain against her a secret enmity, and thus added further causes of excitement to that hostile temper—if such exist—which it would have been for our honour and advantage to use every exertion to allay. But though we talked much of our ancient ally, our language almost the next moment was of the most discouraging character—the whole of our conduct, both to the Turks and the Greeks, was such as both were entitled to complain of—our language to the Greeks at the most critical moment was cold and freezing, sufficient to damp and chill the most ardent spirit. It reminds me of the hacknied passage of Virgil—as if profane hands were never to touch the symbol of wisdom—

> "Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
> Spes Danaûm."

It then seemed as if the Greeks were in a worse situation than before. The noble Duke said no troops should be sent to them; but then they replied, if you do not send us troops, send us money. To this his answer was, practically, you shall have neither—no troops shall enter the country. But France and Russia advanced, saying to England, though you do not send troops, or send money, allow us to do it; instantly thereupon Great Britain interposes, saying, that to assent to any such principle as that one or two members of a triple alliance should act without the privity and consent of the third, was not to be for a moment endured; that to make such a proposition was nothing less than to propose the utter destruction of the whole treaty; it would be, the British Government alleged, contrary to the words and spirit of the bond. I do not know but that there is some colour for giving to the treaty that interpretation. It was perfectly true, that if one party obstinately held out, the others in good faith were not at liberty to move an inch—they must act together, or not at all; but what was to prevent one of the parties, by consent, enabling the others to do what the occasion demanded? Why should England say no money and no troops are to be sent out to Greece, because I am not in a condition to send either? Here, then, was England assuming to herself the harsh and disagreeable office of saying to a poorer and a weaker country—one that had scarcely yet assumed the form of a State—True, you are in distress and difficulty—you are struggling with powerful enemies—you have looked up to me in an especial manner for protection and countenance in the hour of your adversity; but from me you shall receive none—not only will I not advance you a single shilling, nor send you one man for your protection, but I will interfere to prevent others doing so, however willing they might be; and willing they were, but England forbade it. At one time she held one language, at another time she adopted a different tone—she went through every note in the gamut; no instrument could play so many tunes. It was in vain that her allies proposed to send troops. No, said the noble Duke—not a man shall move. The French said, send your own troops. The noble Duke said, no. Then let us. Oh! that would be ten times worse—[*No, no! from the Duke of Wellington*]. I see the noble Duke denies my statement; and from the eagerness with which he does so, I am, I suppose, to conclude, that though wrong in that, I am right in all else, seeing that up to this time he has not expressed the slightest dissent. At length troops were sent; and when they arrived, our commander in the Mediterranean immediately, with the highest judgment and promptitude, took advantage of that favourable occurrence to negociate with the Pacha of Egypt, with a view to effect the recall of his barbarous troops from the Morea, and a treaty for their evacuation of that territory was signed; but the ink with which that treaty was signed had scarcely time to dry when that gallant officer was superseded in his command and recalled. The moment the French troops landed, Ibrahim Pacha quitted the Morea. Therefore the assertion was perfectly well founded that the French had cleared the Morea. But all that time a horrible warfare was going on in other parts of Greece, and the commander who had endeavoured to rescue Athens and the other districts exposed to that warfare, was recalled by the British Government. In the meanwhile an earnest remonstrance on the part of Greece was forwarded to Paris, but the effect of that was defeated. I will not say whether it was right or wrong, but this I will say, that it produced a withering influence upon the victory at Navarin; it distracted the councils of the Greeks—it estranged their minds from that particular country which they had chosen for their ally and protector—that country which, at the moment most important to their success, recalled the gallant commander who had done them the highest services they had ever experienced at the hands of foreigners. I need not tell your Lordships that this had a most ruinous effect upon the fortunes of a new State endeavouring to establish itself in Europe. If it had been encouraged and supported as it ought, its original predilections and attachment to this country cherished, how different would have been the result, and how advantageous to England, I will leave your Lordships to judge. But Russia stepped in, and it was not with the most tardy, and, if I may so speak, unwilling submission that England admitted an interference obviously repugnant to the feelings of her Government. Was that, I put it to your Lordships, the conduct which ought to have been pursued by the Ministers of a great powerful and benevolent monarch, mediating in a conflict between violence and barbarism on the one side, and a suffering and Christian people on the other? In coming forward to censure the conduct which Ministers have pursued on this occasion, and throughout the whole of this interesting contest, I admit that I am bound to shew, by means of indisputable facts and just reasoning, that the conduct they have pursued is not worthy a great nation, or one professing to act upon principles of good faith; and I trust that, so far as I have gone, I have succeeded; and I expect that in what I have to go through I shall not fail to establish the positions for which I contend. I admit that we were bound to Turkey to a certain extent—that I acknowledge is true; and it is equally true, to adopt the language of a noble Lord when the Address was moved—that I am no lover of the Turk, but I am a lover of good faith—and I am a lover of fair dealing and of honourable character—and I never can bring myself to think that it is consistent with the honour and character of Great Britain to have behaved even to Turkey as she has done. Has not her conduct been that of deceitful and hollow friendship? Has not England towards Turkey been guilty of base and pusillanimous desertion? Has she not shrunk from the support of her ally in the moment of adversity and distress? On that memorable day, when the noble Duke took his seat in this House as First Lord of the Treasury, it was stated to us as historical truth that the Turk was our ancient ally, and not only our ancient ally, but one, the integrity of whose empire and dominions we were bound by the ties of interest and the faith of treaties to maintain. Yes, my Lords, that the maintenance of that empire in Europe was essential to the balance of Europe; and finally, that it was alike our duty and our interest to maintain that empire in such a situation as that it should be capable of defending itself. Towards the close of the same session similar language was held by the noble Secretary. He, indeed, did not dwell upon the antiquity of the alliance—there his reputation would have been at stake; as President of the Antiquarian Society he was not forward to contend for the antiquity of the alliance, for he had archives to refer to, and possibly he there found that this most ancient alliance was only of twenty or thirty years' standing. Still the noble Secretary, though discreetly suppressing any allusion to the remote origin of this alliance, repeated as emphatically as the noble Duke had done, that it was essential to the balance of Europe that there should not be any diminution of the power of the Turk, or any diminution of his influence in the affairs of Europe; and that it was the duty of his Majesty's advisers to do all in their power to prevent that diminution.

I will not waste the time of your Lordships with inquiries, at this time of day, into the justice or the folly of those opinions, for facts have before now pretty fully disclosed their true character as a policy unknown to the practice of British statesmen, and decidedly opposed to the dicta of all the great men of the last century. However, such were the avowed opinions of the responsible advisers of the Crown, and it now remains to be seen how far their conduct accorded with that opinion; and if, upon examination, they had not been found to act up to it, what opinion must be formed of their wisdom and their principles? It must be fully in the recollection of your Lordships, that not very long since a noble Lord, familiar with the affairs of the East of Europe, stated in this House, that the language of his Majesty's Government was the subject of unreserved discussion with the Ottoman Porte—that the Government of Constantinople freely canvassed what was said in this House, and minutely weighed and canvassed the language of the Sovereign and the Ministers. From this the interference was obvious, that though the Turks might have found themselves engaged in a war with Russia, their ancient ally, England, would come to their assistance in the moment of need. The Turks might well think, though the formidable power of Russia might threaten them, that yet there was a great power—a great maritime power, whom she might always regard as her confederate whenever real danger was at hand. The Turk might say, I have a faithful and an ancient ally, in whom I may confide, who has declared herself bound by treaties and determined by interest to preserve the integrity of my empire in Europe, and who at the first moment of her interference will put my enemy to flight. Thus was the Ottoman Porte deluded—thus was it induced to persist in a ruinous course buoyed up as it was by the adulation and the praises of his Majesty's Government, but how grievously and fatally was it deceived, and at what a distressing moment was that deceit first felt, when the altered language and vacillating conduct of the King's Government announced to them that from their firm friend, their ancient ally, they had nothing to hope. In the blockade, for instance, of Treviso by the Greeks, it was alleged that that was out of the line of the proposed neutrality. Some noble Lords were great friends to a blockade, for the blockade of Oporto by Don Miguel had been acknowledged with almost breathless haste; and others were great lovers of a neutrality as was seen in the instance of Terceira. In the same manner his Majesty's Government sometimes supported the Greek, and anon gave encouragement to the Turk, and both were sufferers from her hollow friendship, and her substantial enmity. For my part, I never could understand the policy which made this country send an Ambassador to Constantinople, when the Porte would not consent to concession of any kind. Then look, my Lords, to the position to which the conduct of the British Government reduced the Ottoman Porte. After the Russians passed the Balkan, they made an offer of treating with the Turks—to that the Government of Constantinople sent no answer, good or bad, not even an attempt at an evasive reply. The Sultan did that which Louis 18th did on the return of Buonaparte from Elba; he said, "I will never desert my capital, rather than do so, I will lay down my life at the gate of St. Denis. I will contest its safety to the latest moment;" with a great deal more talk of a similar kind. So when the Russians arrived at Adrianople what said the Turk? Why that he would die within the sacred precincts of St. Sophia, and how did all this end? Just as such boasting generally does, in complete submission—victory succeeded victory, and all this time what was passing in the mind of the Turk? He must have soliloquized somewhat after this fashion—"True I am in great jeopardy—I am encompassed with danger and difficulty—the enemy is at my gate; but then I have an old friend, an ancient ally, who has employed the strongest expressions which his language affords, to prove how strongly he feels bound to preserve the integrity of my empire by every obligation of honour and of interest—how necessary the maintenance of my Empire is to the preservation of the balance of Europe; and now, since I have lately become better instructed in the customs of the Christians, I learn that the preservation of that balance of Europe, is the sole and only reason for keeping up a standing army"—as he might easily have seen from the preamble to the Mutiny Act. He then might go on to say—"My ally and faithful friend has not, it is true, large armies at his disposal; but then he is master of a powerful fleet, and capable of transmitting assistance in more forms than one: and as a proof of the sincerity of his desire to afford me the necessary aid when the proper moment shall arrive, he has sent the brother of his Reis Effendi to consult with my Reis Effendi for the safety of my Throne and my dominions, and to give them the benefit of his advice and information. Besides, the mere name of my ancient ally will be, in itself, enough to intimidate the foe—like Achilles, his shout from the walls will suffice to put the hostile army to flight." Well, then, my Lords, the brother of the Reis Effendi goes out as an Ambassador, and, after a few secret communications, and so on, the British Ambassador gives his final advice, and what does that turn out to be?—After all that was said about ancient treaties, and the balance of Europe, and the necessity of preserving Turkish influence in European affairs, what is the advice of the British Ambassador?—nothing more nor less than unconditional submission. One point still remained, which might be urged for the interest of Turkey—the mere nominal Sovereignty over Greece, and the payment of a small tribute. Yet even that point was struck out, and the interests of Turkey totally disregarded, and all this time the British Government told the Turk that they could not help what was going forward; and then when those hostilities ended in the perfect humiliation of the Turkish power, the Minister comes to Parliament, and says he has great satisfaction in announcing the termination of hostilities, and such a termination, too, in the annihilation of their old and faithful ally. Such are the speeches of his Majesty's Ministers. Now, my Lords, is not this a fair illustration of the conduct of his Majesty's Government in the position into which they have brought this country with relation to Turkey, and I should gladly be instructed as to the manner in which that position can be made to consist with the true interest of the country, the justice of Parliament, or the honour of the Crown, however convenient to themselves his Majesty's Ministers might have supposed it. Having occupied so much of your Lordships' time, I shall not now go through the various considerations that suggest themselves as to the manner in which these proceedings are likely to affect our relations with Russia. As respects France it was extremely ill-timed, calculated to excite the most injurious suspicions, and likely to alienate us from the Government and inhabitants of that country to an extent the consequences of which we yet severely experience. There is one observation with respect to Russia, which I cannot avoid making, that much stress has been laid upon our trade with the Black Sea. Now with the exception of Azof, which can scarcely be considered necessary to except, we had no trade with the Black Sea while it was in the hands of Turkey; but from the moment Russia got possession of it, we might be said to have the command of the Black Sea, for one ship of this country that before traded to the Black Sea, thirty-four were now found in its ports. The whole of our policy towards Russia has been, during this contest, such as almost to exceed the bounds of credibility, did not the facts stand upon evidence the most unquestionable. Our conduct with respect to that country was the acme of imbecility. I will apply to this case the lines of a writer, Ausonius, who, though he writes in verse, is not very poetical, yet with some success he contrasts a wise and foolish man—

Quid prudentis opus? cui possis nolle nocere.
Quid stulti proprium est? non posse et velle nocere.

My Lords, the day will come when we shall rue the errors of which our Government have been guilty—when our treatment of France, a country that had throughout this affair, acted a generous as well as a friendly part—when our neglect of the opportunity of adding Candia to the territories of Greece; and when our omission to strengthen the young State, by means of Egypt, will react upon ourselves with a force of which no man can see the remote consequences. I think, my Lords, I have already laid sufficient grounds to justify the assertion that this Government has acted disingenuously. I now come to a part of the subject on which it is necessary that I should acknowledge I speak a good deal from conjecture. I have no private sources of information; no access to official papers; no man in the House has taken less pains than I have to ascertain what is going on. I really know nothing but what is derived from the current conversation of the day, and from the newspapers—for, my Lords, newspapers will continue to write, notwithstanding the prosecutions of the noble Duke. In this way these rumours have been put forth, to which I am anxious to call the attention of Parliament. They are to this effect:—that there is an intention to contract within still narrower limits the territory of Greece than even those within which it was at first understood that the boundaries of the young State were to be confined; and I the more particularly address myself to this, as there is at the present moment something very like civil war going on in Candia, of a kind the most disgraceful to humanity; and as, apart from other reasons, that island has Greeks for the major part of its inhabitants, I conceive that those who had to deal with the boundaries of Greece were guilty of an egregious error, in not negociating for Candia's being included within its limits, But it was enough for us to have to execute the Treaty of the 6th July, and that even in doing that we had better do it, if possible, without plucking a feather from the Turk—to do him, in short, as little injury as possible. As to our conduct towards Russia, it was little less than downright madness; it was not fair with respect to any Government, and it was peculiarly impolitic with regard to such a one as that of Russia. The great principle, my Lords, for which I have been contending, is this, that we have been guilty of the grossest error in not securing to Greece a strong Government, and a territory sufficient for the maintenance of its own independence. The establishment of a weak power in the Mediterranean is worse than nugatory. The name of an illustrious Prince (Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg) has been mentioned in connection with this subject. The intellectual qualifications of that illustrious personage for the situation in question are well known. He has had the advantage of ten or twelve years' experience of free institutions in this country, and it is rumoured that he is still designated by the wishes of the people of Greece, as the individual most to be desired, and that he even was so before the Protocol of the 6th of July. Of this, however, I profess to know nothing, but the general rumour upon this subject is so strong, and the concurrent evidence in its favour proceeding from every quarter, that I cannot entertain any doubt as to the wishes of the Greek people. I believe that the Greeks have too much sense to adopt any other form of Government than that of a limited monarchy; but let us reflect upon the cruel situation of the head of that Government, if, before he takes upon himself that authority, the affairs of Greece, in the most extended sense, are not completely settled. Observe what is the present condition of Candia, in the nominal possession of the Turks. It is peopled by Greeks, who are now in a state of insurrection; the strong places are in the hands of the Turks, but commotions already prevail, and a general civil war is on the point of breaking out in the island. However wise, however prudent, however just, the new head of the Greek Government may be, he will be a stranger to the people, and you may compel him to adopt a line of conduct he would not otherwise choose. He must, in the first instance, either connive at his own subjects carrying on clandestine intercourse with the insurgents in Candia, and then the predatory warfare, with all its outrages revolting to human nature, must be continued, for he must openly espouse the cause of his oppressed brethren and subjects. If such be his determination, what then, will be the consequence? Peace? No—a new war, which may embroil all the powers of Europe in the dispute, and then the Treaty will have to be re-settled, and all that has been done, having been undone, will have to be done again. The Sovereign of Greece may take a third course—he may say, "I will maintain a strict neutrality, and prevent the consequence of any assistance from my Empire." I suppose that he will be allowed to pursue vessels on the high seas, that have left his ports for the purpose of carrying arms or stores to Candia; and if he maintain that strict neutrality, what is it but folding his arms in apathy before him, and seeing his brethren in language, in manners, and in country, murdered and massacred by wholesale? If any, the slightest, suspicion be felt that such will be the situation of the Potentate of Greece, it is the duty and right of Parliament to interfere, and to express a decided opinion before the great work is attempted to be completed. There is another report which I have heard, and which I earnestly hope is without foundation. Perhaps the suggestion of that evil genius which seems to have hovered unseen over all who have interfered in this question—

Infert se septus nebulâ, mirabile dictu
Per medios, miscetque viris: neque cernitur ulli.

That care is to be taken that the Government of Greece shall be in a particular form—that whoever may hold the reins of authority, he is not to consult the wants and wishes of the people, but is to obey the dictation of others. That is the rumour; and any such intention I must deprecate. Some fears of the Pope or of the King of Naples (for I suppose Austria does not venture to stand forward and avow her own apprehensions on the subject), are supposed to have led to this determination. Such an abominable, such a disgusting principle of action, I hope in God will never guide the Ministers of this country. I do not, and cannot suspect them of it; but I think, nevertheless, that Parliament ought to interpose, in order to put them on their guard, and to declare, in the words of my Resolution, that the Government of Greece ought to be established "with full powers to adopt laws and institutions suited to the wants and wishes of the people." I have gone a greater length than I intended into the statement of my views, and I have therefore to apologise to your Lordships; but I maintain the undoubted right of the House to adopt this course as the hereditary Counsellors of his Majesty. It was said that such a course was unprecedented. I thought I remembered instances of the kind, but I would not trust my memory, and looking through the Journals, I found precedents enough to overwhelm anybody. I shall not, therefore, further fatigue your Lordships by producing or explaining any of them; but I will conclude with moving, that it be resolved—"That no pacification or settlement of Greece will appear to this House permanently advantageous to the interests of Europe, or honourable to his Majesty's Crown, which does not give to that country a territory sufficient for national defence both by land and sea, and which does not establish therein a Government with full powers to adapt its laws and institutions to the wants and wishes of the people, and to protect its subjects from all foreign interference in their domestic concerns."

The Earl of *Aberdeen* rose and said,—I had hoped that the declaration in his Majesty's Speech, by which Parliament was informed that the King had concerted measures with his Allies for the pacification and final settlement of Greece, and the expression of a confident hope on the part of his Majesty that it would be in his power speedily to lay before Parliament the particulars of that arrangement, would have been sufficient to repress, for a time at least, the impatience of noble Lords to enter into a discussion of this subject. But the noble Baron having been unable to resist the temptation of such an inviting topic, has, in my opinion brought it before the House in a manner certainly most unusual, and which can only be justified by a well-founded suspicion of those whose duty it is more immediately to advise the Crown. To warrant such a proceeding, the noble Baron must suppose, with apparent reason, that we are either indifferent to the honour of the Crown, or unwilling to carry into effect the stipulations of Treaties by which we profess to be bound. Now where, let me ask, is the proof to justify any such suspicion? What right has the noble Baron to entertain it, and how has any thing that has occurred since his Majesty was advised by his present Ministers led to any such conclusion? The noble Viscount who spoke on a former night (Goderich), interested as he naturally was in the execution of that Treaty, which now engages attention, and which your Lordships are desirous to be fulfilled, admitted, with the fairness and candour belonging to him, that the acquiescence of Great Britain in the French expedition to the Morea was a sufficient proof of the desire of this Government to see its provisions adopted. Had we not been disposed to attend to the spirit of that Treaty, most certainly by the letter of it, we might have forbidden the departure of a single soldier from France. We gave this proof, therefore, of our desire to see it carried into execution, and in the whole of our conduct we have afforded no ground whatever for the suspicion which the noble Baron entertains of our sincerity. But if his motion be extraordinary after the assurances from the Throne, and in the present state of our foreign negociations, it is still more extraordinary when we come to examine its real character and nature. By proposing a vote, that in constituting this new State we shall give it certain capacities, dimensions and powers, he sanctions an act of wanton spoliation on a friendly nation, without the slightest pretext to justify it. The noble Baron speaks as if there were some huge, newly-discovered continent to be partitioned, and forgets the real stipulations of the Treaty of London. He forgets that that Treaty does not profess to have in view the independence of Greece to any extent. It is a Treaty for the pacification of Greece. I see in it the expression of various motives operating upon the high contracting parties, not one of which has relation to the independence of Greece. If, then, from a change of circumstances, we have been able to deviate from the strict line of the Treaty, and uniformly deviating in favour of the Greek population, it cannot be said that we have been reluctant to carry into effect the stipulations of the Treaty of London. So much to the contrary has been our conduct, that we have gone beyond the expectations of the most sanguine friends of the Greeks: those who framed the Treaty never could have entertained the shadow of a hope that we should have been able to go so far. The noble Baron also charged us with unnecessary and, as he contended, intentional delay in the execution of this work. Without wishing to object to the Treaty to which we are parties, and without wishing to criticise it too narrowly, I must request your Lordships candidly to reflect on the nature of that Treaty: observe how undefined it is in its object, how necessarily uncertain in its means of execution, and then you will be aware how extremely difficult it must be to give immediate effect to desires so vaguely specified. Recollecting who are the parties to the Treaty, and adverting to the progress made under it, your Lordships will admit that in two years as much has been done as could be reasonably expected in a work of this nature. But the noble Baron says that we are indebted for that progress to the arms of Russia; but he is greatly mistaken. There is, no doubt, not a shadow of doubt, that but for the occurrence of the war with Turkey, the object of the Treaty would have been more speedily accomplished. As it is, the result of the war will not have operated on the execution of the terms of the Treaty. The noble Baron has given a recital of facts, but so incorrect and confused, as to the time and manner in which events occurred, that it is very difficult to follow him; but he has accused Ministers of not giving immediate effect to this Treaty after the conflict in the Bay of Navarino. Although the noble Baron professes to be so imperfectly informed, I apprehend it is sufficiently notorious to all the world, that the present Ministers had nothing to do with the affairs of Government until some time after that event: when, too, he stigmatizes the conduct pursued towards the gallant officer engaged on that occasion, he may have heard, however imperfectly informed, that the present Ministers sent out an inquiry, and are not in any way responsible for the result. As to the gallantry displayed at Navarino, no man ever entertained a doubt—the doubt was as to the justification in taking such a step. The noble Baron has said, that when first the proposal was made to send French troops to the Morea, Ministers objected to it. They unquestionably did so in the first instance, and why? They objected because a plan had been already concerted by three powers, by which the same object was to be attained by naval means—by means of a naval blockade. Were not Ministers, then, justified in objecting? Did not the convention between the English Admiral and the Pacha of Egypt actually effect the evacuation of the Morea before the arrival of the French troops? This fact establishes that we were right in resisting the expedition on the ground that it was not necessary, for means existed of accomplishing that object independent of any expedition. In one part of his speech the noble Baron has urged, in very strange terms, the necessity of extending the new State of Greece so as to include the Island of Candia; and having intimated that he would with pleasure have seen a Russian army in possession of Constantinople, of course he cannot be expected to feel any difficulty regarding the transferrence of Candia. But looking still to the Treaty of the 6th July as our guide (for the noble Lord and I can never agree; we seem to be as opposite as different parts of the world) I say that I consider the honour of the Crown to be concerned in the execution of the engagements of the Crown. The noble Lord seems to have some notion that this new State should be of certain dimensions, and that to make them so the Island of Candia must be taken from Turkey. Upon that part of the subject, as well as all the rest, the noble Baron seems to be very imperfectly informed. The existence of any war at all in Candia is to be attributed to ourselves and to our allies: at the date of the Treaty of London that island was tranquil: a mountainous district in such part of the world indeed was always in that state of insubordination which is too frequent in Turkish provinces; but Candia, at the date of the Treaty of London, was as tranquil as it had ever been under the Turks. In the execution of the blockade it was found necessary to establish the blockade of Candia; and what was the effect of it? The Greek pirates were driven to take refuge with their brethren in the mountains; and this was the signal for excesses and the commencement of a civil war. By means of assistance of money and men from the Provisional Government of Greece, a war was kept up, which is not yet entirely at an end. That was a state of hostility, as I said, arising out of the Treaty of London and the conduct of the Allies. The noble Baron has also alluded to a report, if possible more inaccurate than most of those on which he has founded his motion; he has supposed that there is some intention to interfere with the establishment of the form of Government most desired by the Greeks, and this design he has gratuitously attributed to that demon that seems to haunt his Lordship's thoughts whenever he talks of foreign politics, and which he imagines has influenced us to adopt a course he holds in abhorrence. If he alludes to Austria, I can assure him that Austria has had about as much to do with the settlement of Greece as the noble Baron has had, or not so much, indeed. I deprecate any interference with the internal Government of the new State; for God's sake let the Prince and the People settle their institutions for themselves. We must not force our institutions upon them, but give them full liberty to act as they please, and to found a constitution for themselves adapted to their wants and wishes. On that head, therefore, the noble Baron need not be in any state of uneasiness. The noble Baron has not omitted to renew his charges, in consequence of the opinions expressed by my noble friend near me (the Duke of Wellington) and myself, upon the importance of preserving the Turkish Empire. Those opinions I have no objection to repeat; and I therefore regret the change recently effected in the relative position of that power, as compared with its neighbours. I do not regret it from any love of the Turks or of the Turkish Government—God forbid! I have seen and know the effect of the barbarous rule existing there: and nobody can be more alive to the horrors with which it abounds. But give me leave to say, that the improvement of Turkey may be purchased at too dear a rate; and I still think that the conquest of that country would be paying dear indeed for the amelioration of its condition. The power of Turkey has been considerably weakened, and it remains to be seen how it may be affected by the change, and whether the apprehensions entertained are warranted. The noble Baron treats these opinions with ineffable contempt—as notions not to be tolerated in a Member of this House; but surely he must have forgotten that they are not only not new, but that they have been always entertained by this Government. By no man have they been more strongly felt than by a right hon. gentleman for whom the noble Baron naturally feels the greatest regard and the highest veneration—the late Mr. Fox—who declared that he was not only most anxious for the independence of the Turkish Empire, but that he was ready to guarantee its integrity. With this authority on our side I do not think that the noble Baron is again likely to treat us with such supreme scorn because we profess the same opinions, not for the sake of the Turks, but for the sake of the peace of Europe.

The noble Baron has also drawn a humorous picture of the futility of our friendship and influence in the progress and termination of the late war: upon that point it does not become me to speak decisively; but with all the noble Baron's affectation of imperfect information upon that subject, I know that he has good sources of information, and to those sources I would refer him for better information upon this matter. He will learn from those sources whether the charges which he has made are sanctioned by the facts; whether he is right in supposing that we gave the Sultan any encouragement in his resistance to Russia; whether we encouraged Russia with one hand, while with the other we were stimulating Turkey to make resistance. Let him consult the sources of his information, and say whether he is right in making us responsible for the war. But I defy him to any such proofs. I maintain that so far from playing such a part, before and at the commencement of the war we saw the only result which could follow from it; but the state of things preceding the war, and the circumstance of there being no Minister at Constantinople, made communication with it very difficult. At the end of the first campaign, though there were many in this country who thought that the Russians had partially failed, we did not alter our tone; we still kept on in a style of urgent remonstrance and advice to the Porte to accept, by all means, the pacific overtures of Russia, and to conclude a peace. Therefore the obstinacy and infatuation of that Government having brought them to a pass which cannot be looked at with indifference by the rest of Europe, is it fair to lay at our doors such a result? The noble lord has also been pleased to characterise our whole conduct, upon this and other public matters connected with our relations with foreign powers, as disgraceful to the country, and calculated to lower us in the eyes of the world. Our policy he deems to have been imbecile, puerile, and pusillanimous. Now these, though hard epithets, were mere assertions of the noble Lord unsupported by proof. The fact is, that upon the whole subject of our foreign policy, and particularly upon this, I feel greatly at a loss how to answer the noble Lord. These taunts, I am afraid, produce upon the minds of your Lordships a painful effect; and so they would upon mine, my Lords, if I heard them now for the first time. But ever since I have had the honour of a seat in this House, which is for the last twenty-five years, I have been so accustomed to those sorts of accusations, in peace and in war, when we were opposed to a single power—or, single-handed, strove against all Europe—or when, by the aid of my noble friend near me, were able to conclude a triumphant peace with our allies—that they have now little value in them. I do not pretend to answer these accusations, all I wish to say is, that upon the subject of foreign policy, I prefer the noble Lord's proofs to his assertions. I am afraid the noble Lord will obtain but little credit when he charges an Administration, at the head of which is my noble friend, with imbecility and pusillanimity. We are disposed to peace, and this is the effect of our position. For what is the advantage of the real power and inexhaustible resources of this country if they do not enable us to pursue a course which with feebler powers would be impossible? The noble Lord mistakes if he thinks that our conduct has been misunderstood by the powers with whom we have been in communication. Let him but apply to the best sources of information, and he will find that we have lost nothing with those powers by the temperate and even cautious policy which we have pursued; at the same time never losing sight of the honour of the Crown, in our determination to preserve peace. I ask you whether, if we had followed the noble Lord's suggestions, we could have got through the difficulties which we have gone through? This was our policy, and has been respected by those powers, who, the noble Lord, no doubt, thinks despise us, and by all the world whose respect we value. I can now only repeat to the noble Lord, that we mean to pursue the same policy; that we will, above all, abstain from that restless, meddling policy, which might embroil us in war with Russia, and probably with all Europe also. The noble Lord, throughout his speech, seemed to feel that he had made a ground for your Lordships to act upon. He seemed to think it enough to justify his motion by a precedent; but these are not grounds enough for you to act on. Under these circumstances, then, in which this motion is brought forward, and feeling it to be impossible for me to explain the particulars of an arrangement which is promised in a short time to be laid before you—feeling it impossible, also, to correct the errors and mistakes of the noble Lord without committing myself to a statement of the whole case, I entreat your Lordships not to vote for this Motion, and thereby affirm a suspicion, unfounded and unwarranted, against his Majesty's Government, upon a statement which will be proved to be fallacious. For all these reasons, I think it my duty to move the previous question upon this Motion.

The Marquis of *Clanricarde* said, he could not but contrast the professions of Ministers with their acts in relation to the invasion of Turkey by the Russians; upon the one hand they professed to avoid war, while upon the other they held out a positive threat, when the Russians were at Adrianople, that if they advanced to Constantinople they would sail up the Dardanelles. This step was hazardous, and exposed them to all the consequences of a war. He should support the Motion.

Lord *Melbourne* said, in his opinion, the great question on the Turkish war was, whether the integrity of that Empire was worth preserving at the risk of a war with Russia? If, upon that question, Ministers had made up their minds in the affirmative, they ought to have pursued their object at all events. Such, he believed, was the view which the noble Duke took of the question.—But, if Government had decided not to abide the risk, they ought not, in any case, to have given the least encouragement to the Turks to resist, as, unfortunately, some expressions in the speech of the noble Duke, at the beginning of the Session, had the effect of doing. He should not now discuss the question; but he wished to call the attention of the House to one important fact. Turkey had been represented as playing the most blind and stupid part throughout this war; but was this the fact? Towards Russia only was she undoubtedly blind; for immediately after the noble Duke came into power, Turkey violated the Treaty of Akermann, which gave the Russians a right to go to war. But what was the conduct of Turkey towards this country and France?—She bore every thing. She bore the Protocol signed by the noble Duke; she bore the Treaty of July; she bore the expedition to the Morea. The only solution of this inconsistency was, that she was encouraged by this country and France to resist Russia. He did not mean to say distinctly that any pledge had been given—he would not impute such perfidy towards Russia to the British Government; but he fully believed that the Turks were given to understand that if they resisted they would be supported. His honble. friend, the noble Secretary, had taken credit to Ministers for going farther than the letter of the Treaty; but was it forgotten that circumstances, had very much altered since the making of that Treaty? With respect to Greece—he hoped that it would not be made a blot in the list of States, nor an encumbrance amongst the number of our friends, but a substantial and useful ally. He was glad to hear that there was no intention of interfering with the internal Government of the new State, but that it should be at liberty to adopt such institutions as it pleased. That was the right course for this country to pursue; and he was delighted with the distinct assurance that there was no intention of interfering with the internal affairs of this rising government.

Lord *Goderich* begged to congratulate the Government upon the declaration which they had made of neutrality, as concerned the internal affairs of the new Government of Greece. He hoped, however, that our legitimate influence would be used to prevent any other power from shackling that people in the choice of their institutions. We ought to persuade them to adopt our own institutions, if it were only to show the world that we bear with them less as grievances than cherish them as blessings. Such a gift to the new State would be consistent with our national greatness and the public interest. He should support the Motion.

The Duke of *Wellington* said,—My Lords, although perfectly satisfied with the defence of the Government which the speech of my noble friend has afforded, yet, as some things have been stated since he sat down, more particularly by the noble Lord upon the second bench, whom, if he will allow me, I will call my noble friend (Lord Melbourne), I shall trouble you with a very few words upon this occasion. My Lords, his Majesty, in his Speech from the Throne, delivered upon the first day of the Session by the Lords Commissioners, stated to you, that he had concerted with his allies a plan for the pacification of Greece, and in order to carry into effect the Treaty of the 27th of July; and it was further promised that he would shortly lay before you all the circumstances necessary to enable you to form a judgment upon the course which he will pursue with respect to these transactions. That was the promise, and yet the noble Lord comes down and tells you, "don't wait for the communication which the King has promised in his gracious Speech to you; don't wait for the plans, but at once adopt the proposition as stated by the noble Lord, and resolve that the plan of the Ministers will not satisfy the honour of this country." That is the proposition which the noble Lord makes to you, and which he calls upon you to adopt, before you know whether or not the plan is irrevocably fixed, and without knowing whether the plan upon which you resolve will have any influence upon our proceedings for the future. But I ask whether this is a situation in which the House ought to place itself? or whether it is consistent with its dignity to come forward and enter into resolutions such as this, without knowing whether the Crown would alter one tittle of the arrangements which it had already made? The noble Lord alludes to the resolution of 1827; but what can be more ridiculous than that resolution, except that which the noble Lord moved to-night, and by which he would call on your Lordships to vote that you had lost all confidence in his Majesty's Ministers, and particularly in myself? To prove that, however, what does the noble Lord do? Why, he collects a pack of stories from the newspapers, and makes a statement with what I must term an absolute contempt for dates and facts. My noble friend (Lord Melbourne) seems to think that the Turks were encouraged to publish their Hatti-scheriff, or manifesto, or whatever it was, by the circumstance of my coming into power. Now, my noble friend may be well informed upon this subject; but if he consulted with the sources of his information a little more closely, he would find that the manifesto was published before the Parliament met, or I was in office. The offence, therefore, was not in any thing done here, or in the King's Speech, for that was sent forth some time before, the King's Speech being delivered the 29th of January. The truth is, though it was not published, that the Hatti-scheriff was delivered to the Grand Seignior long before the Ministers left Constantinople. Now, to charge me in this way with that with which I have nothing to do, is what, I must say, is something like being " too bad". The noble Lord alludes also to Navarino, and asks why we did not blockade the Dardanelles, and why other consequences did not follow with which I have just as much to do as I have with the Hatti-scheriff? The order was given by the preceding Government, and they acted very properly to show their determination to carry into effect the Treaty of the 27th July. I have followed their example; and have not advised the blockade of the Dardanelles, but accommodated myself to circumstances. Our principle was, to confine hostilities to the circumstances which rendered them necessary. I do not mean to reproach the noble Viscount for the measures which he has taken, but I will say, on the part of the present Government, that they have not forfeited the confidence of the country, and that they could not, or ought not, to forfeit it by measures of which others were the authors. The noble Baron has brought a variety of charges against the Government, into the details of which it is impossible for me to enter without laying papers before the House of which they are not now in possession. This much, however, I will say, that there is not one of the acts alluded to by the noble Lord which I could not justify in the most satisfactory manner if brought before your Lordships in a tangible shape. But the noble Baron has reproached us on account of the Russian war. [Lord *Holland*.—No reproach on account of the war itself.] Well then, on account of circumstances that arose out of the war. Again, I would beg to remind him of the importance of facts and dates; the Ambassadors of the three Allied Powers retired from Constantinople in December, and I did not come into office until the January following.—From the time that I came into office I omitted no opportunity of communicating with the Porte, and of doing all that could be done by the influence of this Government to prevail on the Porte to give to his Russian Majesty the satisfaction to which he was entitled; His Majesty's Government did all that they could, but in vain; and having failed in that object, it was impossible that they could prevent the war from taking place. It is quite a mistake to suppose that we had ever been deceived as to the result. For my own part, I never dreamt that it could have terminated otherwise, and I could produce many proofs, if necessary, to show not only that I thought all along that the war must come to that one result, but that it ought to have come to it in the course of the first campaign. I should have felt that I was abandoning my duty if I had not exerted myself all along with the Porte for the purpose of bringing about a peace. But the noble Baron says, " Oh! your language led to the war, and you ought to have been prepared to support your language with arms." On the contrary, I maintain that our language neither could have, nor was intended to have, any such effect. We were most anxious to prevent war. When I say that we were most anxious to prevent war, let me not be mistaken. I most firmly believe, notwithstanding the distress of this country, that there never was a moment in her history when she was more capable of embarking in a war for any legitimate object. I do firmly believe that there never was a period when our resources were more available, or her establishments so effective. No, I do not even except that period when, as the noble Baron has said, she was capable of contending against the world in arms. But, taking all this into consideration, there were still other questions to be asked. In the first place, would it be a just war?—It would not; for no one can deny that the first insult proceeded from the Porte. In the next place would it be a politic war? We were engaged with Russia and France in the endeavour to accomplish the settlement of Greece, an object which the Parliament, if not the people of this country, had deeply at heart. We had to consider what the effect of a war might be upon that object; and, seeing that such a war must sooner or later embroil the whole world, we were bound to consider deeply all the consequences before we meditated war. After all, the Turkish power still exists in Europe, and there is every reason to hope that the Sultan may so establish himself in a little time as to be able to act his part in the general system of European policy. The noble Baron blames us also for not having carried on active hostilities against the Turks to fulfil the Treaty of the 6th of July. If there was any principle which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Canning) with whom all these transactions originated insisted on more strongly than another, it was the principle that the Treaty should be carried into effect without any act of hostility. I know this to have been the case, for I received his first instructions when I was engaged in an Embassy respecting it, which were distinctly to that effect. But that is not all; the Treaty itself provides that we should not mix ourselves up with any of the hostile attempts of the parties. But the Government did contemplate ulterior measures, and the battle of Navarino was one of the results. And here again I would call upon the noble Baron to attend to facts and dates. It is true that an arrangement was made with the Egyptian troops for the evacuation of the Morea, and it is also true that troops were sent to compel the evacuation; but at the time the troops were sent, it was not known what arrangements were made upon the subject. Such, I can assure the noble Baron, was the train and order of the facts to which he has alluded. I say that throughout the whole of those transactions we were guided by the spirit of the Treaty, and of the declaration made by his Majesty to Parliament. Our object was a peaceable settlement of Greece, and not a disturbance which might promote the purposes of extensive empire. But again, the noble Baron has accused us of omitting to include the island of Candia within the new territory of Greece. This is hardly fair; the noble Lord knows as well as I do, that the Protocol of the 27th March did not include that island, so that Candia was omitted by the combined act of the Allies. The noble Baron should reflect, however, that, if we were resolved to give Candia to Greece we must first conquer it from the Turks. And, as I have said before, neither the terms nor the spirit of the Treaty could justify us in conquering any thing for the Greeks. For the reasons which I have already stated, and which I could prove still more distinctly if I had the papers before me which will be at the command of the House, I shall conclude by moving the Previous Question upon the resolution of the noble Baron.

Lord *Holland* replied.—He was not disposed to press his Motion to a division. All that he should do would be to enter his Resolution on their Lordships' Journals, as a record of his opinions on a subject which he had much at heart. He wished to say one or two words in explanation of what had fallen from the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs respecting the sentiments of a distinguished relation of his on the policy of maintainingthe integrity of the European dominions of the Grand Seignior. The noble Lord had quoted a passage from a speech of Mr. Fox as a proof of that great man having entertained the same views of policy with respect to Turkey with those at present acted upon by Ministers. Now, he believed he might say that no man was better, or so well, acquainted with the opinions, political and general, of that great statesman and lover of his country than he was; and from that knowledge he would take it upon him to assert, that so far from Mr. Fox wishing to protect the Porte against the aggressions of his neighbours, it was an earnest object of his to drive the Turks entirely out of Europe. He repeated that Mr. Fox had more than once expressed this his invariable opinion on the subject. [The Earl of Aberdeen here gave a sign of dissent] What, the noble Earl holds up his hand in dissent! Did the noble Earl pretend to know as much of Mr. Fox's opinion as he did? If his opinion be derived from a newspaper speech of Mr. Fox he would tell him unhesitatingly, from his knowledge of that stateman's opinions, that it was ill reported, and did not faithfully state his relative's sentiments. He knew of no speech of Mr. Fox, in which such a doctrine was even alluded to; and he knew of those in which a very different one was distinctly asserted. He could not be mistaken on this point. He had a perfect recollection of Mr. Fox's opinions on the Ottoman institutions. He remembered them particularly well, for he was familiar with them from his entrance into public life. At the time of the landing of the French troops under Buonaparte in Egypt, he remembered Mr. Fox observing that though England might be injured by the success of the French arms, one great general benefit would follow from that success,—the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. In fact, such was the opinion of every man at the time; and he would go further, and affirm, that till it was asserted by the present Government that the integrity of European Turkey was essential to the balance of power, no statesman considered the possible expulsion of the Turk from the map of Europe but as a general benefit. The noble Duke had, in his stress on the importance of dates, not correctly interpreted what he had said respecting the blockade of the Dardanelles, and of the conduct of Government in relation to the Russian war. He did not hold the noble Duke responsible for acts arising out of the policy of his predecessors in office. He knew that the proposal of the blockade was anterior to his accession to power, and therefore could not charge him with whatever might be objectionable in carrying that proposal into effect. What he said—in fact, the gist of his whole argument—was, not that the noble Duke was the cause of the Hatti-scheriff document, or that he had urged Turkey into the war with Russia, but that the tendency of his observations respecting the belligerent parties since his acceptance of office, and of the King's Speech of last Session, for which he was responsible, was necessarily to buoy the Porte up with the expectation that England would not be a mere witness of her prostration; in a word, that the impression which Turkey received from the speeches of the noble Duke and his colleagues was, that England would throw herself between the combatants, as a shield to "our ancient ally." He had heard no answer to this part of his speech, and he was convinced that no satisfactory one in the negative could be given. With respect to the blockade of the Dardanelles, which he would say was too long deferred by the predecessor of the noble Duke in office, (whom, moreover, he would blame for instituting any inquiry into the circumstances that led to the battle of Navarino, which might imply a disapproval of that event)—he would remind the noble Duke of his taking credit to himself for acting strictly in obedience to the Treaty of July 1826, to which Treaty he told us that Russia had waved her belligerent rights, while we remained as neutral parties, though, as the noble Duke had told us, we might, under the Treaty, have felt ourselves as no longer bound by its enactments. The noble Duke had taunted his resolution as ridiculous, because a different line of policy from that implied by it might be expedient. He could not see how that made it ridiculous, or how the possible fact of its being supported by ultra Whigs and ultra Tories affected its intrinsic merits. The noble Duke might be-whig him as much as he pleased—it was no great offence to be classed with such men as Somers and his illustrious associates, and he acceded to his proposition. It was no objection to it, to say that it would be *pro tanto* a violation of Treaty, for there was precedent for resolutions much more implying infractions of Treaty and interference with foreign States. After the Treaty of Utrecht, for example, had been signed, in the reign of Queen Anne, a motion of Address was made in that House, calling on her Majesty to interfere with a foreign power, the Duke of Lorraine, so as to prevent his harbouring the Pretender in his dominions. It was objected by the then Minister that the Queen had no right to interfere with the domestic affairs of a foreign Prince, when such interference had not been implied in the recently concluded Treaty, and that if their Lordships agreed to the Address it could do no good; for though her Majesty, with her usual condescension, should declare her willingness to comply with its request, she could not; so that her assenting to the Address would be an idle embarrassment, she not having the means of enforcing it. Notwithstanding these plausible objections, the House of Lords—a most distinguished body, as the history of the times shows—passed the resolution. This precedent in point he thought showed that there was nothing very ridiculous in his Motion. He readily concurred with what the noble Duke had said of the arrangement that had been made to embark the French troops for the Morea, so as to compel Ibrahim Pacha to fulfil his engagement with Sir Edward Codrington, to transport his forces back to Egypt. The noble Duke's statement, that such was the fact, did not require with him the proof of dates. With respect to the island of Candia, he was willing to admit that its annexation to the Greek territory constituted no part of the Protocol. But he would ask simply, had that Protocol never been departed from,—was it strictly adhered to by the noble Duke, or was it not? Was it not a fact, that the Greek line of territory extended from the Gulf of Volo to that of Arta? And, notwithstanding, was it not also a fact that the line of boundary which had been since fixed upon, extended much further, namely, from the Gulf of Volo in the east, to a river, whose modern name he did not then recollect, but which was known in geography as the ancient Acheloüs, in the west? Was not this a departure—he did not mean to imply an injudicious one—from that strict adherence to the letter of the Protocol so much insisted upon by the noble Duke? Why not, then, in the same spirit, annex Candia to the new Greek State? Surely it was as essential to the main object of the Treaty of London, the pacification of Greece, as extending the line of boundary westwards. He was convinced that the distinction between pacification and settlement was one of mere words — that Greece would never be settled till Candia was an integral part of its territory,—that, in fact, no man with a Greek heart in his bosom would rest contented till he had thoroughly ensured the independence, and thence the prosperity, of his country. Why then not ensure that pacification or settlement, so much desired, by annexing Candia to the new State? What answer was it to say, it is not set down in the protocol? Had they not given up the Sovereignty clause in that protocol, thereby acknowledging that there could be no permanent settlement but in national independence. It was some satisfaction to him, in conclusion, that acquiescing with the Previous Question was not abandoning the principle of his resolution, and that the former did not imply a negative on the part of its proposers; but that it might be not discreet or prudent formally to avow the principles implied in his proposition. From the spirit of the admission made that night by his Majesty's Government, which he hoped he might add was in unison with the principle of his resolution, he was led to entertain sanguine expectations that the great powers, parties to the Treaty for the settlement of Greece, would enable the new State to be respectable if not powerful abroad, and happy at home. If the result of that night's discussion should impress the Greeks with the conviction that it was to the interference of England that they were indebted for the opportunity of being once more a free and noble people, it would not only add to the influence of England in those parts, but would increase the respect for the British name throughout the civilized world.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, that what he had quoted as the sentiments of Mr. Fox, in relation to the policy of preserving the integrity of European Turkey, he would inform the noble Baron who had just addressed the House, he had taken from the most indisputable authority within his reach. The noble Lord had represented his distinguished relation as the invariable enemy of the Ottoman dominions in Europe, and stated, that any speech expressing a contrary doctrine must be a misrepresentation. Now he begged to inform the noble Lord, that the extract he had quoted was from no speech or report of Mr. Fox's opinions, but from his own letter, written with the deliberation due to an official document, for such it was. The occasion which gave rise to the following declaration of opinion on the part of Mr. Fox was a letter to him, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from M. Talleyrand, dated April the 1st, 1806, in which the French Minister, among other matters, says, "The integrity and the complete and absolute independence of the Ottoman Empire form not only the sincerest desire of the Emperor, but constitute also the undeviating object of his policy." To which Mr. Fox replied in a letter, dated Downing-street, April 8, 1806, as follows:—" as to what relates to the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire no difficulty can present itself, those objects being equally dear to all the parties interested in the present discussion." Now, though this declaration did not amount to a pledge that Mr. Fox would guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, it went to show that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe was not, as the noble Lord had stated, an invariable object of his policy.

Lord *Holland* said, he was not then able to determine how far the declaration, just read by the noble Earl, was inconsistent with what he had stated as the sentiments of Mr. Fox on the policy of protecting or discouraging the Turkish dominion in Europe. The matter was rather new to him, and he would investigate it before he would offer any opinion on its apparent discrepancy with what he had stated, The Motion was then put and negatived.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, Feb. 12.

MINUTES.] THE RIGHT HON. JOHN CHARLES HERRIES took the Oaths and his Seat for Harwich.--MR. WRIGHT presented accounts of balances of sums issued for the payment of Dividends due and not demanded, and of Lottery Prizes not claimed; sums received and expended by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; Exchequer Bills purchased by the Bank of England, or on which sums have been advanced; applications to the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer for advances to Government [by Act]; of advances made to Government on Exchequer Bills and all other securities.—New Writs were ordered for Fowey in the room of the Hon. Robert Henley Eden, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds; and for Wenlock, in the room of the Hon. George Cecil Weld Forester, made Groom of His Majesty's Bedchamber.

The *Solicitor-General* brought in a Bill to amend the laws regulating Illusory Appointments,—also one to alter and amend the laws respecting Arrests for Contempt; a Bill for the amendment of the Conveyancing Laws: for consolidating and amending the laws respecting Infants and Lunatics; and for consolidating and amending the laws respecting Real Estates,—which were read a first time.

Sir *T. Martin* presented a petition from the Merchants, Shipowners, and other persons interested in the trade of Plymouth, praying that no exclusive privileges should be granted on the expiration of the Company's Charter.

Mr. *Stanley* presented a petition from the Chamber of Commerce, and signed by a great number of Merchants and Manufacturers of Manchester, praying for a modification in the Charter of the East India Company.

Mr. *E. Wodehouse* presented a petition from Tunstead, in Norfolk, praying for a revision of the Corn Laws, and against the continuation of the Malt and Beer Duties.

Mr. *O'Connell* gave notice of his intention to move, on the 17th inst., for leave to bring in a Bill for amending the Vestry Act.

DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.] Colonel *Sibthorpe* presented a petition from the Merchants, Tradesmen, and Inhabitants of Lincoln, complaining of the general Distress of the Country, and praying the House not to grant further supplies until the state of the Country should be taken into consideration, and measures adopted for its relief. The petition was most numerously and respectably signed, and in it he fully concurred. The hon. Member declared he would never vote for the supplies being granted until the state of the country had been fully taken into consideration. The House was still a sacred spot, in which Members might yet speak their sentiments without fear of prosecution. He hoped those sentiments would be widely diffused throughout the country, in order that the public might know that their complaints were not silently passed over.

Mr. *Fazakerley* said, he could bear testimony that the petition expressed the feelings of a large majority of the very respectable inhabitants of Lincoln, and he fully concurred in the prayer of the petition.—Ordered to be printed.

REPORTING DEBATES.] Colonel *Sibthorpe* expressed his intention of moving on a future day for granting greater facilities to those persons who attended the House for the purpose of reporting its proceedings. The accurate reporting of the Debates was of great consequence to the country, especially at the present time; and he should hereafter name a day on which he would bring that subject forward.

LAW OF FORGERY.] Mr. Secretary *Peel* gave notice that he would move, on Thursday, the 18th of March next, for leave to bring in a bill for amending and consolidating the Laws relating to Forgery.

ESSEX PETITION.] Mr. *Western* rose to present a petition from Capel Cure, Sheriff, on behalf of a meeting of Freeholders of the county of Essex, adopted at a general meeting held on the preceding day relative to the distressed state of the country, and observed that the petition was not the one he had supported at the meeting, and that it contained, in some parts of it, sentiments to which he strongly objected; yet he felt it his duty to present it. It was signed by the High Sheriff of the county, in accordance with a resolution passed at the meeting, but he (Mr. Western) would much rather it had borne the signatures of those freeholders whose sentiments it purported to express. He fully felt for the distress—the general public distress—prevailing throughout the country; but could not allow himself to sign the petition he then held in his hand. He repeated what he had urged at the meeting, that the Bill of 1819 was a direct robbery on all the debtors of the country, and unless some measure of value should be devised, on an equitable footing, between the productive and unproductive classes, the ruin of the country would be accomplished. With respect to the proposition with which an hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) was to come down that night, in order to avoid his (Mr. Western) intruding again on the House, he begged leave then to state that he must oppose it. It would not give effectual relief—would not mitigate the distresses of the people; its advantages, if any, were partial, and in his opinion nothing short of the repeal of the Act of 1819 would be a compensation for the robbery which that Bill had committed on all debtors and payers of taxes. The petition being read,

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, he lamented to observe, that the hon. Member for Essex seemed to have a lively recollection of the defeat which his propositions experienced the day before at the meeting of the freeholders of his own county. The hon. Gentleman certainly did the meeting justice in one respect, though he withheld it in another—he impeached its prudence while he extolled its patience. Now he (Mr. Harvey) understood that these virtues were always co-existent. It would be too much to expect from the hon. Gentleman an eulogy on the prudence of a meeting which rejected his petition, and adopted one diametrically opposed to it; but it was creditable to his candour to admit the patience which was shown by the freeholders in listening to his oft-repeated arguments on the currency. The truth was, that never was there a more patient, prudent, or deliberative meeting. It heard the different speakers with attention, and decided from reflection. It bore not the tone of party about it, and it rejected all factious feelings. It admitted that distress existed, but it denied its universality; and, while every man was persuaded that the public suffering was increasing, and would, if not checked, become overwhelming, he appeared convinced that it was not yet too late, and that effectual measures would ensure relief. The meeting did not concede every thing to Parliament, but it stated that much could be done out of doors, and it told the people that with themselves a great part of the remedy lay. There was one measure which was decidedly recommended, and in the propriety of which, he cordially concurred—namely, the reduction of the rent of land to the standard of 1792 or 1797. He saw no reasons why pensions and salaries of the officers of Government should be reduced, while the rent of land was left untouched. Here he begged to correct an error which appeared in some reports of his speech at the meeting. He was said to have stated that the tithes of the country amounted to fifty millions a year, but he was misunderstood; what he meant to say was, that the rents of the country amounted to that sum. Taking it for granted that rents were fifty millions, a reduction of twenty-five per cent would give immediate relief to the occupiers of land to the extent of upwards of twelve millions, and he hoped that the landlords would bear that in mind, and not be irritated with their tenantry for being once opposed to them. The tenantry spoke the truth like persons determined, at last, to be heard. They spoke out because they were supported by the presence of each other, and not as if they were compelled to speak in the halls of their landlords, where reductions of rent are thrown to them as if they were so many paupers. [*hear, hear*] They acted as became them, and as became that class which was once the boast of England—the farmer and the yeoman. The meeting first recommended the taking off of twelve or fifteen millions of those taxes which bore directly on the productive interests of the country, and then it took up a proposition which he had named to the House last year, but which had not been treated with much attention—namely, a well-regulated Property tax. Yes, the meeting said, that the best tax would be on property graduated by a scale, and varying from two and half per cent on annuities not above 300*l.* a-year, to ten or fifteen per cent, nay thirty or forty per cent on overgrown incomes. With regard to the taunts which had been thrown out against him, he (Mr. Harvey) declared that he held them in utter indifference. He was satisfied with doing his duty, and he felt that he could not do so without meeting with some interruption and misdirected sarcasm. He had only one word to say with respect to the hon. Member for

Essex personally. That hon. Gentleman had spoken much to the House of the sufferings of the people, and of the distress of the farmers, and the scarcity of money which prevailed among the occupiers of land, but the hon. Gentleman omitted to state that he had yesterday received every shilling of his rents, and when some of the tenantry applied for a reduction, his answer was "he would not purchase their popularity at such a rate." He (Mr. Harvey) was content with the part he had taken at the meeting, and proud that the amendment originated with him.

Lord *Howick* said, he must confess his great surprise to hear the calumnies which prevailed in some of the publications of the day against the landlords of England, uttered in that House. He listened with indignation to those imputations on the whole body of the landed interest. He could not with patience hear it declared that the landlords exacted from the tenantry more than the value of the soil. He declared that such a charge was totally unfounded, and while he regretted that any man could say so, he was still more surprised to find the observation cheered by hon. Gentlemen who were the advocates of political economy. Those Gentlemen knew better than that rents were regulated by the cupidity of landlords; and it was not from ignorance of the subject that they denied, by their cheer, that land, like every thing else, was a fair subject of competition. He knew that the landlords were not that grasping and avaricious body which they were charged with being; and he could only state that, though distress existed largely in that part of the country with which he was connected, a single farm never came out of lease without becoming the subject of an active competition at an advanced rent.

Mr. *Lennard* observed, he must, in justice to the meeting of yesterday, state that not one word of the conversation repeated by the hon. Member for Colchester fell from any body but himself. Indeed, the hon. Gentleman had given the House a very temperate version of what he did say. At the meeting he spoke of the landlords as having flinty hearts—as mere voluptuaries—as men rolling in luxury, and careless about the sufferings of those around them. It was because these sentiments were listened to with approbation at the meeting, that he wished to hold himself disconnected with the amendment. He felt that the moment was a peculiar one, and that Government should not fail to observe the feelings of the people. He believed that at no other time could a petition be adopted against the sense of the landed property of the country. The Government should not be inattentive. The people were moved with distress, and, unless something was done, the time might arrive when all hope of temperate measures being made available must be abandoned.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* begged not to be understood as approving of what had been said about the severe exactions of the landlords, because he had given a cheer to one of the observations of the hon. Member for Colchester.

Mr. *Hume* said, he thought that the hon. Member for Colchester had been unfairly dealt with. He proposed an alteration of the present system of taxation, which was better than a system which oppressed only particular interests, and he looked for relief to those sources where, in his opinion, it could be best afforded. Now, he appealed to the House, whether it would not be wise to abolish tithes altogether, and pay the Clergy moderate stipends, according to their duties. The petition said no more, and if his hon. friend had declared that some Clergymen were voluptuaries, and lived a life of pleasure, it was no more than a man might be induced to do who had twenty thousand a-year. The error lay in the enormity of the payment. It was not fit that the minister of a religion which preached poverty and temperance should receive such an income; and there was no duty which he performed for which it could be claimed as a compensation. The petition fairly went to the question without any consideration for particular interests. For instance, by the operation of the law the agriculturists had a monopoly of corn. Would they, when they wished to bring every thing down to the standard of 1797, give up that monopoly? That was the proper way to treat the subject, and the petition did no more. He considered it to be a very fair one, and he hoped to see a similar one from every county in England.

Mr. *F. Palmer* said, he thought that if the salaries of public offices were reduced to the standard of 1792, it was a fair proposition to have the rents lowered by the same measure. Let the taxes be reduced to the same standard, and he would go hand in hand with any Member in lessening the amount of rent, and not think fifteen or twenty per cent sufficient. There was not one landlord in England who had not made abatements, and the rent of many farmers were lowered from 600*l.* to 400*l.*

Mr. *N. Calvert* said, it ought to be remembered, that there were many hard landlords as well as good and benevolent ones, but the former must give way, as the land would, after all, only fetch its value in the market.

Mr. *Western* begged in reply to say, that as the hon. Member for Colchester (Mr. Harvey) was so personal to him and to his tenants, he hoped the House would permit him to say a few words in explanation. In the first place he must declare that he had not on his land an arrear of 100*l.* He had not one farm which was not respectably tenanted. No one tenant had given up his lease or farm, and these facts alone formed a tolerable answer to the statement which had been made against him. He would now tell the House the system adopted by him about ten years ago. He reduced all rents into rents determined by the price of corn, with the exception of one or two farms, which were let under particular circumstances. The price was calculated on that of corn for the preceding half-year. The farms which were let in 1814 were calculated at the rate of 80*s.* a quarter on wheat, but soon after prices came down, and he calculated according to another rate. He calculated the rents by the rule of three, and said—If 80*s.* give 100, what will 56*s.* or 50*s.* or 40*s.* give? He took so many bushels per acre, and then applied to them the prices of the preceding average. At one time the rents were down fifty per cent when wheat was at 40*s.* but he feared that now a still greater sacrifice was to be made; and, under its present difficulties, when every part of the produce of the farm was sold at ruinously low prices, something more decisive must be done. He believed that to meet the pressure a reduction even below the price of wheat must be made. He hoped he had stated enough to convince the House that the observations of the hon. Member for Colchester did not apply to him or to his tenantry. [*hear*] He would conclude by moving that the petition be brought up, which was done, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Western then presented another petition, signed by eight hundred or nine hundred respectable Gentlemen, Merchants, and Traders, in the town and vicinity of Chelmsford, the object of which was to state to the House that distress prevailed in every class of society as much as it did among the agricultural. It stated that the evils of the country were growing with frightful rapidity to a head, and they entreated the House to take steps to arrest them, which alone could be done by repealing the Bill of 1819, which, by altering the currency, tended mainly to inflict them. He also presented a petition from the owners and occupiers of land in the parish of Tellingham, in Essex, in which one farm of the best land was abandoned by the tenant, the charges on it being greater than the produce.—Petitions ordered to be printed.

SUPPLY — REDUCTION OF PUBLIC SALARIES.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for receiving the Report. On the Motion being put, that a Supply be granted to his Majesty,

Mr. *Callagan* said, he could not help taking the liberty of giving his opinion on the present most unprecedented crisis of the country's affairs. He did not offer himself to the notice of the House for his personal gratification; but, as it was the duty of every Member, in the present state of the country, to see whether any new measures might be elicited for its benefit, and to deliver his opinions, he would speak them because his present observations would save him the trouble of repeating them on future occasions. The question relative to the country embraced two considerations—those of our foreign relations, and the internal condition of the Empire. On the former his general habits would not allow him to speak; but he felt grateful to Ministers, and he begged to tender them his personal gratitude, for their leaving the country in a state of profound tranquillity, both as regarded Portugal, and more particularly that untoward or unfortunate affair of Navarino. On this point he would conclude by saying that this country, more than any other in Europe, was interested in the tranquillity of the new States of the southern hemisphere. And he thought that England and the other Powers ought to interfere to prevent

Spain from disturbing them. As to the internal condition of the country, the difference of opinion was merely as to the quantum or the degree of distress; for all agreed that it existed. Now, as to the causes of that distress, it was delusive to say that it was to be attributed to one particular cause, for it was doubtless to be attributed to a combination of various causes. All must agree that the return to peace, from an almost universal state of warfare, was one cause, whilst some referred it exclusively to the return to a metallic standard. The Government and Parliament were unfairly accused of tampering with the currency; but he would not join in the accusation, as the measures of 1822 and 1825 were merely effects of that of 1819. The Act of 1822 was not, as as had been contended, a receding from the Act of 1819, but a mitigation of it. He hoped that the country would never experience a confusion of its monetary dealings—by a return to an inconvertible currency; and, although any Minister who would propose that, would deserve to be consigned to execration, yet he would say that, if a measure could be devised which would remedy the inconveniences of the Act of 1825-26, it would be not only useful, but a compliment to the wishes and feelings of many. There was no doubt that the taking away of the one-pound notes caused local distress, and, as had been observed the other night by the hon. Member for Taunton—[the hon. Member alluded to Mr. A. Baring, who is Member for Callington, but had been Member for Taunton in the preceding Parliament]—whose judgment and talent were unquestionable, it would be well to see whether a nearer way might not be found, on the basis of a measure proposed in 1818, by the present Lord Bexley; namely, that of allowing bankers to issue notes on the deposit of an adequate security. That bill, which had received the sanction of Lord Liverpool, was withdrawn, not because the country was averse to it, but because the private bankers were an influential body, and had sufficient interest with Members of that House to oblige it to be withdrawn. He would say, when so many intelligent individuals desired it, that he joined in their wish to allow the one-pound note circulation, as it would be very gratifying.—[*calls of "Question."*] He claimed the attention of the House for a few minutes, he thought he was entitled to do so. The manner of affording the relief that he would chuse to recommend would be the reduction of expenditure and taxation. He should be glad to hear if it meant a reduction of the Civil List. [*coughing, and considerable interruption.*] If, he repeated, it meant a reduction of the Civil List as fixed in 1820, so as to correspond with the altered value of money, he would give it his support. That List was arranged before we had a set standard of currency. From 1792 to 1797 our state was one of warfare; but if the hon. Member's Motion meant to affirm the abstract proposition that the salaries of 1820 were greater than the country could at present bear, he would gladly assent to it. [The hon. Gentleman proceeded to make some observations on the Sinking Fund, and proposed a reduction of taxation as a good remedy; but was continually interrupted by the impatience of the House.]

Sir *James Graham* then rose and said, he could not but observe that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had taken a very extraordinary course, as he argued in support of his (Sir J. Graham's) motion without waiting to hear it. However, from this he entertained every hope that the hon. Gentleman would vote for the resolution with which he meant to conclude, because he imagined that it would come up to the hon. Gentleman's ideas, both as to reduction of expenditure, and taxation. He never rose in the House without embarrassment, and imperfect recovery from recent illness aggravated that feeling on the present occasion. The task he was about to undertake was an ungracious one, for though all liked economy and reform in the abstract, they very seldom relished it when it came to be acted upon with respect to themselves. He felt this, but his sympathies were not confined to those who derived their incomes from the public purse—his compassion was rather directed to those from whom the taxes were drawn, and he could not turn a deaf ear to the distresses of the country. That distress was general, for notwithstanding that the Speech from the Throne said that distress was confined merely to some parts of the country, yet the whole efforts of Ministers to fritter down our misfortunes have produced nothing but the greatest possible disappointment, and changing hope into despair, had gone nearly to convert patient endurance into the angry spirit of resistance. In contending that the distress was universal, he could not help alluding to the expression of qualified distress used by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He admitted the existence of distress in England, but he said that in Scotland and Ireland distress did not exist. These exceptions were remarkable; but were they not also exceptions from the measures about which the right hon. Gentleman and himself had so much contest. [*hear.*] When in 1826 the Government had come *per saltum* to a conclusion contrary to that of Sir Francis Baring, of Adam Smith, and Mr. Horner —contrary also to the reports of 1810 and 1819, that convertibility on demand was the only adequate check against the over issue of paper—when they came to that conclusion with respect to England, they condescended to examine as to Scotland and Ireland, which as they were now exceptions to the general distress, so had they been then to the principles of the currency adopted with respect to this country. Yet, on the right hon. Gentleman's own showing, no distress prevailed there, whilst in England, where that principle of currency was extinguished, the country was pervaded by universal distress. Perhaps that might be so; but he must say that the fact of the absence of distress in Scotland and Ireland still remained to be proved. But if distress prevailed, then still it might be accounted for by what took place in this country; for if the means of commerce were crippled in England, the effects must always be felt both in Scotland and Ireland. If that were not the case, it must lead to an unfavourable state of the exchanges, and therefore he must doubt the fact of distress existing in England, while prosperity blessed Scotland and Ireland; and he was confirmed in this, as he had heard no Gentleman from either of those countries, who was responsible to his constituents, get up and say that those parts of the empire were free from distress. Having said so much, he would now assume one or two general propositions— 1st. That the Bank Restriction Act of 1797 had produced two leading and striking effects — the first being the depreciation of the value of money; the second, the raising of the price of commodities. The fact of the latter was not denied, and it came within the scope of his notice that the rise of prices was connected with the rise of salaries. Perhaps, although he did not like to read documents, he might be permitted to refer to one or two in support of his statement. The first evidence he would appeal to was that of Mr. Addington, in 1802, when he was forced to ask Parliament for an additional grant to make the Civil List adequate to the necessities of the times. He then said "the causes of this application were unavoidable. Sixteen years had passed since the schedules were fixed, and he left it to the sense of every one to see how great had been the rise of prices in the interim." In 1804 fresh debt had accumulated on the Civil List, and Mr. Pitt, the then Prime Minister, used the following expressions, the first sentence of which was important, as it showed that the augmentation was only intended to be temporary:—"It would afford relief that the Civil List should accommodate itself to circumstances as they varied, for in this case it would be reduced in time of peace. There was no one who reflected on the great increase in the prices, who could thus suppose that his Majesty should be able to restrict his expenses within their former limit." It was to be remarked here that Mr. Pitt did not refer to the then price of gold, but he said that "there was an increase of thirty, forty, and even fifty per cent, in the price of every article of consumption." In the article of pensions there was at that time a decrease, although, if proportions were to be observed, there ought rather to have been an addition to their amount. The next authority he would refer to was that of Mr. Percival, who in 1809 applied for an increase of the salaries of Judges, and in the expressions he made use of there was a full opportunity to ascertain his opinions as to the extent of the depreciation which had taken place in the currency. Mr. Percival's object was, to have a thousand pounds per annum additional granted to the Judges, and that was, as he expressed, merely to make their real equal to their nominal income. With that view he also gave the Welsh Judges an additional 300*l.* a-year; this was an increase of twenty-five per cent, and from this we might calculate the depression of the currency in 1809. In that year wheat was 84*s.* the quarter, and gold at 4*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* the ounce. The calculation, therefore, in this instance, was not made on the price of gold alone—the capital error of the Committee of 1819—but on the price of commodities. With regard to the depreciation of the currency, he thought that the fact of the high prices during the war precluded the necessity of any observations on that point. He thought certainly, that the fact of the depreciation of the currency was equally evident with that of the high prices; but it did happen that they had a resolution on the books of the House negativing that depreciation. This resolution was, that, at the period when a guinea in gold was selling commonly at 28*s*. Bank of England paper was equal to it in value—that is, that things unequal in the public estimation were yet equal to one another;—a doctrine so absurd, that, within the same year it became necessary to pass an act imposing a penalty for passing a guinea for more than twenty-one shillings, or a one-pound note at less than the value it purported to bear; and yet the people are asked to confide in the wisdom of Parliament, and of the mere shreds of the administration of that day.

Oh miseras hominum mentes! Oh pectora cæca!

But they were told that it was God—not man—who caused this. At one time the harvests were over-abundant, at another time they were scanty; at one time we had too much produce, another too little; at one time we had too much drought, at another time too much rain; while the apprehension never seemed to have occurred to any Chancellor of the Exchequer that every addition to taxation was an increased addition to the sterility of the soil, and a further gloominess to the inclemency of the heavens. Now, with respect to the measure of 1819, the right hon. Gentleman, whose honesty and sincerity he most implicitly believed, in his speech on that occasion, drew all his examples from the time of Elizabeth, when there was no debt, and from the time of William, when there was a debt of only 2,000,000*l*., the interest of which amounted only to 100,000*l*. He never considered the immense effect of this measure upon every debt throughout the country, whether private or public. He (Sir J. G.) might speak freely, as he had voted for the measure. He was then a very young Member, governed by authorities, and overborne by his friend, Mr. Ricardo, upon whose faith he pinned his own. Mr. Ricardo assured him and the House that the difference would be only three per cent, as it would be governed by the price of gold, which was then 4*l*. 1*s*. per ounce; and he thought it right to try the experiment. He certainly had his doubts, and he could not help having them, after the statement of his hon. friend the Member for Callington (Mr. Baring), and others for some time; however he was overborne by authorities, he voted for the measure, and thought he had done right. Lord Liverpool had since frankly acknowledged that the difference, instead of three, was 25 per cent. His hon. friend, the Member for Callington, always maintained that it would be from 25 to 30 per cent; while another hon. Member (Mr. Attwood), also a man of high genius and great experience, rated it still higher. As his hon. friend, Mr. Brougham, was not present, and was not a Member, he might use his authority, as well as mention his name; and he would, then, refer to what he had said on the proposition for raising the salaries of the Judges in 1825, when he argued the subject with the usual comprehensiveness of his mind. Mr. Brougham had then said, "It was but a few years since the salaries had been raised to 3,000*l*. a-year, which was on account of the depreciated currency, when they were raised 1,000*l*. a-year—that was 25 per cent—to make up the difference between the two standards. Then followed the restoration of the currency to a metallic standard, and that made a difference of 25 per cent in favour of the Judges, independent of the reduction of taxation, the consequence of which was, that the salaries were now raised to the rate of 7,000*l*. a-year, instead of the 3,000*l*., at the value of fifteen years ago." Then came his hon. friend's conclusion, that formerly, and at that low rate, "we did not know of any unfaithful stewards." Then, as to the reduction of 25 per cent, so often stated in the presence of the right hon. Secretary (Mr. Peel), and which he had never heard him get up and deny—if the right hon. Gentleman doubted it, he should like to hear the doubt cleared up; and if he acknowledged it, he should like to hear that also. Then the country would know the addition, and upon what ground that had been made. The increased value of money had a twofold operation, while it imposed additional weight upon all fixed payments, it lowered both prices and wages. The hon. Member for Colchester (Mr. D. W. Harvey) had said it was the duty of the landed interest to reduce their rents, and he agreed with those who had in reply observed that since the war, rents had been reduced from 25 to 30 per cent. If, however, the landed interest were called on to submit to another reduction of 25 per cent, he would say boldly to nine-tenths of the landed interest, "at once sell your estates." In fact, such a measure would be a secret or silent mode of transferring their estates to their creditors; and it was a thing they could not bear, and would be absurd if they did. He would then consider the effect of low wages. If the labourer wanted bread, all property, whether from land or funds, must be placed in the greatest jeopardy. They had been told that since the war a great alteration had taken place in that respect, and should it go lower they should all be placed in a position of the greatest hazard. He had never supported the Corn Laws; but the country had been driven to them by necessity. They were as a pebble, but which in the sling of a stripling, might overthrow the giant. Free Trade had relieved some articles of secondary necessity, whilst there was a monopoly of the article of the first necessity, and thus there was a transfer of a burthen from the strong to the weak; and till the questions respecting currency and corn were adjusted, Free Trade would operate with the greatest possible injustice. War taxation entered largely into the prices of articles of necessity, and they could not become cheap. The hon. Member for Aberdeen, in his resolution of 1823, had substantiated this fact beyond dispute. There was less malt in proportion consumed now than before the French war; and this was the case with respect to tea, sugar, and tobacco, and many other articles. When Government increased the value of money, and did not reduce taxation, they encroached on the comforts of the labouring classes. Taxation prevented the fall of prices. He had heard something of luxuries, but he knew not whence the notions of luxuries were derived. Were they drawn from the gorgeous palaces of Kings, or from the rival palaces of Ministers, or from those of East India Directors, rich with the monopoly of the China trade, or from those of Jew Loan Contractors, who supplied to foreign States the gold from the coffers of the Bank of England?

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

* * * * *

"'Tis your's to judge how wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land."

But what was now the boast of this happy country? Where was the furniture that adorned the poor man's cottage? all was gone—pinching hunger and despair now held their place in the labourer's habitation. The weaver in the county which he represented (Cumberland) earned but 4*s.* 2*d.* a week, out of which he had to supply his family. Oatmeal, water, and peas were his sole food, and for these he had to work fourteen or fifteen hours a day. So extremely low were wages, that even the power-looms were underworked. The country had now come to the point where something must be done—

"Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas."

It was not becoming in the Treasury Benches to say that the only exception to retrenchment must be among those classes to which they belonged. The next course was to alter taxes and obtain high prices, by returning again to the ancient standard of England. From the Tudors to the Revolution silver alone had been the standard of this country. From that time to 1793 silver and gold conjointly had been the standard; and in 1819 the measure was an anomaly, if not a novelty; but, so far from this measure having been in full operation for ten years, as had been so often repeated, it had been in full operation only for a few months. The Act did not come into operation till two years after it was passed. The year after it was to come into effect, such was the distress, that Lord Castlereagh agreed that the repeal of the Small Note Act should not come into operation till the Charter of the Bank of England expired. Prices rose and prosperity continued for a short period, and only for a short period. To reconsider the Small Note Bill, the House must reconsider the standard, and the whole system of banking. But Government was inexorable. The Duke of Wellington had said, "You shall not inquire." If you argue the question keenly in print, the Attorney-General is ready to pounce upon you. [*cheers*] He will file *ex officio* informations for publishing what has a tendency to bring Ministers into contempt. It was only in a moment of distress that useful purposes were effected, and he hoped that the House would not pass to othert measures till retrenchment was pushed to its utmost. Two modes presented themselves—to reduce the number employed, or to diminish the salaries. With respect to the former, this was not the time or the place to deal with the subject. With respect to the reduction of salaries, before the House went into a Committee of Supply, it was most desirable to establish some fixed principle by which they could try the Estimates that were about to be brought forward. As to the amount of salaries and allowances, then, it was only for the House of Commons to tell, in the first instance, upon what scale the reduction should be made. The principle of Mr. Addington, of Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Percival, in increasing the quantity of salaries, had been, that there was depreciation in the value of money; but this could be no longer brought forward as an argument. Now it was acknowledged on all hands that the people were borne down by a burthen they could not long endure—it was universally allowed that some reduction must be made; it accordingly only remained to show the principle upon which that reduction could be effected. At this point then he would beg to read his resolution, because some explanation of it might be necessary. The hon. Gentleman here read his resolution, which was to the following effect;—"That whereas subsequently to the Act 37 Geo. 3rd, for the suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank of England, large augmentations have from time to time been made in the Salaries and Pay of Persons employed in the Civil and Military Service of the Country, on account of the diminished value of money; and whereas the alleged reason of this increase has, for the most part, ceased to operate, in consequence of the Act 59th Geo. 3rd, which has restored the metallic standard of value,—it is expedient that, with a view to relief from the present excessive load of taxation, all such augmentations should now be revised, and every possible reduction effected, which can be made without the violation of existing engagements, and without detriment to the Public Service."

The first question which would be, in all probability, asked him was, what did he mean to exclude by these exceptions? In the first place he would say, the King's Privy Purse, the Salaries of the great officers of the Crown, and the Expenditure on the royal Establishments. These, he conceived, they had no right to touch—they could not do so without violating a solemn and sacred engagement, because these grants had been made in commutation for the revenues of the Crown lands, and the more oppressive portions of the royal prerogative. In stating this opinion he was supported by the authority of Mr. Fox, who had declared that such a proceeding would be extremely dangerous, as it would place the King under the control of the Parliament—or, in other words, under that of the minister of the day. He might next be called on to explain what he meant by introducing the expression "military" in his exceptions. In answer to this, he would state that he considered the contract with the sailor to be a sacred contract. A man entered the service under the promise of certain pay and contingent advantages, and he certainly ought not to be disappointed. For his own part, to prevent the necessity of impressment, and to induce the sailor to prefer the service of his Majesty to that of the merchant, he had rather see the pay raised than lowered. Now, as to the Army—he also considered that our engagement with the soldier was sacred, and he therefore could not approve of any reduction in the pay or other emoluments of the soldier, which was retrospective. The same feeling he, of course, entertained with respect to the officer, though he did think that the half-pay list had of late years been too much used as a mode of granting pensions. But what had been done could not be undone, and he was satisfied to leave matters as they were. But with regard to the superior military officers, there was a great distinction to be observed. The salaries of some of these officers appeared to have been raised altogether at pleasure. No reason had been assigned. He wished to advert to some instances of this nature; he would, however, in the first instance, entreat the indulgence of the House. He was not much versed in the science of public accounts, and had, consequently much difficulty to contend with in his statements, and might possibly fall into error; but, if so unfortunate, he begged them to believe that he would be guilty not of a misrepresentation, but simply of an inadvertence. In 1797, the salary of the Governor of New Brunswick was 1,000*l.* a year.; it was, at that moment, 1,500*l.*; in 1797, the Governor of Prince Edward's Island had 800*l.* a year; he has now 1,000*l.* At the same period the Governor of Nova

Scotia's salary was 500*l.* a year; it has since been raised to 1,000*l.* The Governor of Port Jackson had, in 1797, 1,000*l.* a year; it has been raisd to 2,000*l.* And he might close the list, by observing that the Governor of Sierra Leone had the enormous salary of 2,000*l.* a year. He would next beg to direct the attention of the House to the recommendation made to Parliament, on the second report of the last committee, which, he was grieved to say, still remained a dead letter. It had been recommended to reduce the regulations, with respect to enlistment, to the same form in which they had existed before 1806; and notwithstanding this positive recommendation of the committee, a whole session had been suffered to elapse, and nothing had been yet done. He would now lay before the House a statement of the expenditure in 1828, as compared with that of 1797:—The expenditure on account of the interest of the debt and its management in 1797, was 11,500,000*l.*; in 1828, it was 27,366,000*l.* In 1797, the pensions on the consolidated fund amounted to 180,000*l.*; in 1828, to 305,580*l.* In 1797, the expense of the courts of justice was 31,000*l.*; in 1828, it was 148,000*l.* The payment on the consolidated fund, in 1797, was 119,000*l.*; in 1828, 566,000*l.* But this was not a fair comparison—1797 was a year of war, and therefore ought to form no criterion. He would therefore look at 1798, in which it would be remembered that from a jealousy of France, our military establishments were kept on a most efficient footing. In 1793 the expense of the Army amounted only to 2,005,000*l.*, including half-pay; it was now upwards of 8,000,000*l.* In 1793, the expense of the Navy was 2,450,000*l.*; it was now near 6,000,000*l.* In 1793 the expense of the Ordnance was 459,000*l.*; in 1829, it was 1,400,000*l.* The entire expenditure in 1793 was 5,300,000*l.*; and in 1829 it was 15,500,000*l.* In 1793 wheat was 50*s.* a quarter; in 1830 it was 55*s.* a quarter. One bushel of wheat, therefore, at that time, went as far as three now; and for one hour's labour that paid the taxes then, three are now required. He then read an extract from the Finance Report, recommending a reduction of the expenditure in the Army and Ordnance departments, and advising a return to the regulations respecting enlistment which prevailed before 1806. He was afraid he was fatiguing the House. He would, with its permission, however, make a few remarks on the revenue. He thought the time was come when the gross amount of the Assessed Taxes and Customs should be carried to the public account. These returns now amounted to nineteen millions, and there was a per centage of near 6*l.*; in 1810 the per centage was only 4*l.* 9*s.* The salaries of public officers, too, had been raised in an extraordinary manner since 1821. There was one to which, as a sample, he would call the attention of the House. He did not wish to be hard upon the humble clerk, but he thought the extravagant salaries of the higher officers might be advantageously diminished. Now the case to which he alluded was, that when the father of his honourable friend, the Member for Northamptonshire (Lord Althorp) was First Lord of the Admiralty, he was contented with a salary of 3,000*l.* a year; and this was at a time when we sent Nelson to annihilate our enemies at the Nile, and Duncan to conquer at Camperdown—and at a time when we had fleets on every sea in the civilised world; and yet now, in the year of profound peace, my lord' Melville received 5,000*l.* a year. Thus it was that now sixty per cent more was paid than had been granted to Lord Spencer. He would next refer to a paper for which he had moved in 1828. It related to the number of persons employed, and the comparative amount of their salaries in the years 1797 and 1827. In 1797 there were sixteen thousand, two hundred and sixty-seven persons employed in the civil service connected with the Revenue, and their salaries amounted to 1,374,561*l.* The average salary, therefore, of each man, amounted, in 1797, to 84*l.* In 1827, there were twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and twelve persons employed, whose gross salary amounted to 2,755,000*l.*, while the average salary of each was 121*l.* Thus, it appeared, there was an increase of one-third in the number of persons, and that fifty per cent was added to the amount of salary. But it was, at the same time, curious to observe the difference in the price of wheat now, and at a more remote period. And here he would observe with Mr. Horner, that although it was usual to take the precious metals as the standard, yet that bread-corn was the real standard; and in this he was borne out by Mr. Locke, who had declared, that the wheat was, in fact, the standard by which all things must be ultimately determined. Now, in 1810, wheat was 105*s.* a quarter; it was at present 55*s.* a quarter;—five hundred thousand quarters, therefore, in 1810, were equivalent to one million quarters at present. It was, consequently, obvious, that there was great unfairness in our having salaries doubled, while we have our standard at but half its former value. "I am not (continued the honourable Baronet) one of those who view without the utmost jealousy in 1828 the elevation of the Duke of Wellington to the highest office in the state. I had observed with deep regret his opposition to the government of Mr. Canning, stated to proceed from an irreconcileable difference with respect to the Catholic question, and differing from the hon. Member for the county of Hertford (Sir J. Sebright), I did not think that a military education was the best preparation for a statesman seeking to administer the affairs of a free people. I remembered what the historian had said, that he who had been trained amidst arms, and had obtained a consummate knowledge of his art, might be disposed to transfer to the cabinet the doctrines of the camp, and recognise no submission but implicit obedience. A little reflection, however, led me to hope that he who had acquired a knowledge of the people in every clime, and circumstance of danger—who had never failed to lead them on to victory—must, more than any other, respect that nation whom he had proved to be the lords of human kind. I was not altogether disappointed in these expectations. In the first Session the noble Duke supported a Bill for the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which had been introduced by a noble friend of mine (Lord J. Russell), who thereby added another to the many obligations which the people of this country are under to his family. He also conferred the merited honours of his profession upon a distinguished barrister (Mr. Denman)—an ornament to this House, whom I should again wish to see amongst us. In the last Session he carried a measure which Mr. Pitt declared to be the key-stone of the Union; which Fox, though he ably advocated, never ventured to bring forward; which hurled from power Grey and Grenville, because they attempted to bring it forward; which Grattan, the warm-hearted champion of the Irish, would have died to accomplish; which, because Mr. Canning could not accomplish, he died from chagrin and despair, so deeply did he feel the effects of bitter calumny and gnawing care. This bolder minister, however (nothing daunted by the fall of his predecessors), effected a religious peace on the solid base of equality of civil rights. All these are great obligations, but political gratitude is short-lived. Events press upon events—day by day we are called upon for decision—we cannot, we must not, lag behind. If the fund-holder, the political economist, the lawyer, Whig and Tory, are to rally under the banners of the Wellington Government, the time is come when, on the part of the tax-payer, it is necessary to form another party to reduce the burthens of the country. The noble Duke has a receipt for destroying party. He takes Lord Rosslyn from one party, an Attorney-General (Sir J. Scarlett), from the ranks of the old Opposition, a Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer from the ranks of the Danai, and he then drops amongst the traders to pick out a tame elephant for the Board of Control." The hon. Member concluded with saying, that he was willing to act with the hon. Member for Kent (Sir E. Knatchbull) in any object which he believed conducive to the public good; he would not be deterred from what he considered to be the duty he owed to his constituents—he asked nothing at the hands of Ministers—the only obligation he owed was to those who had sent him here, a free representative—who had conferred upon him the exalted honour of addressing this night a House of Commons, which, with all its faults, he considered as the noblest assemblage of freemen in the civilized world.

Mr. *G. Dawson* said, though he admired the talents, ability, and eloquence displayed by the hon. Baronet, it was not his intention to follow him through the various topics on which he had been pleased to dwell. He would confine himself strictly to the limits which the duty of his office imposed. Instead of following the hon. Baronet, therefore, through those various subjects in a speech, which were, in fact, a condensation of all the topics which had been discussed last Session, he would address himself simply to that object which he had no doubt the hon. Baronet was most anxious to attain, although he had made such slight mention of it. He did not take the same view of the salaries of

1797 as the hon. Baronet did. His Majesty's Government had pledged itself to support all advisable reduction; and he thought he might say they had already given proofs of their desire to carry these promises into effect. He would boldly assert, that every principle of reduction which Committees of this House had recommended for the reduction of the public expenditure had been rigidly carried into effect. [*No, no.*] In the year 1797, the Committee appointed to examine the public expenditure, after a most laborious investigation, came to the result of recommending the utmost practical retrenchment, especially the abolition of sinecures and reversions of offices. He would shew that that recommendation had been carried by the Government into the fullest possible effect. They had abolished the two Chief Justices in Eyre: the Clerks of the Pells both in England and Ireland; receiving 3,000*l.* a-year each, and their deputies receiving 1,100*l.* a-year each. They had abolished in Ireland the office of Auditor of the Exchequer, paid by a salary of 4,000*l.* a-year; and they intended to abolish the same office in England as soon as a vacancy should occur. There were twenty-three other offices which they had abolished since 1807, making in the whole since the recommendation alluded to, thirty-two offices, reversions, and sinecures which had been abolished. He would now show that the Government had paid the greatest attention to the recommendations of this House as to the regulation and management of the public revenue, and had done so with the strictest intention of making economy and retrenchment the basis on which their regulations should be founded. The first office he would refer to was that of Commissioner of Barracks, which had been abolished, and the duties transferred to the Ordnance. The next was that of Commissioner of Transports, which had been abolished, and the duties transferred to the Navy Pay Office. The third was that of Commissary in Chief, which had likewise been abolished, and the duties transferred to the Treasury. The office of Storekeeper General was abolished; the Board of Customs in Scotland, the Board of Customs in Ireland, the Board of Excise in both countries, and the Board of Stamps in Scotland, had all been abolished. The effect of these various abolitions was, that the number of Commissioners which had been fifty-nine, was now reduced to twenty-eight. He therefore, asserted that the Government had had no other desire than that of abolishing every useless item of public expenditure. The Commissioners, whose number was thus diminished, had been paid by salaries from 1,000*l.* to 1,400*l.* a-year. Thus were the public offices regulated up to 1820. In the month of June 1821, an Address was carried in that House on the Motion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen, praying that a minute examination might be directed into all the branches of public income and expenditure. He would now read a few words of the Treasury Minute, in order to show the House that the object of retrenchment had neither been blinked nor over-looked by the Government, and that the Government had never failed to carry into the most rigid execution the recommendation of that House [*loud cries of No, no, from the Opposition*]. He should show that what he had stated was strictly correct; and he did not doubt that the hon. Member for Cumberland would then find that the Address voted by this House in June 1821 embraced nearly all the objects now proposed. The efforts at reduction were first made by the Government in 1797; the same system had been followed in 1822; and although it had been impossible for them to do all that was desired, yet he thought the House would allow, when they considered the different manner in which business was now conducted in the public offices, that the salaries of the public officers were now reduced as nearly as possible to the standard which the hon. Member for Cumberland proposed to adopt. It might naturally be expected that he should begin with that department with which he was more particularly connected. By a Treasury Minute dated in January 1822, it was directed that every office should be restored to the situation in respect of the number of persons employed, and of the emoluments they received, in which they were in 1797, unless some adequate cause could be shown to render an alteration from the state of the office at that period necessary. That wherever an increase of business rendered it necessary to preserve an establishment created or enlarged since that period, the emolument of the officers should be assimilated as much as possible to the standard of that year. That if any office created since 1797, were no longer necessary, or that the emoluments might be reduced, such abolition or reduction should be made. The whole range of the public offices was included in this Minute, which he would now show had been carried into full execution. That was the effect of the new regulations upon the Treasury establishment with respect to the payment of salaries. At the time that Minute was made, the *minimum* amount of salaries in the Treasury was 46,000*l.*, the *maximum* 64,000*l.* Under the new regulations, the *minimum* amount was 41,000*l.*, the *maximum* 48,000*l.*, so that upon the whole there had been a gross reduction equal to thirty per cent. The same principle had been applied to all the other offices. He would now examine how that Minute had operated upon the different classes of public servants at the Treasury. The effect of the reduction was, that the salaries of the junior clerks fell twenty-six per cent—those of the assistant clerks, forty per cent.—of the senior clerks, thirty per cent.—and of the chief clerks, twenty per cent. How had it affected the superior officers? He should show that it had affected them in more than the same proportion. When he compared their salaries in 1797 with those of 1821, he found that they enjoyed more in the former than in the latter year; so that if the hon. Member's proposition were adopted, their salaries would rather be increased than diminished. The salary of the First Lord of the Treasury was then the same as now. The Junior Lords received the same in that as in the present year; and the salaries of the Secretaries to the Treasury were now just the same sum that they were in 1797, but they had undergone before and since that time several variations. In 1769, 1770, and 1771, the salary was 3,700*l.* a year; in 1779, 1780, and 1782, it was, together with emoluments (which he conceived to be much more objectionable than a fixed salary), equal to the sum of 5,100*l.* a year. In 1797 it was 3,400*l.*; in 1800 it was 4,000*l.*; and in 1821 it was 3,500*l.*, at which sum it stood now. [*hear, hear*] As he held an office which was not subject to the proposed reduction, he thought he might be allowed to put in his voice against the reduction of the salaries of those men who had deserved well of their country, but who would be seriously affected by a diminution, which in justice to them ought not now to be made. This brought him to the position in which the officers of the Treasury were now placed by the adoption of the two recommendations made by this House. It was fair that he should show the difference of duty performed by the officers of the Treasury at the present time and in 1797. It was the custom (he ought first to inform the House) to register the papers connected with the business of the Treasury. In 1797 the officers registered four thousand six hundred papers, but in 1827 they registered twenty-seven thousand papers. When this increased duty was performed by the same number of individuals in a department, the heads of which had only the same salary as in 1797, and in which the subordinate officers (who performed the most labour) did ten times more than the amount in 1797, he thought he had made out a fair case to induce the House to deliberate long and maturely before they fixed such a loss upon men who were so little able to bear it. He would now proceed to the offices of the Secretaries of State. They received the same salary as in 1797, namely, 6,000*l.* a year. In 1782, however, they had 8,000*l.* a year each: and, before 1797, the Under Secretary had 2,000*l.* a year; and at that sum, after undergoing in the meantime variations of increase and decrease, it now stood. The same reduction had been practised with respect to the office of Secretary at War, and there were some curious circumstances connected with that subject. It would appear that the number of persons employed in the Secretary at War's Office had increased since 1797, but the payment to them had diminished. In that year the persons employed there were fifty-eight, and the salaries paid 36,000*l*, a year; but in 1821, the numbers were ninety-nine, and the salaries paid 33,000*l*, ; so that with an increased amount of labour, the expenditure was considerably diminished. The Deputy Secretary at War at that time had a salary of 2,500*l.* a year, but his perquisites had sometimes amounted to 14,000*l.* The chief clerks at that time received 3,000*l.* a year. The whole establishment had been since twice reduced, and the Deputy Secretary now received a fixed salary of 3,000*l.* while the salaries of the chief clerks had been finally reduced to 1,200*l*, 1,000*l.*, and 900*l.* a year. At the Horse-Guards, reduction to the extent of about thirty per cent had taken place. In the offices in Ireland there had been a great saving effected, both in the number of persons employed and in the salaries paid to them. He would mention only one department, by way of sample. In 1818, the gross number of Custom-house Officers employed in Ireland was so great, that it had been reduced 2500*l.*; and without going into a detail of their different salaries, he would just state that the reduction since that period amounted to no less a sum than 237,678*l.* In the reductions which had thus been made, he claimed some degree of merit for the department with which he was connected. It often happened that, of the officers whose establishments were thus reduced, some were put upon a superannuation allowance, while others formed what was called the Redundant list — in other words, a body of officers, capable of being employed to fill up any vacancies that might occur in the reduced establishments. If the Government were inclined to abuse the patronage they possessed, they might put new persons into the vacancies thus occurring, and leave the old officers still upon the Superannuation Allowance or the Redundant List. So far, however, had the Treasury been from acting upon any such rule, that no less than three hundred and seventy-three persons had been taken from the Redundant List of two thousand five hundred, and put into vacancies that had occurred since the reduction was made, by which a saving of 37,000*l.* had been effected. This fact showed the principle on which business was now conducted. He would mention another fact of the same kind. The Board of Customs in Scotland had been abolished in the course of last summer, and the Superannuation allowance of one of the Commissioners was 720*l.* a-year. The office of the Comptroller of the Customs at Quebec had since become vacant; and it would, no doubt, have been very agreeable to the noble Duke at the head of the Treasury to have given away the office in the usual manner: but it having been intimated to him that the retired Commissioner was a person fit to be appointed to the situation, and was willing to accept it and go out to Canada, the noble Duke conferred on him the office, to which was attached a salary of 1,500*l.* a year, and thus saved the country the 720*l.* a year superannuation allowance. That act was followed up the very next week by one of an exactly similar kind. An office with a salary of 1,000*l.* a year became vacant, and the noble Duke selected another of the retired Commissioners for that office. He stated these facts from his own personal knowledge of what had occurred in the Treasury, but there were other Gentlemen in that House connected with other offices who could state other instances of the same kind. The difference between the old and new systems was much greater than many people imagined. A landwaiter at the Customs, under the old system, had a greater salary than the Commissioners had now. The object of the old officers was to collect as much as possible, and to hide the sources from whence they obtained it. The object of the officers under the new system was to do every thing with fairness and openness, to conduct their business with advantage to the merchants, while the public revenue was benefitted and secured. The House must not judge only by the value of the money paid to these officers, but also by the value of the labour given by them. While the salaries of the officers of the various establishments were reduced by the Treasury Minute he had read, no reduction, but rather an increase, had taken place in the value of the necessary articles of life. He was not possessed of a minute and accurate account of the price of the various articles of life at that time and at the present, but he believed, he could give them a statement which came pretty near the truth. In 1822, when the reductions under the Treasury Minute took effect, the leg of mutton was to be purchased for 6*d.* a pound, but in 1830 the price was 8*d.* a pound. [*No, no, from the Opposition*] He believed he was right, and that such would be found to be the relative difference of price at the two periods. In 1822 the shoulder of mutton was sold at 5*d.* per pound, but its price now was 7*d.* per pound. [*renewed cries of No, no, no, from the Opposition*] Hon. Members might dispute his statements; but of this he was sure that there had been an increase, not a diminution in the price of some of the articles of life. The price of the common articles of life had not come down in the proportion that had been stated; while, on the other hand, it was to be observed that the business of the offices was conducted in a much more efficient manner than it had been formerly. This, he thought, must be evident to all who were acquainted with those offices; and he would therefore, save the House and himself the trouble of any detail on that point. Having stated thus much, having shown that since 1821 the salaries had been reduced, on an average, to the extent of twenty per cent, he had proved, he thought, that the salaries paid were not larger than was consistent with the duties which those who received them had to perform. Something having been said relative to Ireland, he begged, before he sat down, to be allowed to say a few words on that subject, as in the prosperity of Ireland he felt that he had a deep stake. It had been stated by a right hon. Gentleman, on a first night of the Session, that distress did not prevail in that country; upon which the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Spring Rice) and the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Connell) had made statements to the House for the purpose of refuting that position. At the despondency expressed by the hon. Member for Limerick on the subject, he (Mr. Dawson) must confess that he was somewhat surprised; nor could he account for it unless the hon. Gentleman had either taken the hon. Member for Clare for his oracle, or had himself most suddenly changed his opinion. For himself, he could venture to say that he had never known more mercantile or trading activity in Ireland than at the present moment; and only a short time before, he had actually received the congratulations of the hon. Member for Limerick, in a conversation that took place between them on the subject. Mr. Latouche had also borne testimony to the same fact; and he (Mr. G. Dawson) believed that the hon. Member for Limerick had documents in his possession which illustrated the same position. The reason that the hon. Member for Clare had given for taking upon himself to assert that there was distress in Ireland was a most curious one: the hon. Member said that he did so from his professional knowledge. But how a lawyer (for he presumed that the professional knowledge to which the hon. Gentleman alluded, was his knowledge of law) could ascertain such a point from his professional pursuits was beyond his comprehension. If the question had related to some professional point there was no man to whose opinion he would more readily bow; but in the present case he really did not see any reason for attaching any great weight to the professional knowledge of the hon. Gentleman. But though he (Mr. Dawson) knew that great distress did exist in Ireland, yet he knew that it proceeded from other causes than those which had been stated. One great source of distress was the gradual decay of the coarse Linen Manufacture in Ireland, which had been caused by the success of the linen manufacture in Scotland and Yorkshire; but with respect to the agricultural interests of Ireland, there was no distress at present. He would not trouble the House with any further observations. The forms of the House prevented him from moving an amendment to the proposition of the hon. Member for Cumberland; he might meet it by moving the Order of the Day; but as he did not wish to get rid of it in that way, he would let the House negative it, and he would then move the resolutions which he held in his hand, and which he would read to the House. The hon. Member then read the resolutions, which were as follows:—

"That his Majesty was graciously pleased to assure this House, in reply to an Address of this House of the 27th June 1821 (that his Majesty would give directions for a minute inquiry into the several departments of the Civil Government, as well with a view to reducing the number of the persons employed in those departments, which from the great increase of business was augmented during the late War, as with reference to the increased salaries granted to individuals since the year 1797, either in consideration of the additional labour thrown upon them during that period, or the diminished value of money), that his Majesty would give directions as desired by the said Address.

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this House an Account of the progress made in such inquiry, and of the measures adopted in consequence thereof.

"That it is the opinion of this House, that, in all the Establishments of the Country, Civil and Military, every saving ought to be made which can be effected without the violation of existing engagements, and without detriment to the Public Service."

Mr. *Croker* said, he rose to mention some facts relative to the department to which he belonged. In 1797 the salaries of the Admiralty Officers were 14,140*l.*—

Sir *James Graham* apologized for interrupting the hon. Member, and observed that, in speaking of the Admiralty, he had adverted solely to the salary of the First Lord of the Admiralty, which in 1797 was 3,000*l.* but was now 5,000*l.*

Mr. *Croker* begged his pardon. The hon. Baronet had assumed that the gross amount of salaries of persons employed in the Civil Service was, in 1797, 1,374,000*l.* and in 1827, that the amount was 2,788,000*l.* The hon. Member who had just sat down answered that part of the hon. Baronet's speech generally, but there was one point to which he wished to call attention. As he had said, the whole amount of the salaries of the Admiralty Officers in 1797 was 14,140*l.*; in 1827 it was 25,600*l.* This was a great apparent increase, but if hon. Gentlemen would take the trouble to look to the Report of the Finance Committee of 1797, they would find that the amount of the salaries then was 14,140*l.* but there were gratuities and other emoluments which made in the whole a sum of 27,000*l.* a-year, showing an increase of 2,000*l.* a-year in 1797, as compared with the present period. He stated this fact not upon any authority of his own, but from the Seventh Report of the Finance Committee. In 1797, the salary of the First Lord of the Admiralty was 3,000*l.* a-year, now it was 5,000*l.*; the salaries of the other Lords were the same then as at present. The salary of the First Secretary to the Admiralty in 1797, was 5,400*l.* now it was only 3,000*l.* The salary of the second Secretary was then 1,921*l.* a-year, now it was 1,500*l.* The salary of the Chief Clerk in 1797 was 1,446*l.* a-year, now it was 1,150*l.* The difference on the three offices was between 5,000*l.* and 6,000*l.* a-year, by which a sum of 2,000*l.* a-year was saved to the public. Looking to the other naval departments, they would find the same result. He was not, however, enabled to place the salaries before them in the same satisfactory manner; for the Finance Committee of 1797 had confined its labour to the Admiralty, without making any Report as to the expenditure of the Navy Board. He found, however, that in addition to 33,000*l.* a-year for the Navy in 1797, there was a further sum of 10,000*l.* a-year for fees, so that the expenditure was very nearly the same as at present. It was quite obvious that the expenditure of the Admiralty Office was much greater in 1797 than at this time. The salary of the First Lord of the Admiralty was 3,000*l.* a-year at the time that Lord Barham held the office; and he, on going out, thought that the sum was not sufficient, considering that the person filling so important an office must always be liable to great expense, and called upon to exercise the rites of hospitality to a degree that perhaps might be beyond his means. At the same time Lord Barham, from motives of delicacy, said nothing on the subject so long as he himself held the office; but, on retiring from it, when a change took place in the administration, he left a recommendation on the table to the effect that the salary should be increased to 5,000*l.* a-year. The recommendation fell into the hands of Lord Grey, by whom it was laid before the King, and acted upon accordingly.

Mr. *Spring Rice* said, he must advert to what had fallen from the hon. Secretary (Mr. G. Dawson). If he (Mr. Spring Rice) were capable of dealing with the House in the manner represented by his hon. friend, the Secretary to the Treasury, he should be wholly unworthy, not only of presenting himself there, but any where else. His hon. friend had told the House that he (Mr. Spring Rice) had stated in a private communication, that distress did not exist in Ireland, while his hon. friend would now represent him as acting in subserviency to some person or persons, and asserting that distress did exist there. He could only say that never was any representation more unjust or unfounded. Not only had his hon. friend totally misrepresented him, but he appeared to be driven to the necessity of inventing facts to sustain the course of argument he had pursued. He (Mr. Spring Rice) had not implicitly adopted the opinions of the hon. Member for Clare nor of the right hon. Member for Kerry. On the contrary, he had stated most distinctly that he differed from them both. While he had stated that there was, generally, less distress in Ireland than in England, he had stated at the same time that the great interests in Ireland were suffering greatly. What was the evidence adduced by his hon. friend in support of his statement? The only evidence brought forward by him was the testimony of a gentleman who, in the interval, was unfortunately lost to the country—he meant Mr. Latouche. With respect to the facts which he (Mr. Spring Rice) had stated, as to the exports of Ireland, he was positive they were correct; and these went to show that Ireland was improving. He had not drawn his information from the same source as his hon. friend; but he pledged himself to bring down to the House, on Monday next a statement containing facts which his hon. friend had suppressed, for the purpose, it would seem, of casting a stigma upon him. He now wished to say a few words upon the immediate question before the House. The resolutions moved by the hon. Secretary to the Treasury, came nearly to the same conclusion as the resolution moved by his hon. friend the Member for Cumberland. Without saying one word as to the expediency of making any alteration in the currency—a measure which he (Mr. Spring Rice) could never sanction — his hon. friend had still gained a pledge from Parliament that all the public establishments should be pared down to the lowest possible limits. For his own part, he should rejoice to see the two subjects of currency and retrenchment placed on a separate and distinct footing. He should like exceedingly that, when the House came to the consideration of these important questions, they should all be able to unite for one common object, and in the discharge of one common duty, to exert themselves to relieve the distresses of the country.—He did not wish that those who might vote with him on the subject of the currency should differ from him on the subject of retrenchment. He desired to take each of these questions by itself; and the able statement of his hon. friend relieved the House from the necessity of mixing up both questions. He himself would not vote with any man who should propose an alteration of the standard: he was, however, glad to see that, without reverting to a silver standard, to the issue of paper, to effects similar to those which the Bank of England had produced on the monetary system of this country, they were still able to give efficient and real relief to the people. He hoped that the statement of the Secretary to the Treasury would be duly borne in mind. He well recollected, and the House would also recollect, the patient attention paid on the memorable nights when the Estimates were brought up, some Sessions since; and he trusted that the same practice would still continue, and that each Estimate would be narrowly watched and thoroughly examined by the House. With regard to what had been said by his hon. friend the Secretary for the Treasury, in reference to him (Mr. Spring Rice), he could only say, that he felt no personal anger on the subject, though he felt a great deal of personal regret. If there were any one quarter in the world from which he was least prepared for such an attack, it was that from which it had proceeded.

Mr. *G. Dawson* explained. He was afraid that some expressions painful to the feelings of his hon. friend might perhaps have escaped him; he was most anxious to take the earliest opportunity of stating that, neither remotely nor otherwise, had he the slightest intention of accusing him of making any statement which he did not believe to be grounded on fact. He had, however, felt some surprise, after the conversation which he and his hon. friend had had upon the subject, that his hon. friend appeared to differ from him so materially, taking a view of the question which he (Mr. Dawson) could not admit. There was not one man in that House, on either side, of whom he was less disposed to say any thing unkind than of his hon. friend. He had long known him, and no one could more admire his talents and his merits.

Mr. *Spring Rice* expressed himself quite satisfied with this explanation; but he must say, at the same time, that, if he had not felt strongly on such an occasion, he should have been unworthy of appearing either in that House or elsewhere.

Sir *George Warrender* considered that the Ministers of the Crown were still more urgently called upon than the hon. Member for Cumberland to come forward, on an occasion like the present, and to propose some practical measure of relief. It was, however, most satisfactory to know that the Representatives of the people were not insensible to the distress which prevailed. He found that, since the year 1797, judicial salaries had increased by at least 100 per cent; and his only object in now rising was to know, from some one of his Majesty's Ministers on the bench below, whether any further addition was contemplated? It would be recollected that, at the close of the last session, a proposition was brought forward to increase the salaries of the Scotch Judges; and it was satisfactory to see upon that occasion with what alacrity it was rejected by the House, and immediately withdrawn.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. G. Dawson) could not contradict the statement which he (Mr. O'Connell) had made on a former night. The hon. Member had given as his authority Mr. Latouche, who, on his return to Dublin from London, stated, at a meeting of the Society for the Improvement of Ireland, that the people of Ireland were not suffering in the same degree as the people of England; and, when contradicted upon this fact, he replied that the increase of the Excise tended to establish it beyond all doubt. He (Mr. O'C.) then told him that his argument was founded on the resource of the desperate, namely, on the drinking of spirits, the increase of which could never be considered as a proof of national prosperity. His professional duties placed him in constant communication with merchants and others who were acquiring estates in Ireland, and from whom, and other clients, he had ample opportunities of obtaining information as to the real state of things in that country. To show to what extent distress prevailed there, he needed only say that one gentleman, who had a rent-roll of 4,000*l.*, received only 100*l.* as the last gale.

Lord *Morpeth* said, the Motion of his hon. friend, the Member for Cumberland (Sir J. Graham) would at any time have commanded the attention and support of the advocates of economy; but when it came before them coupled with complaints of the overwhelming distress of every class in the country, then, indeed, it must prove irresistible. Whether, however, they adopted the Motion of the hon. Baronet, or were content with the Resolutions intended to be proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury, it was plain that the House was about to give a new pledge to the country of its determination to prosecute a system of retrenchment and reformation in every branch of the public expenditure. Some hon. Members recommended as a remedy for the distress, that the House should commit a deliberate breach of faith, and violate the legislative enactment by which it bound itself to maintain a metallic currency; others went still further, and advised an equitable adjustment with the public creditor. In his opinion any proposal of measures of that kind would come before them with better grace after every fair, just, and honourable means of relief had been exhausted. Of these means economy in the public expenditure was one of the most evident, as well as the most laudable. In the earlier years of his life, although his feelings and his judgment led him to wish success to that party in whose cause he was now embarked, he confessed he had entertained a strong prejudice against the apparent niggardly course they seemed disposed at all times to adopt with respect to the public expenditure. The experience of a very few years had, however, altered his opinions; and he was now willing to acknowledge that economy, in the management of the public money, was the highest political wisdom. In adopting such a sentiment, he could not but be forcibly reminded of the eloquent exertions in its support which marked the whole political life of one so much missed in that House, and so much lamented in private—he meant the late Mr. Tierney [*hear*]. The unsparing and disinterested labours of that able and eloquent man, in the service of economy, did more credit to his life, and cast a greater lustre on his memory, than all the glories and successes of those other distinguished men, who, though more honoured, were not more useful; who, though more fortunate, had not been more meritorious. He could not but think that this feeble tribute to his merits would not be unacceptable to those who had so often been enlivened by his wit and enlightened by his wisdom, and that it was not impertinently or inappropriately introduced into the discussion on a subject which had so often engaged his most earnest attention. He was determined to support the men of every party, whether Whig or Tory, in their labours to procure retrenchment and a diminution of taxation; and he hoped, when the Estimates of the year were brought before them, that they would be framed on such a scale as to justify the expectations of the House, and restore to the Government the confidence of the people.

Mr. *Hume* said, he should prefer the Motion of the Secretary to the Treasury to that of his hon. friend the Member for Cumberland, as being the least shackled, and as repeating the pledge of retrenchment which the House had given in the year 1821. He needed only to bring to the recollection of the House what took place in the year 1821, and the great benefit that resulted from it. In the following year a reduction, to the amount of 2,000,000*l.* was effected, and 2,000,000*l.* more might have been taken off the year after, if the same attention had been paid to the expenditure of the country. But from the years 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, and up to 1827, so far from any thing being done in the way of reduction, a gradual increase took place. As to any constitutional control over the expenditure of the country, it had been altogether abandoned by that House for the last three or four years. Most of the Members absented themselves instead of being found at their posts; and many who had hitherto most shamefully neglected their duty were now most unreasonable in demanding reduction. The establishments were now much larger than they were in 1822. The question was not as to whether salaries should be reduced or were reduced from 20,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* a year, but whether the recommendations of the Finance Committee had been complied with. The question with the Finance Committee was, what the duties of the several officers were as compared with the amount of remuneration. The main object was to bring the salaries of the several departments to as low a scale as could be consistent with the due discharge of the public service. Individuals in every establishment of the country were infinitely too well paid, and we now felt the ruinous effects of former profusion. There could be no solid objection whatever to apply to the Crown for relief. When his Majesty wanted money, he never hesitated to come down to the House of Commons and ask for it; and if the people of England were weighed down by distress, it was perfectly consistent with their duty to the Sovereign that they should call for a reduction of expenditure. If they did not look at the situation of the country with boldness, and act with resolution, it would be utterly impossible that it could continue to bear the burthens with which it was oppressed. Expenditure had been for years on the increase. To show the manner in which the Ministers supported their professions of economy, he would ask the House to look at the late arrangements with respect to the Stamp-Office. It was found that out of eight Commissioners, there were not three who could be persuaded to meet each other for the transaction of business. Well, the Board was broken up, and it was supposed that Ministers would avail themselves of the event, and as three were found sufficient for the conduct of business, that no more would be retained. But what did they do? They discharged and pensioned the whole of them, and then appointed a new Board, more numerous than the former, and at a higher salary. So, in like manner, the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope was allowed a salary of 20,000*l.* a-year until within a very recent period. He now had only to observe, that he would suggest to his hon. friend the expediency of withdrawing his resolution, and of leaving the question in the hands of the hon. Member opposite, whose proposition appeared likely to answer the purpose.

Sir *John Wrottesley* said, he was apprehensive that this resolution, if adopted, would not have the effect of relieving the great distress under which the country now laboured. The measure adopted in 1826 had had, as he had then foretold it would have, a most prejudicial effect on all the great interests of the country; and they all, from that period to the present, had continued to decline. He considered the whole of the distress to have been caused by the measures relative to the currency.

Mr. *W. Duncombe* said, he could not agree with some hon. Members, that the course pursued by Ministers was that which was consistent with their duty, as responsible servants of the Crown. He thought they were very ill-advised in describing the distress in the qualified manner they had done. Instead of blinking the question, they ought to have come down to the House, and acknowledged honestly the extent of the evil, and proposed effectual measures of relief. He thought it highly important at the present crisis that a country party should exist in that House; but, in saying that, he would not be understood as wishing to separate the landed interest from the manufacturing and commercial interests. He maintained the same sentiments on that point which he had ever professed—namely, that no one class could flourish unless the other classes were prosperous. But at present all classes laboured under a general depression and stagnation. There were none, however, who were so much entitled to commiseration and sympathy as the industrious and laborious classes of all denominations. The artisans, the labourers, and the operatives were those whose case was deserving of the most anxious and the most immediate consideration, constituting, as they did, the wealth, the strength, and the stability of the country. They were now suppliants at the doors of Parliament; and it was the duty and the interest of that House, as it was in its power, to relieve them. It was particularly incumbent on his Majesty's Ministers to take the whole state of the country, and more especially the condition of the labouring classes, into consideration.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor* said, that in voting as he had done, in favour of the Address, he wished to protest against being understood to doubt the extent of distress in the country, or to deny that it was severely felt. For himself, he had no connection with Ministers; and, at his time of life, after having been for four or five and forty years in that House, he wished for nothing but happiness;—he meant the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the country. He considered it his duty to weigh the merits of his Majesty's Ministers, and of those who contended with them. These Gentlemen said, that they wished for economy and retrenchment. Now on that point he wished to try them fairly. What, he would ask, was the condition of Ministers? Were they the authors of the mischief? Were they the promoters of the French war, which was, in fact, the source of all the evil? He was one of those who voted during Mr. Pitt's Administration, on the question of the French War, and he had foretold the calamities which had since befallen the country from that cause. He was not attached to any party in that House. He was an independent man, but was it to be expected that he should support those who wished to get into power by proclaiming the grievances of the country? He would not support Ultra Whigs or Ultra Tories. His Majesty's Ministers had, in his opinion, done great things for the nation. They had passed two great measures, the most important of which was that of Catholic Emancipation. He would, therefore, trust to them to do what was necessary and beneficial for the country. He wished for economy and retrenchment, but he would look for it amongst the higher powers. The enormous expenses of the Crown ought to be looked to. The cost of building palaces, and other severe additions to the public burthens, ought to be curtailed. But he gave great credit to the present Administration for their conduct. They had not bowed down to the Crown, as some of their predecessors had done. Who, he would ask, were the authors of the French war? The landed proprietors; and the consequence was, that they had benefited in their incomes; for estates of 2,000*l.* a-year were raised to 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* They now wished to retain the war prices, but those prices could no longer be continued. He could relate an instance of the eagerness with which the effects of war upon the prices of agricultural produce and stock was looked to; it occurred in his own neighbourhood: towards the close of the late struggles in France, when Bonaparte had returned to France, though his return was not generally known, a farmer of some consideration near Doncaster was driving sixty pigs to market, and he met a man who asked him "Have you heard the news?" "No," he replied, "I have heard no news—the war is over, and I am going to make the best bargain I can for my pigs."—"Oh Napoleon," said the other—or Nap, as he called him, "Nap is come back to France." "Is he indeed? Oh, then, I'll drive my pigs back again." [*laughter*] This was a positive fact, and it shewed the desire to obtain the war prices. He meant to act an independent part. Let any one point out to him better principles or better measures than those of the Government, and he would readily adopt them. But let the Ministers be fairly tried. Were the distresses of the country owing to them? What could they do to relieve them? They were not possessed of Aladdin's lamp, and could not convert distress into prosperity by magic. Some Gentlemen wished for a paper currency instead of gold. Nothing should induce him to vote for such an arrangement. It would only make a fictitious and base currency, without anything stable to support it. It might allay the evil for a year or two, but it would then come on with augmented severity. He should support the measures of Government until he saw something better proposed in their stead.

Mr. *Peel* said, I do not conceive that

the hon. Baronet, the Member for Cumberland, is disposed to press the Question to a division. So far as I can collect, he is inclined to rest satisfied with the Motion of my hon. friend; and I am therefore relieved from the necessity of making many observations which it would otherwise have been my duty to offer to the House. But the hon. Baronet, in the commencement of his Speech, made a direct appeal to me to which this may be the most convenient time to give some answer. From what I could infer from the outset of the hon. Gentleman's Speech, I did not expect that he would have entered into the general question of the Currency and the measures which might be proposed for establishing it on what he would conceive a proper footing. I thought that the hon. Baronet's motion assumed that the currency, as at present established, must be so maintained, and assuming that the currency was to be so maintained propounded that certain reductions should be made. This is not perhaps the most convenient or fitting opportunity for going into the consideration of that question, and I shall, therefore, not answer in detail the appeal which the hon. Gentleman has made to me. But I beg to assure the hon. Gentleman that it is not from any desire to shrink from the discussion of the question when the proper opportunity shall present itself. When the regular notice shall have been given, and the attention of the House called to the subject in the necessary form, I shall be prepared to approach it with all the deliberation which its importance demands. But I cannot let even this opportunity pass without remarking, that in the very able Speech which the hon. Member had addressed to the House, he has made admissions with repect to the currency, which tend to relieve me from the responsibility of the introduction of the Bill of 1819. For, if the hon. Baronet is prepared to act upon the just and wise principles which he has to-night laid down, were an occasion again to arise similar to that upon which the Bill of 1819 was passed, the hon. Baronet would be bound in consistency and principle to give to me his entire and cordial support. Sir, I beg to declare that whenever I approach the discussion of this great question, considering its delicacy, its complication, and, above all, its importance, I shall forget all political, or rather all party considerations; I shall be inattentive to that violent declamation which ascribes to the measures to which it is opposed the character of iniquity, cruelty, robbery, and fraud. I will ask the House patiently and liberally to consider the position in which we were placed in 1819; and, being content to adopt the principles which the hon. Member for Cumberland has laid down, I will call upon the House to pronounce whether there was any alternative to enable us to avert the evils which then impended, other than that of adopting some measure similar in principle to that of 1819, and the infallible consequence of which must be the infliction of considerable distress. Sir, it was not the measure of 1819, but, as my hon. friend who spoke last has properly and truly said, the measures which preceded the Act of 1819, which imposed the necessity of some decisive measures, and to which must be attributed the evils which have occurred since the change of the currency. We had to consider whether we should revert to a metallic standard, or whether we should continue to maintain an inconvertible Currency. If any standard were adopted, the infliction of some distress was inevitable. But the hon. Member says, that he would establish the Civil List on the scale on which it was in 1820, because the faith of Parliament was pledged to it. I entirely concur with the hon. Member in this sentiment, and I cannot state in terms sufficiently strong the value and importance which I attach to an adherence to national faith. But I would ask the hon. Gentleman, if it would be fair to adhere to engagements made by Parliament to the Crown in 1820, can he refuse to abide by engagements made during the progress of the war with the public creditor? I fully concur in the necessity and propriety of maintaining the national faith inviolate; but I affirm that no engagements made in 1820 are more sacred than the compacts made with the public creditor during the war. I would remind the hon. Gentleman and the House that, at the time when every loan was made, there was a distinct intimation to the persons advancing their money, that, within six months after the termination of the war a metallic standard would be restored; and the hon. Gentleman, I dare say, will admit that it would be difficult to maintain that, because the national creditor advanced his money in a depreciated paper currency, he is not entitled to reclaim his advances when peace is established, and the restriction upon the Bank removed. Sir, the hon. Gentleman admits that the chief difference between him and me is, that he would take a silver and gold standard, while I take a gold one alone. The present is not the occasion, but the time will come when I shall have an opportunity of stating the reasons which induced the Committee of 1819 to prefer a single standard—and that a standard of gold—to a joint standard; and I can assure the hon. Baronet that if the only difference of opinion between us be, that he would take a joint standard in preference, twenty out of the twenty-five per cent of distress, which he attributes to the restoration of a metallic currency, would have been imposed by his proposition of a joint standard. Sir, another admission was made by the hon. Baronet, of no less importance, and equally true, but not more true than the former, which is this; I trust we shall ever remember the eloquent and impressive sentiments in which the warning was conveyed, which indeed, ought always to be present to our minds. Says the hon. Baronet, "You may issue your Small Note Currency as you did in 1822, and its convertibility into gold will be no security against the evils of which it will be productive. But, as the year 1825 followed that of 1822, if you adopt the same course, the same consequences will ensue, the same languor will follow the same excitement, and similar calamities will be again entailed upon the nation." Sir, I concur, in every portion of the hon. Baronet's sentiments on this point, and revert to my original position, that there is, in fact, no material difference of opinion between us, and that I am entitled to claim, for the Bill of 1819, the hon. Gentleman's candid support, and his powerful advocacy.

There is also another point in which I concur with the hon. Member—namely, that the re-issuing of a small paper currency, although nominally convertible into gold, would only give a temporary and precarious relief, and that any benefit which it could confer, would be dearly paid for. The cheapness of the currency would produce a temporary advantage, but would ultimately occasion the departure of the whole gold currency from the country. Experience has told us that gold and a small paper currency cannot co-exist in a country like this. To raise an immense superstructure of paper nominally payable with gold, would be pregnant with danger; such a state of things might go on for two or three years, but it would end in the departure of all the gold from the country—in excessive and violent changes of funds and other property, and in a sudden panic and simultaneous demand for gold. It would then be no answer to say "We are solvent; give us time, and we can discharge all our obligations." The reply would be, "We have a right to gold at once." There would be a simultaneous rush for gold, and a general bankruptcy and ruin would ensue. A general rush to the public funds would instantaneously take place, and at the same time a simultaneous contraction of the paper currency, and a re-acting of all the calamities of 1825. These considerations ought to induce gentlemen to approve and support the bill of 1819, because I believe that such as I have described would be the consequences of a small paper currency, even though it were nominally convertible into gold. Sir, I conceive that the motion of my hon. friend has a clear claim to the preference of the House, because I feel that, before the House comes to a resolution which would seem to imply that nothing had been done for the relief of the popular burthens, it would be right that the House should be in possession of some account of what the Government has actually done. The hon. Gentleman will also see that his Motion is calculated to excite extravagant hopes which cannot be realized. He has alluded to the increase of military pay, but, Sir, the pay of the army has not been increased since 1797, and when the hon. Gentleman alluded to those military officers whose pay has been increased, he appears to me to have made rather an injudicious selection. He has spoken of the Governor of New Brunswick, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Governor of Sierra Leone, and another, all of which are civil appointments, although they may at times be held by individuals possessing military rank; but the places themselves are civil offices. I believe also that the hon. Gentleman will find that, acting on his own principles, nothing could be done which would effect any material reduction of taxation in that way. The motion of my hon. friend calls for an account of what has been actually done, and the House can then apply it to the Estimates. Sir, I must beg to protest against an inference drawn by a noble Lord who has intimated that this resolution is extorted from his Majesty's Ministers by the speech of the hon. Member. I would refer to the resolution passed in this House in 1821, on a Motion of the hon. Member for Dorsetshire, (Mr. Bankes), praying his Majesty that every possible reduction might be effected in the extensive establishments necessary for the maintenance and defence of the kingdom, and more especially in the army and other great institutions essential for the supervision and regulation of the national concerns. Knowing that the Crown acted on this resolution, we can have no objection that the House of Commons should place upon record a resolution recommending that every reduction and retrenchment consistent with the national engagements, and with the advantage of the public service, should be made.—Sir, a great deal has been said on the subject of having taken the advice of different parties in this House. Sir, I am not conscious that there have been any accessions to the Government, in which there have been any compromise of principle, and I confess I see nothing disgraceful in a man, when he approves of the conduct and measures of Government, giving that assistance which may tend to render those measures effectual for the service of the State. For those who compose his Majesty's present Administration I may be permitted to say, that our intention is to persevere in performing that which we feel to be our duty to the country. We are aware of the state of party in this House, and are not ignorant of the consequences which may arise from the combination of parties here. But, let these consequences be what they may, it is our determination to pursue our path firmly and conscientiously. In the course of the last year we performed a great duty, by acting in contradiction to the opinions we had previously entertained, and the course which we had long thought it our duty to pursue. I then thought, and I do still believe, that that step was imposed upon us by a positive and overwhelming necessity, even though, by carrying it into effect we forfeited the confidence and the attachment of many in this House. But, Sir, I cannot now, even to conciliate the good will of that party, or any member of it, say that I repent the step that we have taken. I solemnly declare that subsequent events have convinced me that, by that course, we averted from the country great and awful calamities, the pressure of which would now be felt in aggravation of the distress which is described as universal and severe. Had Parliament refused to grant that long-agitated question of Catholic Emancipation owing to our perseverance or obstinacy, or whatever other name may be given to it at this moment, Ireland and England would be in very different situations from what they now are. I firmly believe that from the settlement of that question have resulted greater benefits than I contemplated, and greater dangers have been averted than any one could have foreseen. There have certainly been individual acts of atrocity which were a disgrace to those concerned in them; but it is not from individual acts that we are to judge of the character or condition of a nation, nor can we form a just or accurate estimate from the exaggerated accounts of those acts of violence, even where they are not altogether destitute of foundation. But I see in the condition of that country the elements of future religious peace and national prosperity. The upper classes of society are falling into an oblivion of past animosities as rapidly as can be expected in so short a time, and the example of those classes is fast extending through the great body of society. Deeply as I regret the loss of the confidence which a portion of the Members of this House have withdrawn from his Majesty's Government, and clearly as I foresee the possible consequences which the combination of parties may lead to, I yet cannot purchase their confidence by expressing a regret for what has occurred. I say this with no feeling of hostility or asperity. I had at the outset a perfect knowledge of the painful consequences which might arise to me individually, and in my public capacity, from proposing the measure of Catholic Emancipation; but if the same junction were again to occur—if the business were to be transacted over again—with still greater deliberation and determination, and with increased preparation to make any personal sacrifice that might be necessary, I would this very night give notice of a Motion for the introduction of such a measure. Sir, we made that concession and that sacrifice for the public good, and for the public good alone; but we have made and we will make no concession and no sacrifices for the purpose of maintaining ourselves in office. We will uphold the established institutions of the country with such salutary and well considered Reform as change of circumstances may render necessary, and so far as shall be consistent with the preservation of the permanent interests of the country. We will propose such measures of retrenchment as can be effected with advantage, but will propose none which cannot be maintained consistently with the honour and just influence of this nation; and I say with confidence, but with perfect respect, that, whatever may be the consequence of the combination of parties in this House, there is a sufficient fund of good sense prevailing in the country, without reference to ultra Whig or ultra Tory, which will ultimately sanction and confirm the course that has been pursued, and which it is our intention to pursue. [*The conclusion of this speech was delivered in an expressively animated manner: and was received with loud cheers.*]

Mr. *Attwood* said, that he must declare, whatever other resolutions were adhered to, that the right hon. Gentleman had now abandoned the grounds upon which he brought in his Bill of 1819. On another occasion he doubted not that he should be able to convince the right hon. Gentleman of the real character and tendency of that Bill, and to make him sensible that there was no principle of national faith which called for the introduction of the metallic standard and the maintenance of salaries at the rate to which they were raised during a depreciated paper currency. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman—supposing that Bill had never been passed—on what scale would the salaries of the servants of the Crown be at present? They would, according to the right hon. Gentleman's own admission, be twenty-five per cent lower than they are, and the public burthens would of course be lessened in the same degree. He did not inquire at present whether the public servants were overpaid or not; the only question was, whether the Bill of 1819 was necessary to vindicate the national honour. He could not entertain the same confidence which Ministers professed they felt in the permanent nature and unchangeable character of their standard, when he found that they were, notwithstanding the admitted alteration of value in almost every article of use or consumption, unwilling to assent to a reduction of their own salaries on a scale corresponding with the depression of the means and necessaries of life. Nor could they plead, in mitigation of their resistance to that which might fairly be termed an equitable arrangement suited to the times, that their salaries had not been augmented in value, from time to time, by the secret operation of the standard adopted, and the alteration of the currency. It was confessed they had been raised and lowered at different periods; of course, contracts had been formed during the prevalence of the higher, and others during the prevalence of the lower, standard. Those formed in the higher, it would not be equitable or just to discharge in the lower, nor to discharge those in the lower formed in the higher standard. There was a great difficulty, he admitted, but something must be done. That difficulty he felt jointly with others; and, in the votes he had hitherto given, or should give, in respect to the present money-system, he professed that he should be actuated by the recollection that the greater number of contracts now in existence had been formed in the higher standard. This had hitherto been his motive in sanctioning by his vote the existing state of things, for purposes of a practical nature, and this, he was resolved, should be his motive, out of respect to existing contracts, and the faith pledged to individuals, until a period of improvement arrived, to which he and most mercantile men looked forward with hourly increasing anxiety.

Mr. Secretary *Peel*, in explanation, begged to say that an inference had been attempted to be drawn from his declining to enter into details, which was totally unfair—namely, that he had admitted that an alteration had taken place generally, about the period of 1819, to the amount of 25 per cent, or upwards. He begged to say that he never had, either in words, or tacitly, made any such admission, and he was satisfied, neither the hon. Member who last spoke, nor any other who concurred in opinion with that hon. Member, could prove that any such depression then took place. Whilst thus availing himself of the privilege of explaining, he would take this opportunity of saying that he anticipated great advantages from the improvement of the banking system, though decidedly opposed to the issues of notes for a less value than *5l.* Indeed, he hesitated not to confess that he hoped and trusted the day would soon arrive, when all the present restrictions on the banking system would be removed.

Mr. *Saville Lumley* briefly stated, that he was apprehensive that a standard of gold with a paper circulation was now ill adapted to effect the objects meditated.

Sir *James Graham,* in reply, observed that he never for a moment could have argued in favour of, or been solicitous for, an inconvertible paper currency. The result of resorting to such an expedient would possibly, if not unavoidably, be an issue of assignats. In his mind the decision of 1819, as to the resumption of a gold standard, was injudicious, and unsuited to the condition of this country. It appeared as if the article of gold had a tendency to become scarcer, while silver had a contrary tendency. Our standard being gold rendered debts more onerous; and, as this country owed more debt than any other, it was worse calculated than any other for a gold standard. At a proper period, he pledged himself to prove that it would be eminently beneficial to the nation to introduce a different standard—namely, that of silver, which, having a tendency to become abundant, would render the consequences of our past engagements, and the debt, less onerous. He must disclaim having any objects of his own to carry in the proposition he now submitted, or in the opposition he sometimes found it his duty to give to men in power. His ambition was fully satisfied in representing a large and populous county of England. Nor was it true that he was desirous to upset the Duke of Wellington's government. He believed the Duke was, both on account of his profound judgment, and the vigour of his measures, the fittest man in the country to hold the helm of affairs; and he thought that, after the noble Duke had well weighed the temper of the House, his conduct could not fail to be influenced by the very general opinion prevalent among all ranks in favour of a change in the standard. If it should so happen that Members were sent back to their constituents, he believed they would find that out of doors the popular opinion ran very strong in favour of an issue of small notes. The sentiments of his constituents he had reason to believe, were decidedly in favour of the present Government, because they believed that a better could not be founded on its ruins. They thought, however, and so thought he, that to adopt wholesome and salutary measures was within the power of the Legislature, and that it was the province and duty of an effective Government to recommend their adoption to the United Parliament. He professed himself satisfied with the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman, and he should, therefore, with the leave of the House, withdraw his own Motion, and adopt the resolutions proposed by the Secretary to the Treasury.

Mr. G. Dawson's resolutions were afterwards adopted, and the Committee of Supply appointed for Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, February 15.

CURRENCY — BANK CIRCULATION.] *Earl Stanhope* said, he rose to present a petition from the owners and occupiers of land in the neighbourhood of Chipping Norton, complaining of agricultural distress, and praying for the repeal of the duties on Malt and Beer. He would avail himself of that opportunity to put a question to the noble Duke (Wellington) on the opposite benches. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships, that on the first night of the Session the noble Duke produced a paper from which he read several extracts, purporting to be an account of the amount of the Bank of England notes, of the country bank-notes, and of the gold and silver coin, in circulation at the present and in former times. He wished to ask the noble Duke whether he had any objection to produce that paper? If he had no objection, the noble Duke would perhaps move for its production: if he had any objection, he (Earl Stanhope) would move for it, as he was convinced that the statement of the noble Duke was founded in fallacy.

The Duke of *Wellington.*—The paper which I read to the House on the first night of the Session, was a memorandum made out by myself of information which I received in the course of conversation with some gentlemen, who were much better informed on the subject of the currency than I can be. That paper is not of such a nature as will enable me to lay it before the House; but I have no objection to give my noble friend every facility in procuring any information upon this subject which he may think necessary to ascertain the facts contained in that memorandum.

Earl *Stanhope* said, that his object was, to obtain a return of the amount of Bank of England notes, of country notes, and of the gold and silver coin, in circulation at the present time, and in former years.

Viscount *Goderich* said, there could be no doubt of the possibility of ascertaining the amount of Bank of England notes in circulation. As to the amount of country bank notes they could only come to an approximate conclusion, and no account could state accurately the quantity of gold and silver coin in circulation. The account which he then held in his hand, and for which he intended to move, would perhaps assist the object which the noble Earl had in view. He intended to move for a return of the quantity of gold and silver coined at the Mint since the 1st of January, 1819, down to the present time. He should also move for a return of the quantity of British gold and silver coin exported within the same period; and also for a return of the quantity of foreign bullion and coin exported during the same period. He was well aware that there was no law which compelled an individual, who was going abroad, to give an account of the quantity of gold coin which he carried with him. It could not, however, be very considerable. But when gold, in consequence of the exchanges, was exported in large quantities as an article of merchandise, returns of the quantity so exported were made to the Customs, and therefore could be produced before their Lordships. He knew that such returns would not be conclusive; but they would all serve to show the data on which the reasons must rest of such a calculation as that which had been entered into by the noble Duke.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, the returns for which the noble Viscount had declared his intention to move, would give the noble Earl, he thought, all the information which he required. If he (the Duke of Wellington) could discover any other information which was likely to throw light on the subject of that calculation, he could assure his noble friend that he would most willingly grant it.

Earl *Stanhope* said, that his object in requiring these returns was to show the impossibility of giving in accurate accounts of the coin in circulation. He stated it to be the opinion of the late Earl of Liverpool that it was impossible to obtain any exact account of the quantity of country bank notes in circulation. As to the amount of the gold coin, their Lordships could not learn what quantity had been exported by individuals, what quantity was in the coffers of the Bank, and what quantity was hoarded by private individuals.

The Duke of *Wellington* stated, that his comparison had been made upon accounts, for the two periods, which, if not exactly correct, had at least corresponding errors, and thus would prevent any error of magnitude from taking place in the result; these returns were as accurate as, perhaps, any could be, and probably, the later returns were the more accurate.

The petition was then laid on the table.

TREATY WITH AUSTRIA.] Earl *Stanhope* wished to ask the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs a question. Had a Treaty of Commerce, which by some sad misnomer was called a Treaty of Reciprocity, been signed between this country and Austria?

The Earl of *Aberdeen*.—It was true that such a Treaty had been signed, and he believed ratified.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, Feb. 15.

MINUTES.] CHARLES BULLER, Jun. Esq. sworn for West Looe.—Mr. PLANTA moved for a new Writ for Radnorshire in the room of the Right Hon. THOMAS F. LEWIS Treasurer of His Majesty's Navy.—Ordered.—The Marquis of CHANDOS postponed till the 23rd instant his Motion for a Bill to amend the Game Laws.

SUPPLY.—REDUCTION OF ESTABLISHMENTS.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved "That the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the Supply, be now read."

Mr. *Hume* said, he wished, before the House resolved itself into the Committee, to submit to the House what, as it appeared to him, it was their duty to perform before they granted any Supplies whatever. He had, for many years past, endeavoured to impress on the House, that the difficulties which were then weighing on the country, and were likely to weigh on it till a different course was pursued, arose from the scale of expenditure which the Ministers had thought proper to keep up since the conclusion of peace. He had no hesitation in saying, that this country, instead of enjoying all those advantages which the people had a right to expect after the termination of so long a war,—the advantages of peace and plenty,—was on the contrary, reduced to a state of extreme distress. He was aware that what he was saying was not new, for during the last ten years he had unceasingly laboured to point out the evils of the mischievous course which Ministers were pursuing. They had ever since the conclusion of peace kept up a war establishment. It might appear to some gentlemen that the situation of the country could not be relieved by any remission of taxation which it was in the power of the House to effect; but when he called to their attention what might have been done if, at the conclusion of the war, a system of economy had been acted on, they would see at once that a great deal of mischief would have been avoided; and they would likewise perceive, that by adopting a plan of retrenchment now, much good might yet be effected. Taxation, which was at no time light, was, by the change which had taken place in the currency, rendered almost one-half more onerous than it had been. When that change took place, they ought to have insisted on a proportionate decrease in the amount of taxes, which had not been done. In 1817, 1818, and 1819, the taxes were not greater in amount than they were during the last three years. Ministers had taken care to keep up the different establishments to the full means which were at their disposal. He therefore called on the House to do that which the whole people unanimously demanded of their representatives to do—namely, to reduce the taxation and the expenditure. He would ask, under what circumstances Parliament had assembled? His Majesty did not, in his Speech from the Throne, say one word about lowering the taxes, and he could not find, from any thing which had occurred in that House, that any reduction was intended. There was scarcely a Speech from the Throne, since the year 1817, which did not state the wish of his Majesty to reduce the public expenditure; but, notwithstanding these professions and promises, they would find that the Estimates of last year, the fifteenth year of peace, were upwards of 1,000,000*l.* greater than the Estimates of 1817. Under all circumstances, he felt it necessary to call on the House to demand, in strong terms, a reduction, and a great reduction, of the expenditure, together with a change in the extent of taxation. In 1821 he had moved an Address, calling for the adoption of a system of rigid economy, which was unanimously carried; but so far from that Address having had the desired effect, the contrary was the result, though at the time attention to the opinion of the House was promised. No sooner did a vacancy in any situation (however useless) occur, than it was immediately filled up;—witness the office of Treasurer of the Navy, which was given to a gentleman a few days before (Mr. F. Lewis). He was convinced, that if they had made proper reductions in the first year of peace, they might, without detriment to the establishments of the country, have reduced the annual burthen of the debt to the extent of between 8,000,000*l.* and 9,000,000*l.* He had calculated the sum extracted from the industry of the people of England, in the shape of taxes, during the fifteen years which had elapsed since the war, and he found it amounted to no less than 896,000,000*l.*,—a sum which, if they could have retained it, would have enabled them to pay off all their debt, or if they could have saved from it a sufficiency to relieve them from the annual charge of 8,000,000*l.* or 10,000,000*l.* would have afforded the country very great relief. From 1817 to 1828 inclusive, the nett money received was 700,000,000*l.*, of which to the amount of 56,000,000*l.* was raised last year. Now he would ask the House what portion of this gross sum of 896,000,000*l.*, levied since the peace, was within their control? Looking to a paper which had been laid on their table, he saw, that from the period of the peace up to the year 1829, the sum of 316,500,000*l.* had been devoted to the support of the establishments of the country. The House had had, therefore, to deal with this sum of 316,500,000*l.*; and there could be no doubt, that if the most ordinary attention had been paid to economy, the one-half, or the one-third of it might have been saved, and the country have kept up, nevertheless, all the civil and military establishments that were necessary to be maintained. By this means, they might have paid off from 130,000,000*l.* to

150,000,000*l.* of their debt, and thus given permanent relief to the country to the amount of 6,000,000*l.* or 7,000,000*l.* He asked the House to recollect what was stated by the Secretary at War and by the Ministers generally last year, as to the military expenditure. The House was then told that it would be considerably lowered; but how stood the fact? He found the expenditure of 1828 was 17,300,000*l.*, while that of 1829 was 17,666,000*l.*, being an increase of upwards of 300,000*l.* He hoped the House would excuse him if he very shortly showed them what appeared to him to be, in a great measure, the cause of their present situation. There had been a call in the country, and a very general one, that the landed proprietors should return to the rents of 1792; because in fact their expenses had fallen to the rate of 1792. In his opinion, if they expected that this country should go on, under the changed circumstances of the present period, they must approximate as nearly as possible to the standard of 1792. He said this the more confidently, because the Finance Committee of 1817, with Lord Castlereagh at its head, had laid down in the clearest and most distinct manner, that they ought to approach as nearly as they could to the establishments of 1791, and 1792 which were every way sufficient to maintain the rights and interests of the country. The Finance Committee of 1828 also was of the same opinion, although Government had cut the labours of that Committee short, having first overlaid it with business. Under these circumstances he felt fully warranted in stating, that the establishments of the country might be most advantageously reduced to the rate at which they were in 1792. Government might wish to have such an overwhelming force as to interfere in all the disputes of the Continental Powers; but if such were the case, it was high time for the people and for that House to awake out of their reverie, and to bring the public establishments to the scale which the finances could afford. The country now had to pay fifty-six millions of taxes, and in 1792 it paid only sixteen millions. Five millions three hundred thousand pounds was the average of three years' amount of the Civil List, the Army, and Navy, in 1792, and now the cost on an average of three years was 25,000,000*l.* Thus had the charge increased five fold, at a period when the profits of every trade were reduced to the lowest rate, and when the wages of every artizan were reduced to what they had been in 1792. Had not the people then a right to demand, and that House to enforce on his Majesty, such reductions as might at least approximate to that standard from which they had departed. The only reduction yet made was in the interest of the debt, which had been reduced from 31½ to 29 millions. The charges on the Consolidated Fund had been increased from 1792 from 105,000*l.* to 1,200,000*l.* The Army, Navy, and the Civil List had increased from 4,200,000*l.* to 17,666,000*l.* The Civil List in 1816, had been raised upon the scale of our expenditure in 1814 and 1815, two of the most profuse years in English history. When prices were rising, the Ministers felt no difficulty in coming down to the House and asking for money to pay up arrears, and, consequently, the people of England had a right to expect a proportionate reduction when prices fell. It was absurd to talk of supporting the dignity of the Crown when rags and tatters covered the land. The people preferred a Monarchical Government because it was calculated to afford them protection and happiness, but if Monarchy were to become the curse of the land, it would be a serious question how long such a scale of extravagance could be continued. From 1769 to 1814 not less than eight different times had the Crown asked assistance of that House, amounting to upwards of three millions. The Regency expenses had likewise been paid in 1818, to the extent of 534,000*l.* The Crown had also received 1,653,000*l.* from the Droits of the Admiralty, the Scotch Civil List, and the four and half per Cent Fund; and thus the Crown had received five and a half millions over and above what had been stipulated in the Act of Parliament, which directed that all these funds should be paid over to the public in consideration of the fixed sum therein agreed to be paid to the Crown. If the King would not do what he ought, or if his Ministers would not advise him to do it, the House ought to speak out. The Civil List of Scotland had been increased from 29,000*l.* to 220,000*l.* A century ago, the Crown Lands were calculated to produce from two to three hundred thousand pounds. In 1793 a Report stated that the fee farms would produce 400,000*l.* per annum, but the money was allowed to remain in the hands of the Board; it had been frittered away, and the Public had derived no benefit from it. Out of 3,959,000*l.* collected since 1798, only 230,000*l.* had found its way into the Exchequer. He would next speak of the Palaces; Windsor Castle, according to the estimates, was to cost 794,000*l.*, and Buckingham Palace, without furniture, the mere shell, had cost 496,000*l.* Ministers ought to be impeached for this, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Robinson (Lord Goderich), had said, that he would be responsible, and promise to the House that there should be no mismanagement relating to this expenditure. The proceedings respecting those buildings had been characterized as of the most shameful nature, aggravated by their being carried on during a period of great distress. Besides the 496,000*l.* for the Palace, 356,000*l.* had been spent for Lodges and other such buildings. They were not to be told that this palace and the other palace were required, for nothing of the sort could be required when the country was distressed and could not afford it. The House ought not to vote the Supplies until his Majesty was brought to his right senses [*hear and a laugh*]. How were they to do this?—why let the first vote of Supply be refused until the House had a clear view of the time when there was to be an end to this folly and extravagance, and when the people of England, in their distresses, were no longer to be taxed upon such grounds. Could the House concur in reducing the allowances of the lower clerks and junior officers, when the very sum thrown away in brick and mortar at Buckingham Palace swept away all that was saved by such reductions? Could the House trust an Administration that had squandered 2,500,000*l.* on the wilds of Canada, and paid 450,000*l.* to the Duke of Athol, for his Bishoprick of Man? What had the people of England to do with this Bishoprick? What was it worth to them? Nothing.

He would next come to the subject of Pensions. Landlords complained of seven millions paid for poor-rates; but when they were shewn million after million thrown away in pensions, sinecures, and useless offices, they made neither complaint nor resistance. He held in his hand a paper laid before the Finance Committee of 772,000*l.* paid in pensions, the greater part of which might be saved. The pensions on the Civil List in 1827 amounted to 88,500*l.* with 62,600*l.* for Ireland, and 31,600*l.* for Scotland, whilst the charge for pensions on account of diplomatic services was 66,600*l.* The pensions paid out of the Consolidated Fund were 368,900*l.* He would only generally allude to a number of items of charge, such as payments to Toulonese and Corsican Refugees, American Loyalists, St. Domingo Sufferers, Dutch Naval Officers, &c. &c.—The whole amounted to 772,700*l.* exclusive of Half-Pay and Dead Weight. Lord Castlereagh, in 1817, had procured a vote on the Estimates for 3,200,000*l.*, for what he called services gone by, that was to say, Half-Pay; but he had said that the House might have the consolation to know that this would annually decrease. And so it ought, but instead of this, it had been increased year after year, until it amounted to 5,302,000*l.*; in 1827, which was the last return, the pensions to Naval Officers amounted to as much as it did ten years ago. The country ought to put an end to pensions of all sorts, for no man ought to receive a pension unless he was disabled in the service of the country. This was the case in America. In 1810, the whole of the Civil Pensions amounted to only 94,000*l.* and they were now increased to 484,000*l.* By the returns of last year, the Civil Pensions had increased by 17 or 18,000*l.* The Pensions, Civil, Military, and Naval, amounted to the enormous sum of 6,074,000*l.* and his Majesty ought to be advised to revise the whole system. The House ought also to decide whether it would not be proper to reconsider the large allowances made to the Royal Family, which he thought were objectionable in the present distressed state of the country. He would proceed to direct their attention to the Colonial Lists. From this he found that 30,000*l.* was expended in pensions in the Colonies— a system to which he was most strongly opposed, because he considered it only a way of evading the superintendence of that House. He wished to make some observations on an item he had omitted in his review of the Civil List: it was an item in the third class; and related to the expenditure on our Diplomacy. And here he thought it might be well to observe that there would be no impropriety in addressing his Majesty upon the subject of a revision of the Civil List. Many hon. Members did not know what the Civil List was. The 1,057,000*l.* was not all for the maintenance of the Sovereign, and therefore he thought it would be advisable to distinguish that which actually was for the support of his Majesty and that which was expended for other purposes. To proceed however:—The salaries of Ambassadors amounted to 226,950*l.*, and, including Consuls' Outfits and Extraordinary Missions (which sometimes cost 40 or 50,000*l.* each), the total expense might be estimated at 450,000*l.* He objected to those extraordinary missions, which, from the sums of money squandered in them, he contended were calculated to contaminate the world; even the United States could not hope to be long free from the infection. Referring to a paper he had moved for in the year 1821; which was a return of the various diplomatic expenses, under distinct heads, from 1792 to 1821, it appeared that the various charges for regular Missions, Consuls, Outfits, Extraordinary Missions, and Pensions, amounted, in 1792, to 113,000*l.* which had been gradually increased since, to 225,000*l.* in the year 1806, and to between 400,000*l.* and 500,000*l.* at present. He thought that this sum ought to be reduced by at least 250,000*l.* The great salaries we paid were utterly useless, since 2,000*l.* in the United States bought as good diplomatic talents as we were able to procure for 12 or 15,000*l.* He believed it could not be denied that in all our negociations with America it had been found that her diplomatists were at least able to take care of their own interest. They had evinced better policy than this country in the reduction of the public burthens. In the year 1816 the American National Debt amounted to one hundred and fourteen million dollars; they had since nearly cleared off that, and they would soon be entirely out of debt, while during the same period we had in fact done nothing. From the Irish Civil List he would contend 100,000*l.* might be advantageously taken away by withdrawing the Lord Lieutenant, and breaking up that focus of faction which existed at the Castle. A reduction ought to take place in the Army, because there was peace at home, and we were in amity with foreign powers. By the vote of last year, it appeared that we had ninety thousand infantry, which was double the number we had in 1792, and which might at once be reduced by twenty thousand men. The force of our Artillery, sappers and miners, also was nearly double what it had been in 1792; and our navy had been increased in the same proportion. If the reduction he recommended were adopted, we should then have sixty thousand men, which was more than we ever had before the American war; and he contended that this reduction might be most easily and advantageously carried into effect, because the greater part of the troops might at once be withdrawn from Ireland, where they were no longer necessary; and our force in the colonies might be reduced in the like fashion; of the troops at Malta one half at least might be well spared; and he thought our soldiers might be altogether withdrawn from the Ionian Isles, which he would make a compliment of to King Leopold. It was also his opinion that our maintaining troops in the Canadas was a useless expense; because the United States had no desire to possess themselves of these territories; and if the Canadians were anxious to remain under our Government, they would be at all times able to protect themselves. Having said thus much with respect to the distribution of the Army, he would now state that he considered the Naval expenditure might be reduced by a million and a half. He thought the thanks of Parliament were due to the hon. member for Queen's county (Sir H. Parnell), as well for what he had done as for what he was prepared to do, if Ministers had not shrunk from the inquiry, and thrown the subject overboard. He regretted they had done so, because, whatever might have been the decision of the House of Commons, it could not have failed to have in some degree benefitted by the views of that hon. Member. He was satisfied that by altering as well as reducing the taxes, and by consolidating the Boards appointed to superintend their receipt, the amount might be raised instead of diminished. There were many Boards that were quite useless, and that might have their business transferred to others; and if the Finance Committee had continued, he thought it would have been enabled to have recommended the discontinuance of the Navy Board. There were between 25,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* a year paid to departments, the duties of which might be well performed for 5,000*l.* a year. Why had we Paymasters in the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, to whom we paid large salaries, when one-half the salary of any one of them would be sufficient to procure the regular discharge of the duties of all three? When he was told that the Finance Committee was not to continue, he had been weak enough to believe that the course they had recommended would be adopted, and that the Government had fairly determined to consolidate the different Boards, and to reduce and alter the taxes in such a manner that the receipt would be more, and the expenditure less. Although he had been ten times deceived, he had been weak enough to believe this for the eleventh time, but for the eleventh time he had been disappointed. He would not be so deceived again. He called on the House to consider the consequences of continuing the present system, and to do their duty in making those alterations which the circumstances of the times had rendered imperatively necessary. In every department too much money was expended. Too many ships were built; a great number lay idle in our dock-yards and were rotting, and surely that was enough to make any man cry out when things were in such a state as they were at present. There were too many store-keepers; and he did not know what our Military, our Naval, and Commissariat storekeepers could find to do, except to look at each other and wonder what they got their money for. The worst of it was, that the first direct expense was not all, but one drew on another, and the expenditure was most alarmingly increased. If, therefore, the House would agree with him in making some of the small reductions he should propose, he believed they would find that in the end a very large aggregate would be saved to the country. It was said that these expenses supported the honour of the country—they did no such thing; they ruined its resources. He wished again and again to press upon the consideration of the House that every thing that diminished the taxation of the country, and the burthens of the people, promoted their comforts, and added to their wealth and happiness. Reduction of taxation would in that way increase the amount of the public revenue, as an increase in taxation had always been found to diminish it. They would find this proved in every article of common consumption; but he would content himself with showing it in the instances of Tobacco and Malt. The quantity of Malt consumed at the present time was not greater than that consumed in 1783. That fact was the more striking, as nearly one-fourth of the Malt then consumed paid no duty, and the calculations were made by the amount of duty only. At present, through the greater strictness of the Excise, no Malt escaped duty free; and the quantity being nominally the same at these two different periods, the fact was, that a greater portion had been consumed in 1783 than at the present time. In the ten years, from 1785 to 1795, the annual average consumption of Malt was 25,721,000 bushels; in the next ten years it was 25,500,000 bushels; in the next, from 1804 to 1814, it was 23,000,000 of bushels, and from 1814 to 1824, it was 25,000,000 bushels. Here, with an increase of population amounting to full one-third, there was an actual decrease instead of an increase in the annual consumption of one of the necessary articles of life. The same thing had been observed in Wine—the consumption, and with it the revenue, decreasing as the duty increased, while both the consumption and the revenue increased when part of the duty was taken off. The article of Tobacco furnished another proof of the argument he was now urging. In the five years from 1800 to 1805, the tobacco consumed averaged about 11,000,000lbs. a year; in the next five years it averaged twelve millions, in the next five years thirteen millions, and in the next five years 14,100,000lbs., thus showing a very limited increase, notwithstanding the great increase of the population. He thought the rates of Postage, if diminished, would produce a greater revenue than at present. He believed that the Post Office revenue had scarcely increased 1,000*l.* a-year in the last twenty years, although it had been fluctuating 100,000*l.* a-year in the mean time. When he saw the advancement of the people in every thing else, he thought that fact was a proof that the rates of postage were too high. If the rates were only half as high as at present, he believed there would be a greater revenue. He came now to the Secretary of State's Offices. In the Office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs he found that in 1796 its whole expenses were 34,400*l.*, while in 1826 they amounted to 64,000*l.*, or nearly double; no wonder that there should be such an increase when our messengers were to be seen flying through every country on every petty occasion. Their bills amounted to full 20*l.* per cent of the money, and he did not know why they should spend such a sum. He hardly liked to suppose that they could be thus sent about at the expense of the country with private correspondence, and yet he did not know what else they could carry, for the business done by our Ambassadors abroad was not after all so very great. It might be said that each of these things was nothing, but in the aggregate they amounted to a great deal. He would now advert to the expenditure for the Treasury, respecting the reductions in which an hon. Gentleman had taken so much credit to the Government the other night. It was true the Lords of the Treasury only received 1,244*l.* a-year, but then there was a variety of well-paid clerks. He gave the hon. Gentleman great credit for the reductions that had been made, but they were not sufficient—they must alter the scale—all must come down a peg or two. There were thousands in the country who had been unfortunately obliged to come down, and the government officers must come down with the rest. What was the reason that the expenses of the country were not put on the same scale now as in 1792? It was in vain to talk of the increase of business since that period—they had had experience to enable them to classify their labours, and the pretence about there being five thousand entries in the Treasury in 1792, while there were twenty thousand entries now, was nothing. But he would tell the House how this apparent increase of business at the Treasury arose. If the Treasury would claim the consideration and determination of all those questions that ought to be decided at the Stamp-office, the Excise and the Custom-house, a large establishment must certainly be kept up; but if that system, which was only resorted to for the purpose of increasing their patronage, was put an end to, the number of persons employed at the Treasury might easily be diminished, and the business would be done, not only full as well, but much better, by being confined to the different offices to which it fairly belonged. The people, too, who had business at these offices, would then no longer be teazed with references backwards and forwards from one office to another. The Commissioners of Customs and Excise were afraid to decide on any question that might be brought before them, because they knew an appeal would be made to the Treasury, and men who were subject to such an influence never could act with proper decision. He would put it out of the power of the Treasury to entertain these appeals, and that would save one-half of the expense. In 1797 the expenses of the Treasury amounted to 40,700*l.*, while at present they exceeded 80,500*l.*, so that they were now nearly double of what they had been. The Colonial Office in 1797 cost 9,000*l.* a-year; now its expense had increased threefold. One important item of expenditure was in the Collection of the Revenue. It was now collected at an expense of 6 per cent. He had made an offer to undertake its collection at 2½ per cent. He knew that would be a nice thing enough; but they would not let him have it. They had made some modifications or reductions in Scotland, he believed, and he gave them full credit for what they had done, but they had not done enough. However, any improvement was a benefit; for in Aberdeen alone there had been a small stationer who, as distributor of stamps, had netted from 1,200*l.* to 1,600*l.* a-year. The receiverships were also good things in the hands of the Minister, and there was a circumstance connected with them which showed how a county Member might be interested in receiverships. A division of each county took place in order that two parties might be appointed to these receiverships, so that each Member could have his friend provided for. But that of course increased the expense. The Finance Committee had recommended that these divisions of counties should be put an end to, and that on the death of either party the whole duty should be performed by the survivor. The Government, much to their credit, had adopted the recommendation, and he would tell the House what had happened in consequence. On a late occasion a gentleman, when thus called on to perform the duty of receiver for the whole county on the death of the other receiver, objected to the increase of labour thus thrown on him, and wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, making his complaint. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that it was Mr. Hume's Act, and the gentleman then wrote to him (Mr. Hume) on the subject. He would not mention the name of the gentleman, or of the county; but the matter must be perfectly in the recollection of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. On receiving the Letter, he answered the gentleman (who had complained to him of the hardship of being called on to receive the taxes of a whole county for his former salary of 600*l.* a-year), and expressed his regret that he should suffer from a general measure, intended for the public good; but added, that if the gentleman did not wish to hold the office on those terms, he (Mr. Hume) would be very glad to have the nomination of his successor; after which he heard no more on the subject. He would not be satisfied with the half measure,—he would abolish the whole of the receiver-generalships, by which a saving of 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.* a-year would be made to the country. The whole of the taxes could be as effectually received by the collectors of Excise: it would be only adding another item to their collections in their respective districts. A collector of Excise, who was asked what he thought would be a fair remuneration for this additional trouble of collection, answered, that he thought an addition of 50*l.* a-year would be a very fair recompense. It was objected to him, when this was proposed, that the collectors could not give sufficient security; but he met the objection at once, by stating that from Lancashire excise revenue to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* was sent up, and the highest security given by any person engaged in its collection was 5,000*l.*, and there was no such thing heard of as a defalcation. He had calculated, that out of 355,000,000*l.* of Excise, there was no defalcation, except one of 30,000*l.*, which was occasioned by the death of a collector, and the circumstances connected with the default were accidental; but from papers on the Table of the House, it appeared that in the accounts of receivers-general of counties there had been defalcations to the amount of 355,000*l.* In the Excise, however, great care was taken in the selection of collectors, no man being chosen for that office who was not well known to be trustworthy, and who had previously served as a riding-officer and supervisor, and also been twenty years in the service. He could wish that the same care was observed in all other public departments. He must next call the attention of the House to the state of the Board of Excise, in which, though the department came nearer to perfection than any other, he would reduce the number of Commissioners to five. He could not see the use of sixteen Commissioners, except to act as relays, while some of the number were absent two or three months for their amusement. He would abolish the Board of Stamps, and unite two or three of the smaller Boards, by which the duty now performed by two or three would be as effectually done by one, with not a greater number of Commissioners than on the smallest of those Boards. By such reductions he contended that a saving of 1,500,000*l.* a-year would be made to the country. It might be said, that it was easy to talk of these reductions; but they were practicable. He would reduce the duty on tobacco, and on foreign spirits, and thus get rid of the blockade system, which created so much ill-will with every body, and occasioned a sort of civil war upon the coasts. Seven or eight hundred thousand a year might be saved by that means alone. He would remind country gentlemen that the Sinking Fund of five millions was merely ideal, that it was only paying with one hand, and borrowing with the other, and he was in a condition to show that out of the transactions connected with the Sinking Fund had arisen a loss to the country of not less than four millions and a half. On every hundred pounds there had been a loss of 21*l.*, and nothing could afford a stronger proof of the necessity for establishing some control over the Finance Minister of the country. The funding of eight millions of Exchequer Bills had turned out a very foolish affair, and the loss amounted to two millions and a half on a sum of eight millions of Exchequer Bills. Such a result, it might be thought, would have been enough to make the Chancellor of the Exchequer reflect; but what had been the loss of the transaction of only last year? There had been a surplus of three millions, and he (Mr. Hume) had pressed that it should be devoted to the reduction of taxes, but the right hon. Gentleman had insisted that it would be much better to apply it to the taking of Exchequer Bills out of the market. The premium on Exchequer Bills must, of course, be paid, and that amounted to 94,000*l.*; but what did the Chancellor of the Exchequer do? He said "No, I will not pay the money; I know better than that; I have consulted my friends and coadjutors of the Stock Exchange, whose profits are the larger the more the country gambles and loses by gambling, and I will make a different bargain." What bargain did he make? and what did he do with that sum of money which would have saved half the starving people of the country, or repealed several of the most obnoxious and oppressive taxes? He converted the three millions of Exchequer Bills, bought with the three millions of surplus, into four per cent perpetual annuities; he gave the three millions of surplus to the Commissioners for the Sinking Fund, and told them to buy up the Exchequer Bills, to be converted into annuities, and the loss upon that transaction was not less than 900,000*l.* It was impossible to explain away matters of arithmetic and calculation; and such a proceeding ought to be reprobated to the latest day of every man's existence. How much better would it have been, then, to have applied the surplus of three millions to the diminution of the weight of taxation! No such power ought to be given to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in future, and the House ought not to allow him to purchase one shilling's worth of three per cents at the present price, and in the present circumstances of the country. All that he had hitherto done had been inconsistent with the ultimate and permanent prosperity of the country. He (Mr. Hume) much questioned whether it would not be better to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Queen's County (Sir H. Parnell), to convert the debt gradually into annuities, which, in seventy, eighty, or ninety years, would bring it to an appointed end. In the army he proposed that there should be a reduction of 1,800,000*l.* in point of expense—first, by disbanding only twenty thousand men — next, by making the Military Asylum pay its own expenses—and, thirdly, by bringing the staff within its proper limits. Instead of having officers of high rank—Major-generals, for instance—commanding trifling possessions, he would reduce the whole to a condition approximating to the state of 1792. He would recommend an Address to his Majesty, requiring him to reduce the diplomatic branch of the Civil List; and he would not ask it as a favour, but as a right. He would effect a further saving of 500,000*l.* by sale of the Crown Lands, or by letting them at rents proportioned to their real value. That whole department ought to be broken up as useless and extravagant, and it would be easy to wind up the concern by the disposal of all the lands. These sums would make a total of 6,450,000*l.* to which he added 1,450,000*l.* from the surplus revenue, forming an aggregate of more than 8,000,000*l.*; and reduction to that extent, he was satisfied, would be found perfectly easy, if Ministers fairly and honestly set about the attempt. First, he proposed to repeal the whole of the duty on Coals, amounting to 833,000*l.* Next, he would take off the whole of the Soap duty, producing 1,414,000*l.* Thirdly, he would repeal the duty on Candles, which had been more than usually productive last year, mainly because the poor weavers and other artisans were obliged to work in the night as well as in the day to earn a very scanty pittance; it was only 1*d.* per lb., but it added 2½*d.* to the price of every pound of candles, arising from the heavy charge for collection and other causes. And the charges of collection ought not to be forgotten in calculating the policy of their repeal, although this it was probable did not enter into the account of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Another reduction which he should suggest, would be that of the duty on Leather, which amounted to 383,000*l.* This subject, he was aware, might occasion some little odium, but the present system was avowedly open to objection. Take place what change there might, there was found to be no abatement in the price of shoes, which might be attributed to the difficulties attendant on the preliminary manufacturing. The profits would be necessarily too small for subsistence at a much lower price when the currying and other preparatory processes were divided among so many hands. If any one tradesman should attempt to unite them in his own person, he subjected himself to a ruinous fine, which coupled with the difficulty of evading the Excise penalties when so incurred, he was given to understand had prevented numbers from entering the trade. If the duty were taken off, he had no doubt that the future price would be forty per cent less than the present. Government, however, would enjoy at the same time a corresponding advantage to the amount of twenty per cent in their purchase of the leather consumed in the military service. In addition to this he would withdraw the duty on

Beer, which amounted to 3,204,000*l.*, while the expense of collecting it came to 380,000*l.*, leaving a difference of about 2,800,000*l.* This tax was an especial grievance to the poor, although it did not affect country gentlemen in the same degree; but he felt convinced that they would be the last to complain, if their humbler neighbours were placed on a level with themselves in this particular. It was hard, indeed, that the poor man should be obliged to pay a tax at the rate of 50*s.* upon malt, when the rich were required to pay only 30*s.* Another tax, to the amount of 37,000*l.*, on Cider and Perry, in the distress which now existed throughout the west of England, it would be equally expedient to abolish. A reduction of one half in this duty had been accomplished a few years ago, and the relief which was then extended had greatly ameliorated the condition of those who suffered under this tax. A similar relaxation was never more wanted than at present. He would next repeal the Window Duty, which amounted to 1,164,155*l.*, and the Inhabited House duty, which was 1,295,172*l.* The latter tax, he was assured, had obliged many to wander abroad, exiles from their country, being unable to keep up an establishment at home. Removing such an obstacle would, therefore, be an inducement in favour of their return; they would contribute to the employment of the poor in their neighbourhood, and so far conduce to the prosperity of their native land. An Absentee tax would then be no longer required nor necessary, as he had no doubt but that in nine cases out of ten our countrymen who resided in foreign kingdoms were driven thither against their better inclination, for the mere purposes of economy. Hereafter, however, it was to be hoped, that in Devonshire and many other parts of England they would be able to live as cheap as on the continent, and that their return would be compatible with their anxiety for retrenchment. By the removal of those two taxes, they would be enabled to add 2,460,000*l.* to the other reductions, which would take, in all, a sum of 8,835,832*l.* off the pecuniary burthens of the country. But he would not stop here; for it would be expedient to pare down the expenditure on the same principle. He would recommend also an abolition of the tax on Corn, notwithstanding the existence of which the importation of this year had been large beyond example. He would beg of those who were opposed to Free Trade, to consider for one moment the necessary effects of the system which they so strenuously advocated. By lessening the proceeds of the labourers, and artisans, did it not render them unable to purchase the butter, cheese, cattle, and other articles of consumption yielded by the estates of those gentlemen themselves? The employment of the humbler classes was at an end, and they were eventually thrown on the poor-rates for subsistence, thus becoming a burthen and dead weight on the properties which, under other circumstances, they might have contributed to enrich. These two disadvantages were surely enough to counterbalance the more direct effect of the protection, and landed proprietors lost more in value in one way than they could gain in another. Reductions ought also to be effected in the duties on Tobacco, Foreign Spirits, Sugar, Glass, and Paper, respectively. There was likewise a tax, which it had been supposed Ministers contemplated last year to remove—he alluded to that upon Insurance. But without dwelling further upon that point, he would recommend generally that taxes upon all raw materials and on manufactures should be very much diminished, as tending to interrupt the industry of manufacturers. It ought to be recollected that taxes to the amount of 27,000,000*l.* had already been taken off at the recommendation of the Finance Committee, yet no loss accrued from the abatement, it gave such elasticity to industry, and had so far renovated the energies and resources of the nation. At other and less critical periods Members might often be brought to agree upon half-measures, but now, when the cry for retrenchment and the reduction of taxation was so general throughout the land, it became necessary to do something more permanent in its nature and more decided in point of policy. A Ministerial pledge of such a character had been given in 1821; but that pledge was broken, nor had it ever awakened his confidence. On the Motion which he should have the honour of submitting by way of Amendment, he presumed that there could be but one opinion entertained. He could not imagine that any man in that House was composed of such materials as to be capable of pronouncing such a resolution to be unnecessary. He hoped, that the

House would evince alacrity and readiness to vote in favour of his Amendment. Would any Member present be prepared to reply that they were not in a condition to give relief, or that there was any better mode of administering such relief than that which he suggested? Could those who agreed with Ministers in avowing the expediency of reduction refuse to go with him in his extension of the same principle to the relief of the population? He had no object whatever in view,—he could have no object,—except that of seeing the country relieved from its present sufferings and distresses. If the House should refuse to accede to what they were equally bound by policy and humanity to adopt, he would only say that they would work both discredit to themselves, and disappointment to their constituents. He concluded, by moving as an Amendment,—"That this House will forthwith proceed to a repeal and modification of taxation to the largest possible extent which the reductions that may be made in the Civil, Military, and Naval Establishments of the country will admit, as a means of affording general relief to the Country:"—when on the Question being put,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he addressed the House on the present occasion, under feelings of considerable embarrassment, not only from the difficulty of the task of following the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Hume) through his various and complex statements, but from a conviction of the almost impossibility of refixing the attention of hon. Members to the question really at issue when they had been so long pre-occupied by the hon. Member. The hon. Member had added to his difficulties by not adopting a new line of proceeding from that usually followed by him: that is, by not refraining from his usual minute investigation of the details of the various items of the revenue and expenditure of the country,—items, a due discussion of which would require each a separate evening, and more time and attention than the House could bestow without a total neglect of its other duties. Nor was the variety of the hon. Member's statements their only objectionable feature — the length of time embraced by the hon. Member's inquiry added to the task of replying to them — a period extending from 1792 to the present year. The hon. Member had thought proper to lay to his account all the charges which he could bring forward, not only against himself, since his accession to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but, what was hardly fair, against his immediate predecessors in office. He did not shrink from the responsibility attached to official station, nor from the task of vindicating those who had preceded him, for he knew them too well to doubt the injustice of the hon. Member's censures: he knew them to be men of ability and honour, who had invariably received the cordial support of Parliament. It would be unfair to expect, however, that he should be then prepared to follow the hon. Member through his various statements, the rather, as the hon. Member had spoken from documents and calculations the result of the labours of a series of years, while he was called upon to refute them wholly unarmed and unprepared with the requisite official papers. Besides, so extensive was the scope of the hon. Member's observations, that it was impossible to catch his meaning, save here and there by, piecemeal. He was placed in rather a strange position by the hon. Member. It was the usual course for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring forward that annual statement of the income and expenditure of the country, known by the name of the Budget; but in consequence of the hon. Member's strange course of proceeding, he should have, for the first time, to present himself then to the House, not as the proposer, but as the opposer of a budget. Under these circumstances, therefore, he thought his wisest course would be, not to enter into a detail of the several topics discussed by the hon. Member, but to save the time of the House by at once objecting to the hon. Member's general Motion. He proposed, then, to follow that course, except on one or two particular points, in order, by a refutation of them, to induce the House to believe that the other statements of the hon. Member could and would be equally replied to on the proper occasion. What, then, in the first place, was the object of the hon. Member's Motion? He called upon the House to repeal the taxes necessary to support the public expenditure to the greatest possible extent. If the hon. Member had confined his proposition to a general expression of this recommendation, he for one would not oppose it, and would leave it to the wisdom of Parliament to determine how that reduction could be best effected without detriment to the public service. But as the hon. Member had added to this general recommendation a specific plan for the repeal of taxes, by a reduction of our civil, naval, and military establishments, without waiting for the Estimates of those establishments being laid before the House,—without waiting to see whether any and what reductions might be proposed in them by Ministers—he could not acquiesce in the hon. Member's Motion. If a reduction were expedient, how could Parliament determine its amount or its practicability, till it had inquired into the necessity and general bearing of the several branches of the public expenditure? And how could that necessary inquiry be instituted before Ministers had laid before the House the responsible official statement of the amount of the several Estimates of the year, so as to enable the House to decide upon the economy or extravagance observed in the management of the public money? As a departure, then, from the usual practice of Parliament, the Motion was highly objectionable. Instead of first determining the minimum of expenditure compatible with the efficiency of the establishments of the country, and then adjusting the revenue to that expenditure, the hon. Member reversed the process, and asked the House to lay down a minimum of revenue, to which he would apportion the expenditure. Was this, he would ask, the course most fitted for forwarding the general weal? Was not the usage hitherto followed that best adapted for promoting the public service? And on what grounds did the hon. Member ask the House to depart from its usual practice? Why, said the hon. Member, to take away the power from Ministers of injuring the finances of the country. But did not the hon. Member perceive that by the same process he would take away from Ministers the power of doing good to the country? For how could they venture to entertain views and consider objects in relation to the public welfare, if they possessed no discretionary yet responsible control over the arrangement of their respective offices? What set of honourable men would consent to fill the posts of Government, if, in the spirit of the hon. Member's wild and extravagant speculations, they were deprived of all official control? He called them wild and extravagant speculations, for what did they mean to effect? The hon. Member proposed to reduce the taxes by 9,000,000*l.* But how did the hon. Member propose to effect that reduction? Did the hon. Member recollect, that 29,000,000*l.* of the taxes annually raised in this country went to pay the interest of the national debt; and that if the Dead Weight and other expenditures to which the national honour is pledged be added to that interest there remained but from 10,000,000*l.* to 11,000,000*l.* of surplus, from which, forsooth the hon. Member proposes to deduct 9,000,000*l.* Did not the very statement of the proposition expose its absurdity? He would not anticipate the discussion which the Estimates (of which those for the army would be very shortly before the House) for the year would give rise to, and therefore would not take up the time of the House by proving that the expenditure which the hon. Member proposed to reduce to the extent of 9,000,000*l.* was regulated by the most rigid principles of economy. There was, however, one other point which he could not help animadverting upon, constituting as it did a leading feature in the hon. Member's speech, — one, indeed, upon which he had more than once at other times enlarged. The hon. Member, in his allusion to a high personage, whose name was never mentioned in the proceedings of that House, had not only departed from the usage and order of Parliament, but had made use of language which in spirit and terms could not be too strongly reprobated. The hon. Member proposed in the first place to alter the arrangements made with the Crown for the maintenance of its dignity on the accession of his present Majesty. He held up the Civil List as one of those branches of the public expenditure from which a large reduction should be made forthwith, without a reference to circumstances. Nay, more, he called Ministers to task for not having sooner made the reduction which he proposed. But the hon. Member, before he blamed them on this score, should have considered the relation in which they stood to the Civil List. They found it, in the first place, fixed by a deliberate act of the Legislature. They found that for it, as it now stood, the Crown had surrendered its hereditary revenues,—which revenues, he begged the House to bear in mind, were found greatly to exceed in amount the compensation paid by Parliament. So far, then, from wishing to adopt the hon. Member's proposition, and restore the hereditary revenues of the Crown to it, and reducing the Civil List, Ministers consulted the public benefit by appropriating the former to the public service, as it was decidedly the best method of meeting the public exigencies. If, indeed, the Civil List exceeded in extent or amount the revenues of the Crown which were exchanged for it, there might be some sense in the hon. Member's proposal; but as the reverse was the case, he was sure the House would not, for a moment, follow the hon. Member's recommendation. He, for one, would always oppose and protest against such a proposition, and had no doubt of being supported by the House. But the recommendation was in keeping with the tone of scorn and contempt in which the Crown was invariably spoken of by the hon. Member. If he objected to the principle of mentioning the name of a personage which should never be heard in the debates of that House, how much more should he protest against the terms in which the allusion had been made by the hon. Member. He would not take it upon him to question the hon. Member's predilections in the abstract for particular forms of Government, nor his right to assert those predilections on fitting occasions; but he would most emphatically protest against Monarchy being spoken of in a British House of Commons only in terms of scorn and contempt. The hon. Member might expatiate as long as he pleased on the blessings which flowed to America from her republican institutions, and on the advantages or disadvantages which this or that country might derive from a democracy or an aristocracy; but he was sure he would fail in inducing a British House of Commons to adopt his sentiments respecting our free Monarchy. Connected with that part of the hon. Member's arguments, were his declamation against the amount of the Pension List. There, contended the hon. Member, is 770,000*l.* of the public money annually expended in order to enable Ministers to command majorities by bribes and pensions to their supporters; reduce, therefore, the amount, and by so far lessen the official means of corruption. But the hon. Member seemed to forget that 446,000*l.* of this item was embodied in the Consolidated Fund—not at the will of corrupt Ministers, but disposed of by Parliament—as the reward of the highest naval, military, and judicial services that were ever entitled to the gratitude of the country. Therefore, if the item were to be reduced, Parliament, in its full Legislative capacity, and not a corrupt Minister, must effect the reduction. The hon. Member seemed to place little reliance on the statement which his hon. friend the Member for Derry (Mr. G. Dawson) made a few evenings before, of the disposition of the present Government to reduce the Public Expenditure to the lowest point compatible with the public welfare. But how were the hon. Member's doubts supported by facts? A vacancy occurred in the Board of Taxes a short time since: the noble Duke at the head of the Government was asked to fill it up. What was done? Why the noble Duke ordered the office to be abolished, it being suggested that the number of Commissioners might be lessened without detriment to the public service. Another vacancy occurred in the Board of Stamps. What was done in that instance? The very same thing—the office was abolished. In the Board of Excise, in the same way, the number of Commissioners had been reduced two in thirteen, and it was intended to effect a similar reduction in the Board of Customs as soon as the experiment could be practicable. This showed the disposition of Ministers to effect every possible reduction that the efficiency of the public establishments of the country could permit. But perhaps the hon. Member might ask, are these all the reductions you mean to attempt? He answered him no, though he would not then anticipate the detail of those intended; which he should give on a future evening, agreeably to his promise. Did not these facts show that there did not exist the shadow of a shade for the hon. Gentleman's imputation against the economical spirit of the present Government? The hon. Member had called the attention of the House to the works in Canada, with a view to creating an impression of the improvident wastefulness of Ministers. He told the House that the expense of those works amounted to two millions last year. What, however, was the fact? The House voted, as the hon. Member ought to have known, but 500,000*l.* last year for those works. How, then, did the hon. Member make up his two millions? Simply by putting in one item of 500,000*l.* voted by that House, with the cost of works which had been postponed for the present, and of others which had been postponed altogether; and this he did for the purpose of swelling his charge of Ministerial extravagance. Then, with respect to the taxes, the hon. Member's statements were equally open to animadversion. The hon. Member correctly stated that the debt now amounted to 890,000,000*l.* but argued that if the 890,000,000*l.* of taxes raised within the last fifteen years had been properly expended, the debt would now be extinguished. [*No, no.*] He understood so from the language of the hon. Member; for if such were not his meaning, what could be his object in contrasting the possible effects of a certain course of economy with the actual condition of the public expenditure? Then the hon. Member stated that the population had advanced in a larger ratio than the consumption; owing, he said, to the increased amount of taxes having diminished the command of the large mass of consumers over the necessaries of life. But how did the hon. Member prove his assertion? By selecting one year in the height of the war, when the necessarily isolated condition of the country, so far as foreign imports were concerned, tended to increase the consumption of domestic commodities, and comparing that with the estimate of a year of peace, when the home market was open to the world. To prove his statement, the hon. Member should have compared the ratio of consumption and population before the war with that now existing. If, for example, he had selected the article of tobacco, he would have found that the consumption amounted to but 9,500,000lbs. in the year 1791: while it amounted to about 15,000,000lbs. last year; showing a greater ratio of increase of consumption than that of population could account for. In conclusion, he begged the House to consider whether the hon. Member's Motion would tend to the general advantage if forthwith acted upon. Those that thought so would of course vote for it; while those who were inclined to await the detailed statements of Ministers of the reductions intended to be made in the several branches of the public service, would vote against it, and for the Order of the Day. He could not consent to it—though he was ready to acknowledge that the House would, after a discussion of the several details of the subject, be better able to appreciate the suggestion he should hereafter make—without consenting to abandon the station to which he had been raised by the favour of his Sovereign, and thereby implying an admission of his inability to preside over the financial arrangements of the country.

Mr. *Maberly* was of opinion, that the right hon. Gentleman had over-stated the proposition of his hon. friend the Member for Montrose. He had not contended that they should forthwith—namely, to-morrow for example—proceed to repeal taxes to the amount named; nothing, he was sure, could be further from his intentions—nothing of which the House would be less likely to accuse him—no; his object was, that as soon as possible the House should proceed to fix some period from which the repeal of those taxes might commence. He (Mr. M.) begged to call the attention of the House to the real question before them; the country was in distress, that was not to be doubted, and his hon. friend proposed that there should be a reduction of eight, or six, or four, or two millions: he demanded that there should be some great reduction, and he thought that in the name of the country he had a right to demand that a great reduction should take place. His motion, he thought, was entitled to the support of the House; for though the speech of the Mover embraced a wide field, and though there might be much in it from which many Members would dissent, yet that did not affect the merits of the Motion, standing as it did upon the strongest grounds. Doubtless many of the topics to which his hon. friend had adverted were such as had much better be referred to a Committee, but it would be in vain that the hon. Member should seek to have a Committee to which to refer them. When the Finance Committee was appointed, the right hon. Secretary eulogised it in the highest terms; but the moment it began to do any good, the Government turned round upon it and put an end to its labours, and by that act did one of the greatest injuries to the country which it ever sustained. It was perfectly certain that the various details of the public expenditure could never be advantageously discussed in that House—a Committee was the only place in which the charges of the Army, Navy, and Civil Departments, could ever properly be gone into. But it was scarcely to be hoped that a Committee would soon again sit upon such a matter; for so soon as the Finance Committee exposed the fallacy of the Dead Weight and other fallacies, its existence was put an end to. As a further indication that nothing like considerable reduction was intended, he called the attention of the House to the manner in which the subject had been treated in the Speech from the Throne. If the Ministers chose to persist in rejecting all advice, he did not see how the House could do otherwise than pledge itself to make reductions in every possible way. The conduct of the Ministry left it no alternative; and if the right hon. Gentleman chose to persist in answering their call in the way that he had that night adopted, all that they had to do was, to require a specific reduction of taxation. When it should come to this, he had his own view of the subject; and if the present Motion should be lost, he should certainly state to the House what taxes might in his opinion, be got rid of with peculiar propriety; and he thought that he could offer one to their notice, the existence of which was most oppressive and unjust. In the Fourth Report of the Finance Committee, which had been drawn up by the Master of the Mint (Mr. Herries), than whom no one better understood the finance of the country, the expenditure of the country was divided into three parts: that on which but a small saving could be effected—that on which more saving could be effected—and that on which a considerable saving could be effected. In the present state of the country, he thought that they were bound to look most scrupulously at every one of these departments. The rent of land might not as yet, perhaps, be depreciated so low as fifty per cent, but, in his opinion, it very soon would be; and why, then, was an expenditure still to be persisted in, even higher than that recommended by the Committee of 1817? That Committee, it should be remembered, had come to their task without that experience of times of peace which they now possessed, and therefore, in the recommendations they had suggested, they had rather looked at what had existed during a time of war, with the feeling that, with each succeeding year, a gradual reduction should take place, than at what was permanently suited to a state of peace. He did not think that it would be wise in him to enter into any minuteness of detail on the present occasion—and even if he did, he supposed that he should only have his statement denied—he would therefore state generally that, under the existing state of things, he was ready to assent to any motion that went to the reduction of four millions of taxes to-morrow. But it was not to the taxes only that they had to look: the mere collecting of them was performed in a manner that was exceedingly onerous to the country. The whole, however, presented a state of things which every calculating man might have expected: he himself had long anticipated it—even before the panic—he might say, from May 1825; and he therefore had long felt that it must sooner or later come to a reduction of taxes. Without this, he did not believe that rents (even if they had reached their lowest ebb) could rise; and without this, it was impossible for the lower classes to bear up against the distress which surrounded them. If the House looked at the list of taxed articles, they would see how completely the general system of the country was depressed beneath them. Let them look at the tax on Beer, which amounted to 3,200,000*l.*; nor was this the only duty levied on that article of general consumption, and because the Ministers would have both a beer and malt tax, the expense of collection was double; to which was also to be added, that it entailed upon the country a still more vexatious burthen—that of a monopoly. There could be no doubt that the whole of this tax gave a monopoly into the hands of the Magistrates, by which they were enabled to limit the number of public-houses. What was the consequence of this? Why, that the few who were in the trade were obliged, from the circumstances in which they were placed, to adulterate the article they sold, so that the customer never obtained what he expected to have for his money. The honest publican probably only lowered his beer about five and twenty per cent; while others, not so scrupulous, brought it down thirty, forty, and fifty per cent. He therefore thought, with respect to this tax, that the right hon. Gentleman would not do his duty unless he put it under revision, and made some important alterations on the subject. Another tax which forced itself upon his attention was that upon Spirits—not that he intended to advocate its reduction: on the contrary, he much desired to see this tax so raised, that it should not be producing, by its low price (as it was at present) the demoralization of the lower orders; the lowering of the duty had been proposed to prevent the operations of the smuggler—and certainly, as far as they were concerned, it had been effectual—but, unfortunately, for the sake of obtaining this point, a general demoralizing influence had been put within the reach of the whole of the lower classes of society. His opinion, therefore, was, for the sake of the people, that this duty ought to be doubled, because if this course were not pursued, the demoralization would spread more rapidly than ever; and he said this because it was an admitted fact that those families who indulged in ardent spirits were continually labouring under a state of distress, while those who avoided it were bringing up their families in comfort and comparative prosperity. The Tea Tax was another of those taxes of which not only the rates were too high, but which had added to it the curse of a monopoly, the consequence of which was, that a double tax in effect was imposed upon the public; so that, instead of having to pay only two millions, the real amount of the tax paid into the Exchequer, the whole duty levied by the Government and the monopoly amounted to four millions; or, to make it more generally intelligible, each person that purchased a pound of tea paid for it 3*s.* instead of 1*s.* The next tax to which he had to advert was that upon Coals, which was burthensome in every possible way. It was likewise a most unjust tax, owing to the very unequal manner in which it was levied. What was the reason that the greater the distance it was brought, the higher was the imposition placed upon it? Coals bought in the Metropolis were charged with a duty of 6*s.* the chaldron, while at the mouth of the pit no duty at all was levied upon them. What, therefore, he had to propose, with respect to this tax, was, that a small sum should be levied upon them at the pit's mouth, and he was convinced that that would be sufficient to produce as ample a revenue as the burthensome and partial duty which at present existed. The tax upon Tobacco was another of those which appeared to him to be exceedingly objectionable; it not only kept up and promoted smuggling, but was likewise the cause of a body of two thousand five hundred, or three thousand men being retained. With respect to the Assessed Taxes, he thought that the system was bad—it was a direct tax; and if it were wise to have such a one at all, he thought it would be more wise to have a Property Tax to that extent, because in that case they would be able to reach the absentees, who now avoided the assessed taxes by quitting the country. He was certainly as anxious to support the public credit as any one could be; and if the hon. Gentleman's Motion appeared to him to trench at all upon that credit, he would not vote for it. But that was not the ground upon which it proceeded: it did not propose the taxation of any particular class of individuals or interests; it only went the extent of saying that they were bound to relieve the country in the best way within their power, and that best way appeared to be by reducing the expenditure. He, therefore, hoped that the House would not be arrested in its course by the Speech of the right hon. Gentleman, but adopt a Motion that only pledged it to reduction as far as might be deemed expedient.

Mr. *Western* said, that in the abstract, he was ready to give his hearty concurrence to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman. As far as it went in general he did not see how it was possible for the House to do otherwise than adopt it, for all that it contended for, was the necessity to reduce the expenditure to the lowest point, consistent with the safety of the country. He, however, apprehended that the House was already pledged to the full extent of the proposition which had been introduced by the hon. Gentleman, and he thought that the next step should be for one of his Majesty's Ministers or for some hon. Gentleman to propose the reduction of any specific tax that appeared most feasible or desirable. The universal decision of the House the other night on the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. G. Dawson), undoubtedly pledged the House and the Ministry to turn their attention to every possible reduction; and for himself he was disposed to give some degree of confidence to the disposition evinced by the Ministry to redeem their pledge, though there might, perhaps, be some difference of opinion as to what portion of reduction ought to take place. When they brought forward their reductions should such a difference arise, then would be the right time for debate. In his opinion, it was not the taxation of the country which caused that unprecedented condition of distress which pervaded the whole kingdom. He would ask any hon. Member to tell him if there ever was a period before the present, when, in this country, there was such a general stagnation of trade—such a depression of the agricultural, the commercial, the shipping, and, in fact, every interest? What he repeated, was the cause of this? He answered, that they had so narrowed the currency of the country as to make the amount of taxation press on every interest in the country with a weight never known before in the whole course of its history. How else was it that, with a reduction of twenty-nine millions of taxation within a short period the pressure of the remainder was felt to be greater than the whole amount? He should propose that a Committee be appointed to inquire how far those who altered the currency in the year 1819 had gone beyond the value of the currency at the time of their return to cash payments, and to inquire how far the narrowing of the circulation of this country had tended to decrease the general circulating medium of the world. In his opinion the reduction of the amount of currency of this country had affected that of every country that traded with us, and deprived them of the power of carrying on the same extensive trade or purchasing manufactures to the same extent as before. His conviction was, that all the distress was owing to the contraction of the currency and must be relieved by enlarging the currency, and that no reduction of taxation would or could effect it.

Lord *Althorp* said, it had been argued by the hon. Member for Essex (Mr. Western), that the Motion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen was nothing but a repetition of the Amendment moved on a former evening by the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. G. Dawson). To a certain extent this was true; and he (Lord Althorp) was disposed to place so much confidence in the profession of the present Ministry, that he should have felt it right to give them an opportunity of fair trial before he pressed them any further; but then the Motion of his hon. friend also went to this extent, and was so far different from that Amendment that it desired a pledge of a reduction of taxation as well as of a reduction of the establishments. The hon. Member for Aberdeen thought it right to call on the Government to pledge themselves to an extent to which he did not understand, from any thing he had yet heard from Ministers, they had pledged themselves—namely, to make a reduction of taxation accompany a reduction of the establishments, and to that Motion he (Lord Althorp) was willing to give his assent. His hon. friend the Member for Essex seemed disposed to attribute all the distress to an alteration of the standard of value, and had in effect called on the Government to reduce it by a recurrence to the paper currency which had been abandoned. Now his hon. friend desired to obtain that which, of all others, the Government derived the greatest credit for refusing, and he trusted most sincerely that they would resist every proposition which had for its object any abandonment of that sound system which we had reached through so many difficulties, and after so long a struggle. He confessed, however, that he felt no hope of the country obtaining any relief from its present difficulties, unless they had a great reduction of taxation. That distress was great and general, seemed now to be acknowledged; and no measures had yet been mentioned or promised which could give a hope of relief. The enhancement of the value of money might be partially the cause of some of the distress, but he could not be brought to believe that an issue of paper would afford it any mitigation. A great cause of evil was a want of confidence; and he could not but think that a diminution of the amount of taxation on the industrious and productive classes would give such a start to commerce, as must ultimately greatly benefit every other class in the country. He did not, however, think that quite so much could be done in the way of reduction as the hon. Member for Aberdeen proposed; but, at all events, he conceived that a revision of the taxes might and ought to be undertaken with the view of striking off every tax which pressed heavily on the class to which he alluded. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had assigned as one reason for giving a negative to his hon. friend's Motion, that it required the reduction of taxation to be made forthwith. Now he really did not understand the hon. Gentleman as requiring the reduction to be made in that haste which would afford the right hon.

Gentleman any objection to the motion on that ground, and he was sure it would not have any weight with the House. Another reason stated by the right hon. Gentleman for resisting the Motion was more extraordinary still; for he intimated that, if the motion were carried, he must resign his office. Now really this was a reason for resistance to a motion which he never heard before. If the House of Commons yielded to it, it would recognise a new doctrine. In his opinion it was the duty of that House not to think of the right hon. Gentleman or his office, but of the course which it was right to adopt with respect to the country; and he hoped they would consider themselves bound to adopt the motion, and take all the consequences which might ensue from it.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, he felt himself called on, whatever might be the consequence, and however much he might differ from those hon. Gentlemen he saw around him, and whose opinions he respected, to state boldly and conscientiously that he agreed most fully with the hon. Member for Essex in all he had stated with respect to the operation of the currency in producing the distress under which the country was acknowledged to be labouring. He was convinced, and he felt bound to declare it, that if the currency was not the cause of all the distress, it had at least produced nine-tenths of the whole of it. With respect to the motion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen he would say he believed there were few Gentlemen on that side of the House who did not agree that some reduction of taxation and of public expenditure was necessary, and that if it were necessary at all times, it became more imperatively required from them when the working classes on whom it bore hardest were labouring under so many difficulties. There were two objects to be at all times kept in view, as affording a ground for the reduction of the public Establishments. The first was, to save, to the utmost extent of their power, the property of the public; and the second was, to diminish that mass of patronage connected with taxation, which necessarily devolved on the Government, and which operated so much to the prejudice of the best interests of the country. He feared, however, that no reduction of taxation, even if carried to the extent proposed by the hon. Member—although no Gentleman had yet spoken who seemed disposed to go so far—but even supposing it was carried to the extent of the eight millions proposed by the hon. Member, still he thought that it would do little, very little, to counteract the effect of the pressure of the present distress. So little had been thought of the contraction of the currency, so lightly had it been spoken of, that hon. Members were little aware of the extent to which it went in depressing the energies and cramping the industry of the people. At the time when the alteration took place, and the paper was called in, the whole currency of the country was estimated at the sum of about seventy millions, while the whole of the income of the productive industry and labour of the country was calculated, in the currency of the time, to amount to seven hundred millions. In that case, the House would see that the currency, in the year 1819, was just one-tenth of the whole productive industry of the country. Now, if they altered the currency, they affected the whole income of the country in the same proportion. Thus if they diminished the currency five millions, they altered the whole income of all the farmers, landowners, and manufacturers of the country, to the extent of fifty millions. This was the consequence of the alteration of even five millions. For, since all prices depend on the currency—and it surely could not be denied that all farmers, landlords, manufacturers, and merchants, made their incomes by prices—it followed that any contraction of the currency, on which these prices depended, contracted to the same extent all the income measured by them. Now, he would ask, was it possible for a reduction of eight milions of taxes, or any reduction, to reinstate the productive interests of the country in the same state as before prices were altered by the alterations in the currency? He would say boldly, and with a perfect conviction of its truth, that no means were left them for relief, but by raising money to the same state as it was before their distresses arose. A great deal had been said about keeping faith with the public creditor, and the preservation of that faith was urged as one of the reasons for adhering to the present standard; but, in his opinion, there was a faith to be kept with the farmer and the landlord, and the productive classes, as inviolate as that required by the public creditor. It made no difference whether a man lived on the interest of money in the public funds, on the income derived from land or on the produce of labour. The income of the one ought to be as inviolate as the income of the other. He would contend, therefore, that the legislature, in adopting measures which so seriously affected all the prices from which the farmers derived their income, had been guilty of precisely the same injustice to them as that which they would practise towards the public creditor in reducing the interest of his debt; and that the limiting the amount of the currency was as much a breach of faith, as an attempt to pay the public creditors a smaller sum than they were entitled to; and sure he was, that if the Legislature could have contemplated at the time they passed that Act, all the evils which had since arisen from it, and which were now fully acknowledged, they never would have taken such a step for the sake of obtaining that gold currency which they now possessed. The only question now was, whether they could honestly persevere in such a course, or whether, having by a kind of legislative mistake, adopted a course from which all were, more or less, suffering, they were, because they had reached a certain point and endured a degree of evil to arrive at it, not to tamper with the currency—or in other words, that all were to go on suffering because they had, by a mistake, which was acknowledged, placed themselves in a situation which must produce still greater mischief? Some Gentlemen had a peculiar partiality for a gold currency, and were willing to suffer any evils to obtain it; but, in his opinion, a well-regulated paper-currency was preferable in many respects, and not subject to the same disadvantages. Besides, whatever grievances could be sustained from it had been got over at the time it was abandoned, and now none were felt which could not be compensated by its superior cheapness and convenience. The difference between the adherence to a gold currency and the return to the paper currency seemed to him to be this: In the one case, that of gold, they would affect the interests of persons, for whom God forbid he should not feel all respect, and whose comforts and happiness demanded every attention, but they formed a very unimportant part of the whole, and their interests were not so vitally connected with the well-being of the country. In the other case, that of the return to paper, the whole of the interests of the productive classes of the country were at stake; and were they to say that the country was to be cast down,—perhaps he ought not to say the country, for it was not possible to cast down a country like this—but were they to cast down those classes on whom its wealth and its prosperity depended, and to subject them to rapidly augmenting evils, purely because they were ashamed to abandon what was admitted to have been an error? The country seemed to be one of abundance—it ought to be one of happiness. All the productive powers of its industry were greater than they had ever been known to be at any former period. Could any one doubt, then, that there was a something which required revision? The climate was not altered; the industry of the country was not altered; its energies were not altered; but one thing was altered—the currency was altered. How strange, then, was it that they clung to an evil which all acknowledged; and that they seemed inclined to alter every thing except that which experience had told them they ought not to have altered at all. With a pertinacity wholly unaccountable, they continued to cling to the evils which preyed on all the interests of the country, and nursed the disease which was consuming its industry—

——"æternum servans sub pectore vulnus."

Nothing which the hon. Member for Aberdeen had proposed would adequately relieve the country; and he proposed twice as much as any other man. The faith of Parliament was as much engaged to all the productive classes in England as it was to the public creditor; and if by altering the currency they had materially reduced the incomes of the former, there was no principle of honesty which stood in the way of their retracing their steps in order to restore the incomes of these classes to their original amount. He would assert further, that the Corn-Laws which the Gentlemen of England seemed to value as counteracting the effects of the change in the currency, were in fact a bitter aggravation of all the evils arising from that change. Other occasions would present themselves for the discussion of these subjects, and he should not have risen at all but that he conceived he was bound in justice to his hon. friend, the Member for Essex, who had so manfully avowed his sentiments, to express his (Sir F. Burdett's) entire concurrence in them.

Mr. *Charles Wood* begged to state that he differed from the hon. Baronet and the Member for Essex in their views on the subject of the currency, and hoped they might never be able to carry them into effect. He thought, however, that the manner in which the Government met the Motion of the Member for Aberdeen was well calculated to increase the dissatisfaction felt as to the manner in which the distress was mentioned in the King's Speech. The quibble resorted to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ought not to influence the House, and he advised the House not to consider the feelings of that right hon. Gentleman, but those of the country.

Mr. *Herries* said, he should not detain them long. [There had been some calls for "Mr. Baring," and "Mr. Grant,"] but he could not help observing that the hon. Member for Aberdeen, after having promised to tell them nothing new, had, in a speech of three hours, most religiously kept his word. He did not mean to follow the hon. Member for Aberdeen through all the topics introduced into his speech; but he should hold himself ready, on some future occasion, when the topics were separately discussed, to consider and reply to them. There were many things stated by that hon. Member in which it was impossible for him to agree, and others in which he did concur with him. He was persuaded that the only way to get at any profitable results was, to confine their attention to particulars; and in this too he concurred with the hon. Member for Aberdeen. In those parts of his speech in which he eulogized the Finance Committee he also thought the hon. Member was perfectly correct. But he thought that the hon. Member had not done his Majesty's Government justice, who had participated in all the labours of that Committee, and had shown no backwardness in promoting its labours. Of the labours of his Majesty's Ministers neither he nor the hon. Member for Abingdon (Mr. Maberley) had spoken with approbation. If they examined the matter fully, they would find that those who sat on his (Mr. Herries's) side of the House had had their full share in suggesting and promoting the measures adopted by that Committee. The Ministers had done a great deal in preparing the measures and in carrying them into execution, and they had acted with great zeal and in good faith. There were some facts which the hon. Member should bear in mind, and some persons to whom he should not be unwilling to concede the praise that was due to them. The Government had not only proposed measures of economy, but on some occasions had been disposed to carry them further than the House would go. It had wanted to carry measures into execution in which the House would not concur; and on more than one occasion the Ministers had gone further than the House liked. He only said this to show that the Ministers were not deserving of that censure which Members on the other side of the House were disposed indiscriminately to throw on those who did not adopt all their recommendations. He would claim for them that their conduct should not be judged till after a careful inquiry; and if it were investigated—if it were followed throughout—it would be proved that they had honestly, truly, and zealously promoted, to the utmost of their abilities, reform in the establishments, and reduction in the taxation. The hon. Member had talked of reducing the taxation eight millions, and this assertion might make a great impression, but it went further than he would find the House ready to go; and the hon. Member would therefore fail in his object. If, under the present circumstances of the country the hon. Member's proposition were carried into effect, the certain effect of it must be, as he would himself see on soberly examining the matter, that it would put an end to all the establishments of the country. The hon. Member was well acquainted with the documents he was speaking from, and he must know, that to reduce the taxes 8,500,000*l.* a year was about equal to the whole effective establishments of the Navy, the Army, and the Ordnance. If he were to take away 8,500,000*l.* he would extinguish the Army, the Navy, and Ordnance. He was not prepared to vote for any thing so extravagant, and such a sweeping denunciation could not be carried into effect. The Member for Abingdon (Mr. Maberly) had gone through the taxes, and he, it appeared, would diminish some, and modify others. The whole subject was of great importance; it was a question affecting so many interests, that the House would not be ready to coincide with the hon. Member for Aberdeen. The Motion was taking the whole business of reduction out of the hands of Government, and would prevent the Chancellor of the Exchequer from executing his duty—it was depriving him of the opportunity of laying before the House the statement of what had been done by the Government, and of submitting to the House the Estimates and the account of the reductions which it was in the power of Government to make. It had been said that his right hon. friend wanted to get rid of the Motion by a quibble: than his right hon. friend there was no person in that House who would be less disposed to have recourse to a quibble. If he were disposed to quibble, he might find in the words of the Motion sufficient reason to vote against it. The House must wait till the Estimates were before them to see what reductions the Ministers proposed, and then the House might determine if those reductions were sufficient, but they must allow his right hon. friend to make his statement. It was made matter of accusation that his right hon. friend had not yet made these statements; but that was not the fault of his right hon. friend, but of those who had delayed his proceedings. They had opposed the vote for the Supply, without which his right hon. friend could not lay the Estimates before them. He objected to the Motion, substantially that it would deprive his right hon. friend of the opportunity of submitting his views to the House; it would betray a complete want of confidence in the Ministers, and reduce them to the impossibility of submitting their own views to the House. Several topics had been introduced into the Speech foreign to the nature of the Motion; and if the extent of that Motion were sufficient to make him oppose it, he was justified in his decision by the observations of the speakers. There was a great diversity of opinion among the Gentlemen opposite as to the cause of the evils and the remedies for them. He had listened with great attention to the hon. Baronet (Sir Francis Burdett) but he had obtained much less instruction than he generally received from the hon. Baronet's speeches; he was not able to make out either the theory the hon. Baronet adopted of the cause of our distress, or the nature of the remedy he recommended or contemplated. He believed, from the symptoms of the distress, which was so general, [*hear*] he believed, from these symptoms, that it might be attributed to other causes than those connected with the currency, and within the sphere of legislation. Government could not control those causes. He was confident that Government would give to that distress a careful inquiry and a full discussion; but he was satisfied that it must be attributed to other causes than an alteration of the currency. Into that question, however, he would not then enter, as he could not do justice to it by a partial discussion; he would only say, that he believed it would be impossible not to adhere to the course the Ministers had on this subject already adopted. He should oppose the Motion of the hon. Member.

Mr. *C. Grant* said, that before the question was put, he wished to say a few words. He, for one, had always been anxious to give his support to measures of economy, when it was possible to do so with due consideration for the public service. He had already, by his vote on the Address, expressed his opinion of the general nature of the distress; and feeling resolved to follow up that opinion, being prepared to take every opportunity of enforcing it, yet he must confess that he could not support the Motion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen. The Government had made the strongest professions of economy in the Speech from the Throne, and the Ministers had the other night pledged themselves in the strongest terms to the same effect. Under these circumstances, believing in their professions, and seeing that they had not yet had time to carry them into execution—believing in these things, and thinking it would not be dealing fairly with the Government to express prematurely an opinion of measures it had not yet proposed—believing that it would be premature to express a distrust of such positive declarations, he could not support the Motion. To him it seemed more fair towards the Government to allow it to produce its propositions to the House, and when the House saw them, it would deal with them as it thought fit. He admitted the propriety, and indeed the necessity of reducing taxation; he trusted that this would be done by the Government; and when it made its propositions for reducing the establishments, it would be proper to deal with each case by its own merits. He admitted that the public distress required relief, and that everything ought to be done to relieve that distress, consistently with preserving the high objects of public faith and public security. If he were to connect the Motion of the honourable Member with the Speech made in support of it, he should find still stronger reason for refusing to assent to this Motion. He and the hon. Members who supported him, had entered into such a wide field that it was impossible to follow them into all the various topics they had alluded to, or consider all the questions they had discussed. There was the amount of the Army and Navy, and of Taxation; and it was impossible to discuss these and all the other questions alluded to in one evening. There was also the Sinking Fund, which Gentlemen wished to have no longer; but it had been resolved two years ago, that there should be a Sinking Fund, which had then been placed on the soundest basis—that of real surplus Revenue. This was only a specimen of the many topics proposed for their discussion, and it was impossible, considering all the great questions involved in the speeches of hon. Members, that they could then be discussed. It would only be fair and honest to allow his Majesty's Government, before entering into an examination of the expenditure, the opportunity of submitting to the House,—sensible as Ministers must be, that a crisis had arrived—those reductions which they proposed to make, and which were now become indispensable. He should oppose the Motion.

Lord *Howick* said, those who opposed the Motion, objected to the time at which it was brought forward; but he believed the proper time for the Motion was before the Estimates were submitted to the House. The Ministers ought to be admonished to reduce the Estimates. He hoped nothing would be done to alter the currency; and for this reason he also hoped that some steps would be taken to reduce the expenditure, as otherwise we should be sure to have a national bankruptcy. The course which would avoid such a result was that proposed by the hon. Member for Aberdeen; and therefore he should support that hon. Member's Amendment. It was no longer time to inquire, if taxation could be kept up to the expenditure, or if the expenditure could be reduced; the country was arrived at that state that they must reduce taxation. The country must be eased whether the establishments were kept up or not. He wished to see the Army, the Navy, and other establishments sustained; but the people were borne down by taxation, and even at the expense of these establishments they must be relieved. He could not understand those arguments by which Gentlemen contended that a reduction of taxation would not relieve the general distress, and that nothing could effect this but an alteration in the currency. But the condition of the labouring classes was affected by the burthens imposed on them, as well as by the changes in the currency; and as one of the effects of raising the value of money was to enhance those burthens, they would be relieved by a reduction of taxation as well as by an alteration in the currency. He meant to give his support to the Motion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* expressed his satisfaction at having on that occasion to vote with the hon. Baronet, the Member for Westminster [" *No, No," from Sir F. Burdett.*] He understood he was to have the benefit of the hon. Baronet's vote; but he found his opening sentence completely destroyed by the unexpected declaration that the hon. Baronet's vote was to be against his own speech. Certainly he inferred from that speech that the hon. Baronet meant to vote against the Motion. Undeceived as to his error, he should say that he could not agree with those Gentlemen who contended that no relief could be given to the people by a reduction of taxation. The remission of every tax was, undoubtedly, a relief to the people. He never did suppose that, when a tax was not necessary, the amount of such tax ought to be diverted from the natural application of industry; for he was sure it would fructify more in the hands of the people than in those of the state; and, if taxation were not necessary, he should not wish to levy taxes. He did not expect that the currency question would have been mentioned that night; and he really would advise any Gentleman who wished that the currency should be again altered, that he would undertake, on some specific night, to bring the motion regularly before the House; and he would also advise him, not only to give a notice, but to take the trouble to propose an enactment; and come to the House ready to show, in all its details, how the currency was to be depreciated, what would be the effect of his measure on all contracts, and how the distress would be remedied by the depreciation he meant to propose. Members seemed to conceive, in every discussion, that depreciating the currency was an obvious remedy for the distress; and when the hon. Baronet brought forward the important measure he no doubt contemplated on this subject, he should be ready to meet his argument: on the present occasion he meant only to make one or two short observations. He could not understand the hon. Baronet's doctrine, that reducing the currency five millions in amount necessarily reduced the income of the country fifty millions. He could not see why the reduction of the currency should reduce the income to a ten times greater amount. By raising the value of money, those who possessed it could obtain a greater command over commodities. He admitted that there was a certain class whose property was incumbered, and who were obliged to discharge their incumbrances at a fixed sum; and he would admit, that raising the value of money was a hardship on them, but to those destitute of incumbrance it was no hardship. The hon. Baronet said, that because they had already tampered with the currency this was a reason why they should tamper with it again. That was the hon. Baronet's argument:—we had recently tampered with the currency, and we ought with less reserve to tamper with it again; if we had at one time depreciated the currency, the same argument would apply again with additional force. But he would beg the hon. Baronet to recollect the inconvenience that would be felt, if by any further tampering with the currency they were again to unsettle after ten years continuance, (for so long had the currency been established on its present basis, with the exception of a short interval, in 1822,) he would beg the hon. Baronet to recollect the vast inconvenience which would result from their again unsettling all the contracts of the country. Would he then attempt to alter all the engagements contracted on the faith of Parliament, that an alteration in the currency should not again take place? And would the hon. Baronet venture to say what would be the consequences of their altering the currency, influencing and deranging all the contracts that had been entered into during the last thirteen or fourteen years? Not only would the hon. Baronet unsettle all those engagements; but he (Mr. Peel) wished to know what criterion he would fix upon to determine the precise standard. There was one other point connected with the hon. Baronet's speech on which he wished to say a few words. If the House were to determine on the hon. Baronet's proposition to depreciate the currency, what would be the inevitable consequence? The moment that the public who held paper convertible into gold coin found that that gold coin was to be deteriorated, they would rush with their paper to obtain gold before the deterioration. If indeed the hon. Baronet could, by his emphatic will alone, instantly alter the standard so that a man who held paper should find on awaking to-morrow morning that for that paper he could obtain only eighteen or nineteen shillings in the pound, that would be another affair. But before the Legislature could pass a Bill upon the subject, every man who held paper, consulting like most persons his individual interest, would press forward to obtain the performance of the engagement which had been made with him in the medium in which that engagement had been contracted. On these two grounds, therefore—first on the impropriety of unsettling all the pecuniary engagements which had been entered into since the year 1819, or rather since the year 1816; and secondly, on the confusion which the urgency of the demand for gold in its present state must necessarily occasion—he intreated the hon. Baronet to pause before he dreamt of proposing a deterioration of the currency. So much for the episode which the hon. Baronet had introduced into the discussion; and now a few words upon the Motion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen. To that Motion there were, in his opinion, more objections than it would be convenient to take up the time of the House by stating. It was unusual and unprecedented. It was unusual, before Ministers laid the Estimates on the Table, and stated their views with respect to taxation, to propose a Resolution, not to repeal any particular tax, but a general Resolution that the House would proceed to repeal a certain taxation. What was to be gained by such a proposition? If the Resolution were not agreed to, the hon. Member would be just as much at liberty to propose the repeal of any particular tax as if the Resolution were carried. In fact, it was the duty of the House to repeal whatever taxes could be repealed consistently with the public benefit. The hon. Member, therefore, would not advance a single step, if all that he meant was, that the House should repeal exactly the amount of taxes which their duty to the public would permit. But the proposed Resolution went further. As had been justly observed by his right hon. friend, it went to dispose of the Sinking Fund. Now that might be a proper proposition; but undoubtedly it was one which required more consideration than could be given to it when introduced incidentally to their notice. But here, without an hour's consideration, it was proposed to determine that there should be no Sinking Fund. He protested, therefore, against the adoption of that Resolution without further consideration. But that was not all. It was impossible to separate the Motion from the comments with which the hon. Member had accompanied it. The public would couple the Resolution with the hon. Gentleman's speech. Now in that speech he proposed to reduce the expenditure, and, consequently, the taxation, eight millions and a half. He would leave the House to judge what effect would be produced on the public mind if a Resolution should be agreed to by the House of Commons, promising a reduction of taxation of eight millions and a half. Another objectionable part of the proposition was, that it had no specific purpose. The hon. Gentleman proposed to remit a great taxation, but he did not particularize the taxes which ought to be remitted. He did not propose that the tax upon Soap, upon Candles, upon Malt, &c. ought to be remitted. Now any one who proposed the remission of a tax ought at once to bring in a Bill for that purpose. For nothing could be so injurious to the retail trader as to leave in a state of uncertainty the taxes which it was intended to remit. But the hon. Member said, "remit taxation, but leave the country in doubt what particular taxes you will remit." The consequence of adopting such a Resolution, coupled with such a speech, would be not to restore confidence in the country, but to suspend business; because it could not be known for three or four weeks what particular taxes would be reduced. The hon. Member would have adopted a more rational course had he brought forward a proposition for repealing some particular tax, and taken the sense of the House upon it. An hon. Gentleman had urged as an argument in support of the hon. Member's proposition, that it would atone to the country for the omission in the King's Speech, and repair the disappointment occasioned by doubting the existence of distress in the country. He knew how unpopular any person made himself at the present moment by arguing against the existence of universal and overwhelming distress. He was convinced, however, that the description of the distress in the Speech from the Throne was much nearer the truth than any description characterising it as universal and overwhelming. The communications which he had received from various parts of the country since the delivery of the Speech from persons with whom he was unacquainted, but who volunteered their statements, concurred in declaring that there was not that universal distress which the hon. Gentlemen opposite supposed. Although he admitted that there was distress in many parts of the country, while he deeply lamented it, yet he did not believe that it extended over the whole kingdom, or that it was so severe as to extinguish all hopes of remedy. There was an elasticity in the resources of the country which he was persuaded would ultimately lead to a return of comparative prosperity; and he did not think, by exaggerated descriptions, and by exciting, however unintentionally, general despair and dismay, that we should approximate more closely to the restoration of confidence, and the practicability of diminishing the public burthens.

Mr. *Wodehouse* declared, that his confidence in his Majesty's Government was utterly gone. All great authorities differed from the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues. All the pigmies of former days differed from those giants of the present. The one set was wise, but the other was knowing. Knowledge was always proud that it knew so much; wisdom humble because it knew no more. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman opposite would have some respect for that chicken Lord Bacon. He would here read an extract from Bacon, who held that "It is bad for a State when money is gathered in a few hands; for money, like muck, is only good when it is spread."

Mr. *Hume* in reply denied that his Resolution went so far as the right hon. Gentleman opposite imputed to it. In bringing the subject forward he had done his duty, and he would now leave it to the House to do theirs.

The House divided: Ayes 184; Noes 69. The main Question was then put, whereupon—

Mr. *J. Duncombe*, alluding to something which had passed whilst the gallery was cleared, spoke in terms of censure of the criminal prosecutions recently instituted by the Attorney-General, and then adverted to the distressed state of the country. He said that in these unexampled days of unmitigated taxation, he felt it his duty to raise his voice in behalf of the distressed agriculturists and the unemployed manufacturers. He warned the Government not to exult either in their numbers or power. He would tell them, that if they should persevere in a course of lavish expenditure, they might perhaps find, when it was too late, that there was a majority out of doors which would make the majority within doors at length acknowledge the just views of the small minority of this night.

Mr. *Peel* said, the hon. Member must have completely misunderstood what fell from him if he supposed that he expressed any feelings of triumph on account of the division which had taken place.

On the Question that the Speaker do leave the chair.

The Marquis of *Blandford* said, he thought it wrong that the House should proceed to dispose of the nation's money before it had considered the nation's distress. He therefore moved as an Amendment "that the House do now adjourn."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* wished to be allowed to place the Estimates on the Table in a Committee of Supply: the House would then by comparing them with the Estimates of last year, see the extent to which Government proposed to reduce the expenditure.

Mr. *Tennyson* thought, that laying the Estimates on the Table ought to be preceded by an explanatory statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he wished to know their amount.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that the amount would be stated in the ordinary course.

Mr. *Maberly* was anxious that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should state the amount of the Estimates at once.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, said, that when the subject was before the House, he would take the regular opportunity of stating the whole Estimates. He only asked that the business might be allowed to proceed in the usual and regular way.

The gallery was cleared for a division. The Marquis of Blandford's Motion was withdrawn:—The main Question was again put, and agreed to:—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—An Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "this House will upon Wednesday next, resolve itself into the said Committee," and after some opposition the Committee of Supply was eventually adjourned to the following Wednesday.

SMALL POX.] Mr. *Dickinson* presented a petition from Mr. William Towsey, M.D. and others, for the adoption of a remedy to prevent the practice of Inoculation. It spoke of the prevalence of the Small-pox, and prayed the legislature to take efficient measures to prevent children afflicted with that malady from being carried about the streets.

Mr. *Hume* said, he wished to call the attention of the Secretary of State for the Home Department to this subject. He found that many deaths from the Small-pox had recently occurred, owing to the industrious efforts of certain practitioners, who wished to persuade the public that no benefit was derived from Vaccination. After the public had been put to such expense to render Vaccination effectual, he thought something ought to be done to prevent children afflicted with the Small-pox from coming in contact with those who were liable to catch the disease, leaving individuals at liberty to inoculate in whatever way they pleased.

Petition ordered to be printed.

SYSTEM OF BANKING.] Mr. *Wodehouse* said, he was authorized by the hon. Member for Shaftesbury (Mr. E. Davenport) to withdraw his notice of Motion which stood for to-morrow (upon the Distressed State of the Country). The hon. Member was induced to take this step partly on account of ill health, but chiefly from a desire to concur with those Members who were of opinion that it would be unwise to do any thing at the present moment which could have a tendency to embarrass Ministers. He would take the opportunity of asking the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department, whether Government had it in contemplation to propose any measure respecting the system of Private Banking. He was induced to ask the question by what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman on a former evening.

Mr. *Peel* said, in reply to the hon. Member's question, that all he had stated on a former day was an opinion that it was possible materially to improve the system of banking, by removing the restrictions which impeded the formation of companies to carry on the business of banking. He had then said, that he hoped to see the day when a sound system of banking would be established; but he had said nothing with respect to any measure being in contemplation, nor was he now prepared to make any further declaration on the subject.

Mr. *Wodehouse* asked whether it was true that Mr. F. Lewis had been appointed to the office of Treasurer of the Navy?

Mr. *Peel* answered Yes;—a new writ has already been ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, February 16.

MINUTES.] MR. HUME, for the purpose of diminishing as much as possible the Public Expenditure, gave notice of several Motions:—The first was for the 8th of March, to withdraw the Establishments at present maintained in Sierra Leone. The next was for the 10th of March; and its object would be to put an end to the offices of Receiver Generals of Land Revenue and Assessed Taxes, and to unite their duties with those of the Commissioners of Excise. For the 16th of March the hon. Member gave notice of a Motion for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the renewal of Crown leases at Harwich, Dungeness, Orfordness, and Bridlington. On the 23rd of March the hon. Member intimated his intention to move the abolition of the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.] Mr. *Benet* presented a petition from the inhabitants of several parishes in the hundred of Hindon, county of Wilts, complaining of the extreme distress of the times, and praying for an immediate reduction of Taxation. The petitioners observed, that the change in the currency had greatly raised the salaries of persons in office, and they wished that those salaries should be reduced in a ratio equivalent to the amount and value of wages. They contended that it was extremely hard on them that the price of labour should be reduced so greatly, while no reduction was effected elsewhere. This, he conceived, was a very fair ground of complaint on their parts, and ought to be immediately attended to. They therefore prayed that the House would use its best endeavours to reduce all salaries for public services, and would put an end to all sinecures and useless offices. They argued, that if a new system of taxation were adopted, it would relieve them from one great and most obnoxious burthen, the Malt-tax. But they also argued that we ought not to stop there, but to proceed to a reduction of all the taxes which affected the country. This was an argumentative petition; and he would only say that, looking to the list of names which was affixed to it, he believed that the persons who signed it were as perfectly capable of judging of the cause of the prevailing distress, and of pointing out remedies for it, as any individuals within the walls of that House. The distress bore with peculiar hardship on the labouring classes. In the place where this petition came from, there were five hundred able-bodied men who would be glad to work for almost any price, but they could not procure employment. The cause of the present distress was perfectly obvious. They had heard it attributed to over-production, to thoughtless speculation, to the badness of the seasons, and to various other circumstances; but he wondered that well-informed men would attempt to contend that the alteration in the currency had not produced the present distress. That was the real and decided cause of the evil. He was by no means an advocate as some Gentlemen were, for a return to the old system. He had never advocated the repeal of the Currency-bill; but what he would maintain was, that they must agree to a repeal of taxation. If a system of reduction were not persevered in, the time would come when those who neglected to ward off the distress of the times might justly dread that a convulsion would shake the country.

Mr. *Portman* said, he felt it to be his duty to support the prayer of this petition.—Those by whom it was signed were men of knowledge, experience, and reputation, and their representations were entitled to serious consideration. He thought it necessary to say a few words on this occasion, because last night he heard the Ministers of the Crown again and again deny the existence of general distress throughout the country. Now he did not know how hon. Members who represented counties could for one moment sit mute in that House, and not declare, unequivocally, that the most dreadful distress did prevail in every part of the country. He believed the hon. Member for Wareham (Mr. Calcraft) had it in his power to describe to Ministers the deplorably distressed state of the county to which they both belonged. It was necessary that the Government of the country should meet that distress, and, if not strong enough to do so themselves, they ought to add to their strength, so that they might be enabled to come forward and afford a proper degree of relief. They should remodel the taxation of the country, for at present it was such as could not possibly be borne. They ought to take off the Malt-tax, which would be a relief to the agriculturist and to the consumer. But they must not stop there. They must take every means within their power to lower the taxation generally. His Majesty's Ministers ought to come forward with some strong measures of relief. They ought not only to take off the Malt-tax (for the repeal of which the petitioners prayed), but many other taxes of a similarly burthensome description, and substitute some one general tax which should fall with proportionate weight on every man, and from the operation of which the absentee should be unable to escape. His constituents had hitherto abstained from petitioning; not because they did not sensibly feel distress, but because they waited until they saw what measures his Majesty's Government intended to propose for the relief of the productive classes. Something must be done, and that quickly.

Petition ordered to be printed.

Ex-officio Prosecutions.] Sir *Charles Wetherell* gave notice, that on the 3rd of March he would move for Copies of the *Ex-officio* Informations which had been recently filed against the Morning Journal; Minutes of the Judges before whom the trials had taken place; a Minute of the exact words in which each Jury found its verdict; and the form in which one of the Juries had expressed its recommendation to mercy.

Ireland—Poor Laws.] Mr. *Brownlow* presented a petition from the Inhabitants of Clare and its vicinity, for the establishment of Poor Laws in Ireland: it complained of severe distress, and prayed that the 43rd of Elizabeth might be extended to Ireland. He observed, that this petition had not been got up to answer the assertions of the Treasury Bench on that subject. The distress in Ireland was so intolerable, that throughout the wide world he believed there was nowhere so much suffering as in that country. In every point of view, whether as respected their houses, their food, or their clothing, the suffering of the Irish was extreme. The hon. Member for Wiltshire had complained of the Weekly wages of a labouring man being only three shillings and sixpence; but it was in evidence before a Committee of that House, that the average daily wages of labour throughout Ireland was only three-pence a head. The great evil in that country was, that there was no moral connexion, no sympathy, no sense of natural obligation, between the rich and the poor. Differing, as he feared, from most of his countrymen in that House, he was prepared to support the prayer of the petitioners for the extension of the Poor Laws to Ireland, as the only method by which the evils endured by the labouring classes in that community could be mitigated.

East India Charter.] Mr. *Marshall* presented a petition from Bankers, Merchants, Manufacturers, and others of Leeds, against the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. He must support the prayer of the petition. From the limited removal of restrictions on the trade that had already taken place, he augured that the most favourable results would ensue from a further extension of that principle of relief.

Mr. *W. Whitmore* said, that seeing the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his place, he would ask a question; he wished to know if it were the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to give notice to the Court of Directors what would be done with their Charter at the expiration of the three years? For his part, notwithstanding the professions of Government, he could not believe in the neutrality they professed, and he thought it apparent that they had a disposition to compromise this question. It would be difficult to show a case which could justify Ministers in withholding a full investigation of the question. If the people of the country were apathetic on the subject, their right would not be conceded. He was prompted also to express a hope that Ministers would not make up their minds upon the political state of India, without the most full and perfect information that could be procured of what was the actual condition of India at the present moment. He must say that the removal of the monopoly was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary; and it was the duty of Ministers, by its removal, to place the people of that country in a condition to reap some benefit from their connexion with this country. A free trade with India and China would be of the greatest advantage to our people and to the countless multitudes under our sway in India. He hoped that Government would not make up their minds on the still larger branch of the question, the political part of it, without taking into account the working of the present system, and to the existing condition of things in India. He took that opportunity to request the right hon. Gentleman opposite to state whether it was the intention of Ministers to give notice to the Board of East India Directors, in the month of April next (as according to the terms of the Charter they were empowered to do) of their possible intention to propose a cessation of the present Charter in the year 1833?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he did not know upon what ground the hon. Member assumed that Government would not act with good faith, in reference to the East India Question; and could only repeat what had been stated by his right hon. friend the Secretary for the Home Department, on the occasion of moving for a select committee, that Ministers went into the inquiry without any pre-engagement as to the particular course which they should adopt, and that, so far from that being the case, they would be free to adopt whatever might appear best for the general interest, after a fair investigation. With respect to the hon. Member's question, it had evidently been asked under misapprehension as to the terms of the Company's Charter, and the nature of the notice required. The hon. Member would find, on reference to the subject, that no notice was necessary till the month of April, 1831; and he would perceive that circumstances might occur before that time to guide the Government as to the course which it ought to adopt, and the decision to be taken in reference to the matter.

Sir *George Philips* said, he regretted that his hon. friend by whom the petition had been presented was not upon the East India Committee, as he had a great deal of practical knowledge. His hon. friend had paid particular attention to the subject, and there ought to be some representatives of the manufacturing interests upon the Committee. He did not mean to reflect on the Members of the Committee, who, he trusted, would do their duty; but it was difficult to suppose that Gentlemen connected with the East India Company in particular could divest themselves entirely of all prejudice and prepossession on the subject. As to the distress of the country, and which affected the manufacturing districts, he would take the opportunity of observing, as the Currency Measure had been spoken of, that he believed the Members of the manufacturing interests in Lancashire would consider a return to a paper currency as one of the greatest evils which could be inflicted upon them: for his part, he thought it extraordinary that any hon. Gentleman should think that the labouring classes would be benefitted by such a change. The petitioners felt that the greatest relief would be afforded by an extinction of a part of our taxation and an extension of commerce; they were anxious that the monopoly of the East India Company should be done away with, and a free trade permitted with India and China.

Mr. *Astell* begged to refer to two cases in which the East India Company had been of the utmost service in relieving the distress that existed in the manufacturing districts. An application was made to Mr. Loch, the Chairman of the Company, a few days ago, by Mr. Heald, vicar of Birstal, who represented the distress that existed in that neighbourhood, and solicited orders for cloth in order to mitigate it. The Company, although not in immediate want of the article, made a considerable purchase, to the great relief of the suffering manufacturers. In Norwich, much suffering prevailed among the working classes in December last, and acts of violence were perpetrated by some of the weavers, but extensive orders from the Company had produced the happiest effects in tranquillizing and affording employment to the people. Facts such as these were the best answer to any imputations cast upon the Company, as to having stood in the way of giving relief to the manufacturers, or impeding their interests.

Petition ordered to be printed.

RETRENCHMENT. — ARMY ESTIMATES.] Sir *H. Hardinge* presented, by command of his Majesty, the Army Estimates. He moved that they be printed. And gave notice that on Friday next he should propose Resolutions on them in a Committee of Supply.

Mr. *Hume* wished to put a question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reference to something that fell from him last night, and which seemed to have been misapprehended. The Committee of Supply stood postponed till to-morrow (Wednesday), and it had been understood that the right hon. Gentleman intended to state the reductions which Ministers were prepared to make in our establishments upon that occasion. He now wished to know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would go into the subject of these retrenchments on Wednesday, or on a future evening;—he should persevere in resisting Supply, till the nature of the relief to be afforded to the country was stated.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should be obliged to move for a Committee to-morrow evening, in order to found a vote of Ways and Means thereon; but it was not his intention to go into the subject referred to on that occasion. When his gallant friend moved the Army Estimates on Friday, he (Mr Goulburn) would then state the reductions which Ministers proposed to make upon all the Estimates of the year.

Mr. *Hume* put it to the gallant Secretary at War whether the House ought to be called on to vote any part of the Estimates on Friday, when in all probability Members would only have seen them on the morning of that day. He should wish for a day or two to consider them, particularly as reductions were talked of.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, the hon. Member should have a printed copy of the Army Estimates in his possession to-morrow evening, or early on Thursday morning.

Mr. *R. Gordon* wished to know whether the House would be put in possession of the number of military officers who held civil situations, including those on full pay as well as half-pay.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied that he had no intention of bringing forward such a return, but it was competent to the hon. Member to move for the information required if he pleased.

Mr. *Gordon*.—Has the right hon. Gentleman any objection to such a Motion?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* intimated that he should be prepared with an answer when he saw what was the hon. Member's Motion.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, if reductions of such a nature as was understood last night were to be brought forward, the House would require some little time to consider them. He believed he was rather obscure in what he stated last night on the subject of the Motion of his hon. friend the Member for Montrose; and there was one point in respect of which he wished to set himself right with the House and his hon. friend. He should be sorry to have it supposed that he had desired in any degree to depreciate the value of the Motion which his hon. friend had brought forward so ably, though he thought that there were other measures of equal or even greater importance which would relieve the depression which was, unfortunately, so prevalent.

Lord *J. Russell* hoped, that when the right hon. Gentleman stated, on Friday, the reductions to be made in the Estimates, he would also state what relief was to be afforded to the country in the amount of taxation.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, no man was more conversant with the details of the Army Estimates than the hon. Member for Montrose; and therefore he would take the liberty of stating that the only difference in the Estimates of this year, as compared with preceding years, would consist in some items of diminished expenditure, and probably a reduction in the amount of force. Under such circumstances, if the Estimates were placed in the hands of the hon. Member to-morrow evening, he would have the whole of Thursday and Friday to consider them. He hoped this would not be inconsistent with entering into the subject in a Committee of Supply on Friday evening, particularly as the Committee had already been delayed a few days by impediments which prevented the introduction of the Estimates so soon as he had expected.

Mr. *Maberly* wished to ask the gallant officer if it were decent to press the Estimates forward in that manner? The House required a longer period of examination than had been proposed.

Estimates ordered to be printed.

SUB-LETTING ACT.] Lord *F. L. Gower* moved for leave to bring in a Bill to explain and amend an Act made in the seventh year of His Majesty's reign, with respect to the assignment and Sub-letting of Lands and Tenements in Ireland.—In making this Motion he wished to be clearly understood that it was not his intention to permit any infraction of the principle of the existing law on the subject. The only object of his Bill was to explain certain doubts that had arisen upon the present Act, and which doubts were not of an unimportant nature. It was held that the existing Act had an *ex post facto* operation; by the old law considerable injury might be done to those holding leases of dwelling-houses; and one of his objects was to prevent this. He should not, however, detain the House, but move for leave to bring in his Bill to remedy that defect.

Mr. *Wallace* desired to express his thanks to the noble Secretary for Ireland, (Lord L. Gower) for the alteration he proposed to make in the Sub-letting Act. It certainly would be something in favour of the Irish tenantry that the first section should not have an *ex post facto* operation; and if there were doubts on the subject, it was important that they should be removed, and the benefit rendered that was contemplated by the Act. If explained in this sense, the Act would relieve them from one great evil, which might have been inflicted on them by the injustice or avidity of their landlords. He, therefore, in the name of the tenantry of Ireland, thanked his Lordship for his amendment in that part of the law; but there were other parts of it quite as mistaken in principle, and altogether as unjust; indeed, he thought the most prominent injustice was in the last section, which prevented a man in the possession of land, on which he had, perhaps, expended large sums of money, from leaving any portion of that land to the several members of his family, for whom, by the law of nature, he was bound to provide. The tenant was compelled to leave all to one person without the possibility of making a charge for younger children, or for a marriage portion. Now he contended there was no principle of good policy upon which such a system could be maintained; and he accordingly submitted to the noble Secretary that this section called as loudly for repeal as the first. There were other objections which he entertained towards the existing Act, but he would, however, abstain from bringing them forward at present. He repeated that the Act required much revision; for, though it was dear to the landlords, as giving them excessive power over their tenantry, yet had it created much dissatisfaction amongst the peasantry, to whom it was peculiarly odious and oppressive.

Mr. *A. Dawson* said, he concurred with the hon. Member who spoke last, in returning thanks to the noble Secretary for Ireland (Lord L. Gower) for the explanatory Bill which his Lordship proposed to introduce; but in his opinion, it would be better to get rid of the Act altogether; because he thought the Union between Ireland and England never would be complete until the same Statute Law was made common to both countries. For himself, he saw no good argument on which the continued existence of this Act could be defended, since the alleged reason for its creation (at least the only reason he had ever heard given) had ceased to exist. This Act had been passed to prevent great landholders from sub-dividing their lands for electioneering purposes; but now, by a late and most beneficial and just measure of the House, all temptation to the creation of collusive freeholds had been removed, and therefore the foundation upon which the Bill had been introduced being swept away, the law itself should not be suffered to remain.

Mr. *O'Connell* begged it might be borne in mind that the predominant feeling in addressing the House upon this question which actuated him, was an anxiety to divest it of all party and political considerations; he wished it to be treated simply upon its own merits, and not as a question between one side of the House and the other. He had bestowed much attention upon this Act, and could conscientiously declare that he believed it mischievous, and in proof of this his belief, he referred to the Report of the Lord Mayor's Committee lately made at Dublin, from which it appeared, that of the seven thousand persons then famishing in that city, the greater number had been driven from the country by the operation of that Act. Now this fact he stated upon testimony that could not be doubted. This Act had met with great disapprobation, and had created great dissatisfaction throughout Ireland. Many petitions had been presented against it last Session, and several had already come in this year. In stating this he begged not to be understood as meaning to oppose the noble Lord's Motion, which was certainly calculated to effect some good, but it did not go far enough. He thought the present Act ought to be abolished. The noble Lord had said that he approved of the principle of the Bill, and wished it to be preserved; he should be glad to learn what that principle was. For himself, he must say, that he could recognise none in it, except that of thinning the population— the pauper-population—and altering contracts in favour of the rich and to the detriment of the poor. He contended, also, that the effect of the Bill had been directly the reverse of what was expected from it; for, under its operation, no man would take more land than he could himself make use of. Besides, it increased the pauper-population in diminishing the quantity of land which each man could hold; and instead of creating a division of the country into large farms, it created a more minute subdivision than ever had before existed. He, therefore, appealed to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and other Members of the Administration, who had displayed so much anxiety to reform our legal abuses, and entreated them to consider whether it would not be better to repeal this Act altogether. He could assure them, that if it were deemed necessary to make any new law upon the subject, he should be most happy to afford them the full benefit of his humble efforts in arranging the Statute in a new form. But he begged to submit to them, that it was bad legislation to make one act to amend another; because, first, there was the difficulty with respect to understanding each of these Statutes, and then there was the comparison, which gave them a sort of third meaning. As he before said, he considered this law advantageous to the rich and detrimental to the poor; but he was not one of those who considered the class of middlemen injurious to Ireland. He recollected, as a matter of history, that many of the nobility and leading gentry of Ireland had sprung from this class of society. There would henceforth be an end to this; for the Act proceeded upon a principle similar to that which would compel the merchant to retail his own goods in his own proper person, and it tended to check that which had in some degree warded off the ill effects of absenteeism from Ireland; because the middleman was a sort of market for the labouring population; he lived amongst them, and consumed the productions of the soil; he certainly shared the profits of the great proprietors, but he divided them with the people. In conclusion, he would strongly urge on the House the fact that the Act had produced infinite dissatisfaction in Ireland—it was constructed upon a mischievous and mistaken principle—it was injurious to the poor—it was the fruitful cause of litigation—and it contained no beneficial principle which might not be better produced in a new Bill.

Mr. *Doherty* (the Solicitor-General for Ireland) said, he would not follow the hon. Member for Clare through the details upon which he had touched, details which he (Mr. Doherty) thought might be better discussed in the Committee, clause by clause. With respect to the general question, if the political life of the hon. Member (Mr. O'Connell) had commenced on the first day of that Session, he (Mr. Doherty) might perhaps have laboured under the mistake that it should be discussed upon its own merits, without reference to politics or party, as the hon. Member had expressed his desire it might be; but when he happened to know that it had been made the subject of agitation, and had been rendered an object of dissatisfaction in Ireland (though by no means to the extent stated by the hon. Member), he could not bring himself altogether to subscribe to the sincerity of that hon. and learned Gentleman's declaration. Before proceeding further, however, he had to state that he was not the legal adviser of the Secretary for Ireland at the time when this Act was passed. He was the unworthy successor of one whose character ought to have been sufficient to protect this measure from having been at least intended to produce the baneful effects attributed to it by the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. Member seemed not to understand the policy or the history of this Act. This Act had emanated from a Committee of the House of Commons, before which there were two objects prominent. One was the Catholic Question, the other that now before the House. In favour of the Catholic Relief Bill there was a preponderance of opinion, resulting from the evidence; but there was no difference of opinion at all as to the necessity of a Sub-letting Act. It was true that nothing could be more fair than for the hon. Member for Clare to advocate the middlemen, but this was not the feeling of the Committee; they thought that these middlemen impoverished the country by interposing between the landlord and the occupying tenant; and the Act had been first contemplated in consequence of a representation from the gentry of Ireland. It had been complained that the gentry had divided their land amongst a pauper tenantry. They said it was not their fault. They declared that they had instructed their agents to take all measures to prevent such a subdivision, but in vain; there was some defect in the law which for ever prevented their success; there was a technical difficulty, and it was this—no matter how strictly you worded the covenant with the person you might select for your tenant, still, in consequence of the power of sub-letting, was there a mode of escape; for though you might choose some respectable man, and say to him, I can rely on your solvency, your industry, and your honesty, and therefore I will intrust to you these five hundred acres of land; but I wish only for you—yet notwithstanding all this, the proprietor would, perhaps, find these five hundred acres divided into as many parts; so that where he had left a flourishing tenantry, he would afterwards find only a set of paupers. The hon. Member had said he did not see what the principle of the Act was that was worth preserving—it was this, that people should perform their contracts. It never was intended that the tenant should be the only person upon the land; neither as a legal man would he pretend to say (much as he thought of the able Secretary's talents) that he had constructed a perfect statute. No; but then the noble Lord was willing to receive all suggestions for its amendment in the Committee. It was very true this Act was liked by the landlords, because it compelled the tenant to observe his contract; it was evident that the proprietor ought to have absolute power and control over his own property, and was not bound to enter into an agreement with any body but the person he chose. He was also ready to contend that the measure was not contrary to the interests of the peasantry. A great part of the tenantry of Ireland, it was well known, were worse off than the beast that browsed upon the land; it was therefore high time to make an effort to ameliorate their condition; and this Act had been brought forward with the view of raising the peasantry in the scale of civilization, and rendering them beings with whom there might be that degree of communication and interchange of kindness, without which there could be no permanent bond of union between landlord and tenant. It was not, as the hon. Member for Clare would represent it, the act of a haughty aristocracy to exterminate the people. He felt himself almost called on by the situation he held, and certainly by the opportunity he possessed of forming a judgment on the subject, to bear his testimony on that occasion to the excellent effects already produced by the great measure of last year. He would give as the result of his observations, that the settlement of that question had done more for the advantage of Ireland than the most warm friend of Catholic Emancipation could have anticipated. It had done all the good that had been hoped for, and none of the harm that was apprehended. If, without passion or prejudice, they went calmly and steadily forward, looking to Ireland with no other view than that of ameliorating her condition, he was convinced they would soon see her making grand strides in the road of improvement. Already dissentions were vanishing from among the upper classes; and at this moment those in the highest situation of the Catholic Hierarchy, who no longer ago than last year were discontented and dissatisfied, were now employed in pouring forth their admonitions of peace and goodwill. He trusted to God, that in the debates in that House, which ought to be temperate, nothing would pass that might exasperate the people of Ireland. Little would, it avail, however, that all were tranquil here, if topics of exasperation were used nearer the scene to which they applied.

Lord *Althorp* begged leave to give his approbation to the principle of the measure, and to observe that he thought Mr. O'Connell had been improperly attacked, for he had stated his objections to the Bill in a most candid and temperate manner.

Sir *H. Parnell* wished to express his obligations to the noble Lord who had introduced this measure, which he was sure would be productive of great benefit to Ireland. It was true that there had been petitions in great numbers against the Act, and such petitions deserved the utmost possible attention; but he believed that the complaints made by the petitioners were not against the principle of the Bill, but against some particular clauses in it. It was supposed by some that the Sub-letting Act gave to the landlord the power of removing the tenant. That was a mistake; the Act prevented too great a change of occupiers. The hon. and learned Member for Clare had made a mistake in regard to the cause of the poverty and distress of Ireland, if he imagined that the almost infinite subdivision of land did not contribute to produce that poverty.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, that as to the fact stated by the hon. and learned Member for Clare, that the Sub-letting Act had tended to produce a large portion of the pauper population of Dublin, he would not deny the statement; but he begged to remark, that it was the subdivision of land which had, in a great measure, created that poverty. There was something in every country, but especially in such a country as Ireland, stronger than Acts of Parliament, and that was the custom of the people. The hon. and learned Member must, on that subject, be better qualified than any other man to give the House information, and to guide them in the attainment of their evident wish for the amelioration of Ireland. He was glad to hear from such an excellent and indisputable authority as the Solicitor-General for Ireland, the salutary effects of the great measure of last Session, and he should indulge with that hon. and learned Member in warm hopes for the future increasing prosperity of that country. But when he heard these statements, and the statements of the same hon. and learned Member, as to the satisfactory falsifications of all the prophecies of the evils that measure would have produced, he could not help asking whether the Member for Clare, more than any other person in the kingdom, was not the man to whom the country was indebted for these advantages? So that in referring to that hon. Member, they ought not to go backward in his career to find cause of blame, and, least of all, to seek to discover it in those expressions which the heats of discussion on that great question had called forth. The present was not a party question, and he trusted it would not be so treated.

The *Solicitor-General* stated, that he thought the law of England and Ireland might be advantageously assimilated in many respects; but still there were peculiar circumstances which made a difference in each. They were not then to consider whether a law should be passed to prevent Sub-letting in Ireland. That law had passed: and the only object now was, to provide remedies for some defects which had been discovered in the operation of that Act. The Member for Clare had admitted that one clause of the Act worked much mischief. It had not been the intention of the Legislature that it should do so, nor did these mischiefs result from any want of care in the wording of the Act; for use what care they could, it was impossible to insure success in the use of language that all men would agree to put the same construction upon. He had looked with extreme attention at the Act, and he felt no hesitation in saying that according to the true construction, it could not have an *ex post facto* operation; but a contrary opinion had been entertained by others, and therefore the Bill proposed by the noble Lord was requisite. He gave his approbation to the clause which did not allow the tenant to take advantage of any implied waiver on the part of his landlord of the express terms of the lease. In that respect he wished the English law was the same, for in this country the doctrine of implied waiver was productive of much needless litigation. He knew that it had been and was the intention of the Government fairly to meet the wishes and the wants of the Irish people; and if ever there was an Act passed with the real desire to ameliorate the condition of the people, this was that Act; and he could assure the hon. and learned Member for Clare, that he would give all the assistance in his power in furtherance of such an object.

The Motion was agreed to; and the Bill ordered to be brought in by Lord F. L. Gower and Mr. Doherty.

ECCLESIASTICAL CORPORATIONS IN IRELAND.] Mr. *Stanley* said, he should make no observations on the Motion of which he had given notice, as the noble Lord, the Secretary for Ireland, had told him there was no objection to it on the part of the Government. He moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Laws respecting the Leasing Powers of Bishops and Ecclesiastical Corporations in Ireland.

Motion agreed to, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Stanley, Mr. Spring Rice, and Sir Thomas Acland.

SETTLEMENT OF GREECE.] Lord *John Russell*.—In rising to bring forward the

Question of which I have given notice, I beg to state, that in proposing it, my object has been rather to obtain a declaration from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, than to enter on any hostile discussion of this subject. The events that have recently passed, and the explanations lately given in another place by the Ministers of the Crown, have tended a good deal to meet the views I had in bringing forward the Motion. I am very glad that, by what has already taken place, I am relieved from the necessity of founding this Motion on any detail of the history of the late war between Russia and Turkey, for I feel how difficult it would be to undertake such a discussion without having access to those papers which his Majesty's Government alone at present possess; but there are one or two points with regard to the settlement of Greece, which settlement must soon take place, that call for some explanation. The first regards the form of the government that is intended to be established in Greece. On this point there have been sinister rumours circulated with respect to the intention of the Allied Powers, who, it was said intended to introduce a despotic Government into Greece. I am happy to say that these rumours have been dispelled by the declarations recently made by one of the Secretaries of State, and I hope that the right hon. Gentleman will have no objection to renew that declaration, and will state that his Majesty's Government has no intention to interfere to prevent the Greeks from governing themselves according to their wishes, wants, and views. Such a declaration would gratify me exceedingly; for while, on the one hand, there is nothing more odious than the introduction, by such a nation as this, of a despotic government into any country; so, on the other hand, I am aware how difficult it is to adapt any constitution to a people composed of a number of different classes of men, whose habits and origin are essentially different; and I, therefore, see no course that is likely to be effectual in establishing a permanent government in Greece, except by consulting the feelings of the people who are to be ruled by it. At the same time, I feel as an Englishman, and as a citizen of a free country, that as a new State is to be established, freedom—political freedom—should be a constituent part of the principles on which its government is to be established. There is another point, of a more doubtful nature, to which I will now allude; I mean the question of the territory to be given to Greece. I can state to the House, without fear of opposition, that as the question of Greece has been taken up by the Allied Powers—as it had been the object of a treaty, and of hostile operations, in order to effect the settlement of its Government, it is necessary that that settlement should be such as is likely to be permanent, and that the frontier to be given to Greece should be such as may enable her to preserve herself in independence, without a prospect of the repetition of those evils which are stated in the preamble to the Treaty of July. If that point, obvious and necessary as it is, were the declared policy of the Government, I should hardly feel it necessary to make any motion on the subject; but having received information from various persons of such credit and authority as to make it hardly possible to doubt what they say, that for a considerable time it was the object of the Allied Governments to restrict the new State of Greece to the Morea. I feel myself called on to ask for information. When I heard this I was, indeed, surprised and disappointed (I speak from the testimony of those who know the fact better than I do); such a limitation of territory would make it rather a place of refuge for freebooters and pirates, than one fit to contain the proper elements of a state able to govern and direct itself. Much of that sorrow I felt at this information was, indeed, removed by the copy of the Protocol in which Arta and Volo were stated as the intended boundaries of the new State on the North; I was the more pleased with this declaration, as Sir F. Adam, whose opinion on this subject is deserving of much consideration, had stated that the country within these boundaries would possess a good defensive frontier. But, after that Protocol was published, and after I had heard that opinion, I must confess it was with considerable apprehensions I heard that other arrangements were intended, and that Arta and Volo were not to be the boundaries of the new State. On that question I hope to obtain either the expression of the opinion of the House, or the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman.

Besides this question of Arta and Volo, there is another relating to an opinion expressed in another place with respect to

Candia. For my own part I am not prepared to say, that Candia is in such a situation that it is necessary to insist that it should be given up to Greece; but if it be true that there has been war there, and that the Greeks are in possession of the greater part of that Island, it is clear that you will hazard the tranquillity and settlement of Greece, unless you provide at the same time for the settlement of Candia. There has been one assertion made which is essentially erroneous. It has been said, that so far from Candia having been in the possession of the Greeks at the time of the Treaty of July 1827, it was not even in a state of insurrection, and that the insurrection which did arise was only in consequence of that Treaty of the Allies; but I have been informed, and I have no hesitation to name the authority from whom I derived the information—I say I have been informed by Sir Edward Codrington, that when he arrived in the Mediterranean Cape Buso was in the possession of the Greeks, and from that point they excited insurrection in Candia. With regard to Candia being directly comprehended in the Treaty of 1827, I am not prepared to say that it was; but I know of no sufficient evidence to justify me in saying that it was not. The words used in the Treaty were, "the islands of Greece." It was not stated what the islands were, nor was Candia actually named; and perhaps I might go further, and say, that it was generally supposed that Candia was not included, but Samos was; and that island, I believe, is not to be comprehended in the new State of Greece under the now proposed arrangements. I wish to speak on one point more. The favourable opinion of Mr. Fox towards Turkey was alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman on a former night, and the same opinion has likewise been mentioned elsewhere. It is true that Mr. Fox, or those who acted with him (for I believe it was about the time of his last illness), did agree with France in a proposal to undertake the guarantee of Turkey, that neither France on the one hand, nor Russia on the other, should invade that country; but those who rely on that fact ought to recollect the circumstances of that time, when aggressions to an enormous amount had been made by France, which had before then made an irruption into Egypt, and when it became necessary, to preserve anything like a balance of power, to agree to the proposed guarantee. That was the only course that could then be adopted to prevent the recurrence of war; and when, therefore, it was proposed by France, it was the object of England to accept it; for it was, in fact, a guarantee against France, that neither that Empire nor Russia should be allowed to disturb the balance of power as it was then proposed to be adjusted. But in 1791, when Russia invaded Turkey, Mr. Fox uttered that speech—the words of which may not have been correctly given, but the uniform tenor of it can hardly be mistaken—in which he said, that he was not afraid of the aggressions of Russia on Turkey; in which there is not one monosyllable against the seizure of the Crimea by Russia, but in which there is also the statement of his opinion that Russia is that power with which of all others, hardly excepting Holland itself, it is our interest to form political ties. Such, Sir, was the opinion of Mr. Fox, expressed under circumstances much more similar to those at present existing than those of the year 1806, when the whole state and balance of power in Europe had been overturned. I cannot conclude without expressing my satisfaction that the time is approaching when the objects of the Treaty of July are about to be accomplished. I feel the greatest satisfaction that another State is about to be added to the family of European nations, and that that people who for centuries had been afflicted with the calamities, and debased by the vices of slavery, will now take their chance of improvement from the free communication of the knowledge and the arts of other countries. Into the feelings of those who seem to think the pacification of Europe a misfortune, I confess I cannot enter. I have nothing in common with them. I know that in 1790 the Earl of Liverpool made a speech which gained for him a high character within these walls, in which he recommended England to support Turkey as a counterpoise to Austria: all I will say upon that point is, that how fatal, or at least how dangerous, are such speculations, such theories, and such wire-drawn refinements on the preservation of the balance of power, has been established by our own experience. Supposing them, however, to be well-founded, when we look to the advantages gained for Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and, last of all, for Greece; when we witness the attainment of freedom from thraldom, and the prospect of increased commerce and increased knowledge from communication between that country and the rest of Europe, we cannot regret that that balance had been disturbed. Putting those political refinements out of sight, it cannot be said that England, as a free and commercial country, will not have gained by the late establishment of peace in the East of Europe. To those who do not participate in these opinions, I will say that I never will consent to be classed with those who think that the improvement of mankind in any part of the globe, and in any manner, can be hostile to the interests of Great Britain—

"Dî meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum."

I have now only to conclude by reading my Motion:—which is "that this House learnt, with satisfaction, that his Majesty, having recently concerted with his Allies measures for the pacification and final settlement of Greece, trusts that he shall be enabled, at an early period, to communicate to Parliament the particulars of this arrangement, with such information as may explain the course which his Majesty has pursued throughout the progress of these important transactions. That it is the confident hope of this House, that such final settlement will be found to secure to Greece a territory sufficient for national defence, and a government provided with full powers to adapt its institutions to the wishes and wants of the people."

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances in which I am placed, I trust that I shall be enabled to give such general explanations to the noble Lord as may induce him to be of opinion that it is not necessary to take the sense of the House upon his Motion. I say that I am placed under peculiar circumstances, because the House will recollect that on the first day of the Session, in the Speech from the Throne, his Majesty stated, that in conjunction with his Allies, and in conformity with the Treaty of the 6th of July, he was on the point of concluding a final arrangement for the pacification of Greece, and for the determination of its relations with the rest of Europe: and his Majesty was pleased to add, that all the papers connected with that arrangement, sufficient to explain the course he had taken, should be laid before Parliament at an early period. In my official capacity I am, of course, cognizant of those papers; and I cannot help thinking that nothing could be more inconvenient than for me at the present moment to be drawn into an untimely discussion which may involve that information of which ere long the House will be in possession. Were I drawn into such a discussion, I do not know how I could avoid availing myself of that information, thus obtaining an advantage in debate which others do not enjoy. I therefore trust that the object of the noble Lord will be attained, although I do not enter into that discussion; but if it should hereafter arise, and if the noble Lord should deem it necessary to take the sense of the House, I hope that the forms of the House will not prevent my offering some further observations. The noble Lord avows that his main object is, if possible, to procure an explanation on two points which he deems of pressing importance.—First, the nature of the institutions provided by the Allies for the future government of Greece; second, the territorial limits to be assigned to the new State. On the first point I apprehend I shall be enabled to give complete satisfaction. I can assure the noble Lord, that in the arrangements, the bases of which have been laid by the Allies who are parties to the Treaty of the 6th of July, although the noble Lord seems to have heard rumours to the contrary, no attempt has been made to dictate despotic Monarchy to Greece. No provision is made in the arrangements which can control the establishment of such institutions as may be compatible with the present situation of Greece. I can also venture to disclaim, certainly on the part of my own country, and I believe on the part of France and Russia, any wish to interfere with the formation of such institutions as are best calculated to secure the liberty and promote the happiness of Greece. Into the second point, which relates to the limits of the new State, I can scarcely enter without an infringement of the principle to which I referred at the commencement of my observations. On the 22nd of March the Protocol was issued to which the noble Lord referred, and which in some way or other obtained publicity in the continental Journals, relating to the limits of Greece, and the noble Lord has expressed his apprehensions that the boundaries now about to be assigned will be less than those mentioned in the Protocol. I feel that the present is not the occasion for entering into the details, but I can venture to assure the noble Lord, that the arrangement now in progress for the independence, happiness, and security of Greece is, in my opinion, much more favourable than that which was contemplated in the Protocol. The territorial limits may be less extensive, but the compensation for the more confined limits will, I think, be found ample. The noble Lord justly observes, that it must be the policy of those countries which entered into the Treaty of the 6th of July to give Greece such security as in her infancy will protect her from foreign interference: he, therefore, wishes that she shall have a frontier capable of being easily defended. It may be sufficient for me to assure the noble Lord that there is no such limitation of the new State as he appears to believe is contemplated—that the boundaries will be far more extensive than the Morea, and that will include all those places with which our historical recollections are gratefully associated, and that the nature of the frontier will in a considerable degree afford the means of defence. But the question of limits is of much less importance, provided those States which entered into the Treaty of the 6th of July have completed that arrangement, which we hope will be a fulfilment of that engagement—provided also, that those States, under whose fostering care this new Government is to be established, feel that interest in its prosperity which will induce them, until its resources are of themselves sufficient, to undertake the guarantee of its independence.

With regard to the anxiety of this country to support the government of Turkey, it will be recollected by the noble Lord, that on a former occasion some sarcastic remarks were made upon the supposed attachment of Ministers to Turkish institutions—as if, because they did not wish for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Power, they necessarily admired its institutions. At that time I protested against any such inference, and I added that I thought I could prove, by the opinions of statesmen strongly attached to liberty and liberal institutions, that it was possible to entertain a desire to preserve the integrity of Turkey without the implication that it was fit to support its system of internal government. The noble Lord has spoken of the opinion entertained by Mr. Fox in 1791, but in 1806 the circumstances of Europe were certainly such as to induce Mr. Fox to think that it was for the general interest of Europe—for the sake of the preservation of the tranquillity of the world, that the independence of Turkey should be secured. There was another proof of the opinions of Mr. Fox on this subject, which I did not bring forward. In the course of the discussions with the French government in 1806, a proposition was made by Prince Talleyrand, that some compensation should be made to Sicily, by the establishment of a new State, consisting of Albania and the Morea. Mr. Fox protested against this proposed dismemberment of Turkey, contending that it ought to be part of the policy of Great Britain, France, and Russia, to preserve the integrity of the Turkish power. Mr. Fox, therefore, attached great importance to the maintenance of Turkey as an independent State; but I hope that the mention of this topic will not tend to introduce discussion. I did not on a former day mean to state Mr. Fox's views as to the general system of European policy. I only wished to show by that instance, that public men, in accordance with the example of their predecessors, might attach importance to the preservation of the integrity of Turkey without necessarily leading to the inference that they approved the system of internal government in Turkey. If the noble Lord had brought forward his Motion in a hostile manner; if he himself had not said that he rather introduced it in order to procure from Ministers such an answer and such information as they could give consistently with their duty; and if I thought he meant to press it to a division, I should feel under the necessity of at once opposing it; but considering the promise of the Crown at the earliest period to afford information, I do not think there is any thing in the complicated relations of this country with regard to Greece, as they have existed during the last three years, to entitle this House so far to withhold its confidence from the present servants of the Crown, that it should undertake to express an opinion before it has obtained the information on which an opinion ought to be founded. I beg the House to recollect that when the present Government (I mean the administration of the Duke of Wellington) came into office, they found the Treaty of the 6th July in existence; the objects of that Treaty were necessarily vague and imperfect, but the intention of it was, to apply an immediate remedy to an enormous evil affecting the interests of every commercial country. Although the present Ministry were not the authors of that Treaty, yet, throughout the whole progress of its execution, we were as desirous to fulfil its objects in the spirit of the Treaty as was Mr. Canning himself. What were the facts? Shortly after the accession of the Duke of Wellington to power, one of the parties to the Treaty found herself, on grounds quite extrinsic, involved in a war with Turkey. Against the right of Russia to enter into that war we did not protest, but left her to pursue the line of policy she deemed it proper to take. It has been said, that my noble friend at the head of the Cabinet, and the Government generally, were in some respects responsible for the precipitation and rashness with which Turkey commenced hostilities, and for the obstinacy with which she persevered in them; it has also been contended that we were deceived as to the result, and thought that Turkey could maintain a successful resistance. The main charge against us, however, has been, that Turkey was in some way improperly induced to place reliance on the friendship and good will of Great Britain, particularly after she had been termed in the Speech from the Throne, our "Ancient Ally," and that in consequence of that reliance, she was led to embroil herself in war. Now, a simple reference to a few dates, without entering into any argument, will totally disprove this charge. I vindicate not only the Government of the Duke of Wellington, but that of Lord Goderich, from the imputation of having created an impression on the part of Turkey, that she might rely upon the assistance of England, either directly or indirectly. It so happens that the battle of Navarino was fought on the 20th October, 1827, and the account of it reached Constantinople on the 1st Nov. following. The Ambassadors of the Allied Powers, and the Minister of England as one of those Powers, in consequence of their total dissatisfaction with the assurances given by Turkey, left Constantinople about the 20th December, 1827. Turkey had, therefore, at that time, first, the proof that England had taken her share in the battle of Navarino; and next, the proof that England was displeased with the course she had taken, by the departure of her Ambassador from the capital. It was on the very day that the British Ambassador left Constantinople that the Porte was infatuated enough to issue that document called a Hatti-scherriff, and which was the immediate cause of the war. It was issued on the 20th December, and it was not until the 3rd January that my noble friend was made Prime Minister. When he was so appointed, it was not known that the Hatti-scherriff had been published by Turkey, nor did that fact transpire until after she had been designated in the King's Speech the "Ancient Ally" of this country. These facts show that it was impossible that any foolish reliance on the friendship and assistance of England could have induced Turkey to enter into the war with Russia; for that war Turkey is alone responsible, and for her perseverance in it she is also alone responsible; in both cases she acted not only without the encouragement, but directly against the advice and remonstrances of Great Britain. It may be said, indeed, that although she entered into that war upon the consideration of her own case, and without any such reliance upon Great Britain, still it should have been the policy of this Government to interfere actively to prevent the disastrous issue of the war. Here I must say, as indeed has been already said, that before England is induced to second a war of that nature, it becomes her first to ask the question whether the proposed hostilities are just and necessary. In the Hatti-scherriff, which was the cause of the aggression of Russia, three declarations were publicly given:—First, a religious appeal was made to all Mahometans to take up arms against Russia; next, there was a positive statement that Turkey would only enter into negotiations with Russia to deceive her and to gain time, the better to prepare new means of resistance; thirdly, that she had signed the Treaty of Ackermann with the intention of violating it, and that she never would fulfil any of its conditions.—Therefore, not only were we not responsible for the conduct of that power in engaging in the war, but if we had undertaken her defence, we must have undertaken it upon grounds which no honest Minister could approve. Whatever importance we might attach to the integrity of Turkey, and whatever wish we might entertain to see an amicable settlement of the matters in dispute, I must protest against the notion that England ought to be bound by the rashness or folly which might influence the councils of others. The conduct of England in attempting to mediate was perfectly consistent with wisdom; but there was no obligation, express or implied, of treaty, of good faith, or of policy, which could induce or justify her in actively interfering by means of war with the issue of the pending contest. Still, notwithstanding that war, and notwithstanding the peculiar circumstances in which England and France were placed as neutral powers, having to execute the Treaty of 6th July with Russia, a belligerent, we felt it so important to Europe, and, above all, we had contracted such obligations to Greece, that we were compelled to overcome every minor difficulty, and to persevere in the attainment of the objects of the Treaty. I am happy to say that we have succeeded: that Treaty is on the eve of its final accomplishment: peace has been preserved; and whatever may have been the original intentions of the authors of the Treaty, I will venture to say that in the result it will be found that the three great parties to the Protocol never at first contemplated any settlement so favourable to Greece as that which, I think, consistently with justice to Turkey, we have been enabled to make. Let me remind the House that by the Treaty of the 6th July nothing more was contemplated than the establishment of that sort of qualified independence which would have left the State of Greece the vassal to the Porte, and subject to the payment of a considerable tribute: the Porte would even have had the power to interfere in the nomination of the Greek governors. By intervening events, and by negotiation, we have been able to establish the complete independence of Greece. She no longer holds the rank of a mere vassal dependent upon the Porte, but she will take her place among the independent nations of Europe. Having effected these objects, notwithstanding the difficulties opposed to us, I apprehend it will be felt, from what I have stated, that there has been that degree of harmony and good faith in the councils of the "three great powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia," which will at least induce the House to suspend its judgment until the promised Papers can be laid upon the Table. Surely there is nothing in the course of these transactions to justify suspicion. I concur with the noble Lord, that it must be the policy of this country to see that a new State thus formed is placed in a situation in which it can be prosperous; and I join with him heartily in the earnest wish he has expressed, that the Greeks of the present day may recover from the torpor of long slavery, and be enabled to emulate the glory of their predecessors, while, at the same time, they enjoy all the advantages that arise from the progress of knowledge and from the establishment of those institutions which, in happy countries like this, are calculated to insure the possession of civil and religious liberty.

Sir *J. Mackintosh* said, he must compliment the noble Lord on the candid tone of his whole speech, and the right hon. Secretary on the corresponding character of the earlier part of what he had addressed to the House. He would not follow the latter over the debateable ground of the policy of employing the influence of England in preventing the late war between Russia and Turkey, but he would say, expressly, what the right hon. Gentleman had said by implication, that the success of Russia in that just war (for such he admitted it to be) had enabled the three Allied Powers to bring the Treaty of the 6th July to a happy conclusion. He did not know that it was a matter of serious importance to inquire what had been the opinions of Mr. Fox thirty years ago relative to the independence of Turkey, but the case might be stated in a few words. In the course of the correspondence between Mr. Fox, as the head of the Foreign Office, and the Ministers of France in 1806, an opinion was expressed which had reference to that time, and to the then peculiar circumstances of England and France. It was wished to consolidate the peace of Europe, and for this purpose it was thought that the two powers should guarantee the integrity of Turkey. Such was the opinion of Mr. Fox at that single moment of his life, and under a peculiar combination of circumstances; but to that opinion was opposed what was well known to all the friends of Mr. Fox, that as an Englishman and as a lover of liberty, as a citizen of the world, he was an enemy to the institutions of Turkey—that he detested her tyrannical and barbarous principles—and that he heartily wished the Turks expelled from the boundaries of Europe. Mr. Fox did not consider them a member of the great European family; but he thought nevertheless, at that time, that the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman power was a legitimate object. What had just fallen from the right hon. Gentleman as to the exemption of Greece from foreign influence, and as to the establishment of a limited Monarchy and free Institutions, (for such he inferred to be the nature of the reply) gave him (Sir J. M.) sincere gratification. He had heard with joy the same sentiment before in another place, and it compensated for much else of a different character that proceeded from the same quarter. He had heard it said elsewhere, "Let the prince and the people of Greece settle their own Institutions," and if that simple pledge were adhered to, all would be well. He believed that he was the first who had presented a petition for the establishment of the independence of Greece; and he congratulated them that the end was about to be attained by the simple, but effectual means pointed out in that petition. He felt the utmost joy that the Treaty of the 6th July was about to be carried into complete execution, after the unworthy manner in which that compact had been used, after that unworthy language uniformly applied to the person to whom Greece was indebted for it, and who might justly be termed the deliverer and pacificator of the East of Europe. He was glad to see that those who were formerly opposed to him on this very point, now took credit for carrying into effect the great measure which his genius had conceived. On these points his joy was unmixed, his satisfaction perfect; and were he called upon to vote upon this Resolution, he should support it on no ground of hostility to, or distrust of Ministers, but upon what he had heard before, and which had been this night confirmed, that the present Government of this country had formerly been disposed to adopt a mischievous arrangement regarding the limits of the territory of Greece, and to justify that arrangement upon false principles. The right hon. Gentleman had intimated that Greece was to have something better than an extended line—that she was to have compensation for the narrowing of her boundaries: but it was not denied that she was not to have the frontier which would have been assigned to her under the Treaty of 6th July. The frontier now proposed was not that which had been formerly designed. Acarnania was to be ceded to the Turks; so also was the Acheloüs, and yet such boundaries could be of no use to Turkey, except for offensive purposes, while they might be of much service as a defensive line to the Greeks. What had most surprised him, however, was the principle adopted by Ministers with reference to Candia. Looking to the Treaty of the 6th of July, he felt himself justified in assuming, that when a new State was to be formed, as Greece was, that the right of claiming such portion of the Turkish territory as was essential to the defence of Greece belonged as much to that country as did the right of making a similar demand for similar purposes belong to Turkey. The Treaty of the 6th of July proceeded upon the principle that Turkish territory was to be taken to such extent as would secure the means of military defence to the new State, and neither Turkey nor any of the Allies would be at liberty at a future day to impeach the acts done under it. Nothing could be more clear and express than the language of the Treaty of the 6th of July; it declares that the territory and the designation of the islands which were to belong to Greece were to form the subject of negotiation between the two contending parties; that Greece should be free to endeavour to limit the territory of Turkey, as that power might, on the other hand, contend for the limitation of Greece; that nothing could be plainer than that the independence of Greece should be secured, and the means of its military defence provided for. Now the withholding Candia from Greece went upon grounds strikingly at variance with the Treaty of the 6th of July, However, he would reserve the expression of his full judgment upon the subject until the papers were before the House, and he should sincerely rejoice in the dissent—if such should be the result—of those worldly-wise persons who mistook craft for sagacity. If in making these few observations he had gone beyond the strict rules which on ordinary occasions were observed in discussing subjects of that nature, he hoped it would be attributed to the deep interest such a question was calculated to excite.

Lord *Palmerston* said, in adverting to the recommendation of his right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) that they should postpone the discussion of the present question till the papers were before them, he could not but complain that the right hon. Gentleman had himself deviated from his own recommendation, while he desired others to confine themselves to the simple question which the noble Lord had brought under consideration. Having set them such an example, he could scarcely expect that they should very closely confine themselves on a discussion so interesting and important as the present. In making one or two observations upon the character of the Treaty of London, and the mode of its execution, he would not inquire into the origin of the war between Russia and Turkey, neither would he investigate the question as to the party which might have been the instigator of that war. It might be perfectly true that that war arose out of aggressions committed by Turkey upon the trade of Russia, and upon its commercial rights; and he was perfectly ready to admit that the commencement of that war took place before the present Government came into office. On one point he should be glad to see his Majesty's Ministers acquit themselves—namely, with respect to the influence which their conduct had upon the progress, duration, and termination, of that war, and the degree in which their conduct might have affected the course adopted by the Turks in rejecting those terms of peace which it was the duty, as it was the interest, of England to promote. When the papers came to be laid upon the Table of the House, many of the dispatches would prove abundantly plausible; but no dispatch, however smoothly it might read, would, by the mere force of its diction, or the plausibility of its statements, convince him that England had done all that she might have done for the purpose of putting an end to that war. It was his earnest wish to see England, upon all such occasions, speak a straight-forward language; but on that point he could not help apprehending that had she taken the honourable and upright course, hostilities would not have been continued to so recent a period. His right hon. friend had taken credit, on behalf of his Majesty's Government, for the great merit of having had the Treaty of the 6th of July executed according to the spirit in which it was framed, and that its execution was attended with results even more gratifying to the parties interested than their first expectations had led them to anticipate. From that sentiment, however, he begged to dissent, though his unwillingness on the present occasion to enter into details would prevent his assigning the reasons which influenced his dissent; but he must be allowed to say, generally, that he could not see that the spirit of the Treaty had been at all adhered to; and to that single remark he would add, that if the Treaty had been more closely adhered to, the interests of Greece and of England would have been more effectually advanced. At length, however, there was a prospect that something like independence might be achieved for Greece; but the House would judge how much more of that was owing to the arms of Russia than any interference on the part of England to see the Treaty of the 6th of July executed in the spirit in which it had been framed. When the papers came before the House, he should be extremely glad to see the propositions made by his Majesty's Government to the Allies for settling and securing to Greece a territory sufficient for the purposes of an independent State, and a frontier calculated to secure the continuance of that independence. He hoped as they would have the pleasure of seeing what could not fail to be gratifying to the national feelings and flattering to the national honour—to collect from the lips of the English Minister that the people of Greece would enjoy the rights of freemen, and be no longer confined in the shackles and fetters of despotism. When it shall be shewn to the House from the expected documents that his Majesty's Government had done all in their power to secure the accomplishment of that object, then would his right hon. friend be entitled to the thanks of the House and of the country. But so far as the right hon. Secretary went, his statement was far from satisfactory. He had altogether failed in shewing that the addition of Candia to the territory of Greece was not essential to the well-being and independence of the new State. This was but small matter of surprise, for no man who had turned his attention to the subject could doubt that the political existence and the military defence of Greece would mainly depend upon the possession of Candia. What would form a more immediate ground of complaint—if it proved to be well-founded—would be, that this country had not fulfilled her engagements, in seeing the Treaty executed in its true spirit; than which nothing was more important, as affecting the honour and interest of England. It was in a high degree interesting to England that the new State should have the means of maintaining her own independence; for, if left in a helpless or undefended state, the first aggression made upon her would be the signal for calling upon the powers who were parties to the Treaty of the 6th of July to come forward in support of the stipulations of that Treaty. Thus would England be involved in difficulties, which a little regard to good faith in the first instance might easily avert. They might be told that the powers had guaranteed the independence of Greece. That might be perfectly true, and at the same time it might be true that the relations of those powers towards Greece and towards each other would, in a very short time, undergo such changes as should leave little chance of their being in a situation to redeem those pledges which they had given for the maintenance of that country in a separate and substantive form. The only effectual security which Greece and England could have, would be, to give to the former such a territory and such boundaries as would render any aggression very unpromising. To leave Greece in a situation incapable of self-defence, was to do England one of the most serious injuries which she could sustain in her relations with the East of Europe; it would open at once a door for the exercise of foreign influence, and render the new State of Greece an arena for the struggles of foreign influence, and, perhaps, for the contests of armed men. The gulfs of Volo and Arta, at opposite sides, ought to form two of the boundaries of the new State; that, he thought, could be very easily established; but those who wished to circumscribe Greece within the narrowest possible limits would confine it to the Morea. Austria, and those who with Austria desired to fix the *minimum* of territory, called out for the Morea as the boundary. When the official papers, however came before them, it would then be apparent that the English Government had either supported the true interest of Greece, or had sacrificed them to the wishes of Austria. It would then be seen whether proper means had been taken for securing Thessaly and Epirus, and whether the Gulf of Volo on the East, and the Gulf of Arta on the West, were or were not to form the boundaries of Greece. These he certainly considered as limits essential to the military defence of Greece, as was the natural boundary formed by the range o mountains at the North running like a back-bone behind Greece—that was a barrier which nature pointed out, and one which the habits of the people, and the physical circumstances of the country, rendered obvious and convenient. On the South, it was of importance that Greece should be in possession of a territory which would afford her a good military defence, for there it was of peculiar importance that she should be preserved from collision with her neighbours. It seemed to him one of the strangest assertions which had ever been made, that Greece ought to be made to pay a price in territory for the political independence conferred upon her—she was given a nominal independence, but a real dependence, with such a territory as that given to her, destitute as it was of the means of military defence. The natural defence of Greece on the South would be Candia; for with that island left in the possession of the Turks, the means of aggression would be continually in their hands. The ports of Turkey were too distant to admit of frequent or formidable attacks upon the Greeks; but with Candia in their possession, undertakings of that nature became comparatively easy. If, then, any thing had been done which tended to compromise the independence of the new State in the manner to which he alluded, he entreated his Majesty's Ministers to reconsider the steps they had taken, and shut the door against future contention in the East, by providing for the political security and military defence of Greece, thus really executing the Treaty of London in spirit, satisfying the just expectations of Greece, and doing credit to themselves and their Allies. He professed to know nothing upon those topics except what any man might learn at the corners of the streets in common conversation, or from the newspapers; but he believed he should be borne out in this assertion, that if the wishes of England were decisively made known upon the subject, the Allies would accede to them, and that it rested with the Cabinet of England to decide whether or not the new State was to be rendered secure or insecure. It had been said, that to give Candia to the Greeks it must be conquered from Turkey. What made that necessary?—what, but the wavering and undecided conduct of the Cabinet of England? It was also alleged that

Candia had taken no part in the insurrection against the Turkish power in Greece: that could scarcely be the fact; for early in the year 1827, the President of the Greek Legislative Assembly was known to be in that island, and it was not at all likely that he would have been there, if there had not subsisted a community of feeling between the Greek inhabitants of that island and their brethren elsewhere. It was also to be remembered that Candia was one of the latest acquisitions of Turkey:—it had not been conquered by the Turks until the year 1679; and it was likewise an important fact, that out of the two hundred and forty thousand souls forming the population of that island, the greater part were Greeks. The Turks however, were now in possession of Candia, and that he believed was mainly owing to the interference of our non-interfering Government. It was one of the thousand and one instances in which our Government professed not to intermeddle, yet did so, contrary to its professions. The Turks had wrongfully preserved possession of Candia, and now it was contended that they should be allowed to profit by that wrong. It was a principle of law that no man should profit by his own wrong—it was a maxim of justice, that the infliction of one injury should not stand good as a reason for the infliction of further and deep injuries. It was acknowledged that at the present moment a civil war was going on in Candia. Were they to have another Treaty of London for the pacification of Candia, or was that devoted and unhappy island to be left exposed to the pouring forth of the vials of Turkish wrath in all its inhuman and atrocious barbarity, to a repetition of the atrocities of Ipsara and Scio? There had been a talk of amnesty; they must all, by this time, know pretty well what amnesty meant, when translated into the languages of Spain, or Portugal, or Turkey. In Turkey they had a proverb that there were three merciless things—Time, Fire, and the Sultan; and if he knew anything of the history of Turkey, he would say there was little probability of that being less true at the present than at any former period. Let Candia remain in the hands of the Turks, and what probability was there that the Greeks in that island would remain patient under that yoke which their brethren had shaken off? and even though they were disposed to do so, how unlikely was it that the Turks would allow themselves to remain without a pretext for glutting that vengeance which the other Greeks might defy. How then was England to act? Was she to keep an agent in Candia to preserve the peace there between the Greeks and Turks in that Island? It was contended that to conquer Candia would be contrary to the Treaty of London, but an objection of that nature did not arise when the French conquered the Morea, and when many similar acts were done, in the course of the late struggle. Candia, even in a maritime point of view, was essential to the safety of Greece, it was to Greece what Cuba was to Mexico, and could not be excluded from its territory without endangering the existence of the new State. Would it be possible for the sovereign of Greece to stand by and see thousands of his subjects, countrymen, slaughtered by the Turks, without interference? and yet, should he interfere, the certain consequence would be a war with Turkey. In that event England would undoubtedly be brought into the contest; or if, both England and the sovereign of Greece refused to interfere, the Greeks themselves would fly to the succour of their brethren, and then of what advantage would it be that the State was nominally at peace? There was another argument which he might mention, and which perhaps had still more force. It was not in the nature of things that Candia could long continue in the possession of Turkey, for it was too rich a prize not to tempt the surrounding States, and he would therefore venture to predict that, if Candia was not united to Greece, it would fall to our lot to be at war with some State or other, in the course of a few years, on account of this very Candia. They were told that the transactions were still pending; and, therefore, the papers and documents on the subject were still withheld from the House; but he did not see that this ought to have any weight in stopping the discussion of the present night; because they well knew the strength that an expressed opinion of Parliament must have on such a subject; and he, therefore, trusted, that if there were other Gentlemen who had the same feeling on the subject, and entertained the same opinion with himself, they would give their support to the Motion of the noble Lord.

Mr. *Peel.*—I am extremely sorry, that when I stated that his Majesty's Government had been able to execute the Treaty in the spirit in which it had been conceived, and even to carry it further, any one should suppose that I thereby intended to draw a contrast between the present Government and the original framers of the Treaty. I said that we had carried the Treaty further than Mr. Canning, but that has been because events have arisen which Mr. Canning was not able to foresee. But, Sir, I think that I have a right to complain of the manner in which my noble friend has called the attention of the House to the subject; there were first addressed some questions to me, and when they were answered, the noble Lord (Palmerston) has risen to found a statement upon them; I therefore think that I have a right to complain, because I certainly did not conceive that these answers would form the groundwork of the unpremeditated impromptu delivered by my noble friend. What a situation am I placed in by answering these questions? Was it fair on such a ground to enter into the description of boundaries—was it proper to enter into the discussion of attaching Candia to Greece? Can I in reply state and argue upon all those circumstances of which the House is not yet in possession? Can I enter into the reasons why, because there has been a rebellion, not only England, but all the other powers have forced Turkey to a submission, to which, under other circumstances, they would not have consented? But, Sir, even if my noble friend shall succeed in procuring a majority for the noble Lord's Motion, it will still leave the Government unfettered as to Candia, for the noble Lord's motion has nothing to do with that: and I protest that I will not be drawn to enter into the discussion by the course pursued, trusting the House will feel the situation in which I am placed, and that the time is not yet arrived for that discussion. I feel that I cannot in fairness enter into that discussion, and I will not enter into it; but I trust that the House will not, from this resolution of mine, draw any unfair conclusion. My noble friend has stated, that if England would consent to enlarge the limits of Greece, he was pretty sure that the other powers who have joined in the Treaty would not be opposed to such extension. Certainly this is a statement which I did not expect to hear from my noble friend. I do not, however, know in whose confidence he may be, or whom he may undertake to represent in making that statement, unless he comes to that conclusion from having been in office at the time of the execution of the Treaty. This, however, at all events, I can state to the House, that the most perfect harmony on the question of boundaries exists between the contracting powers; and that the arrangements will be found worthy of the sanction of Parliament.

Lord *Palmerston* said: Nothing that has fallen from my right hon. friend shall tempt me to deviate from that temper which I believe is always most successful in argument. My right hon. friend has told the House that he does not know whose representative I am. I will tell him. I stand here, humble as I am, as one of the Representatives of the People of England; and next, as the Representative of my own opinions—opinions, Sir, which I will never shape to suit the opinions of any other individual, let his situation be what it may, either in this House, or out of this House. I stand here as the Representative of my own opinions, and I think I can appeal to the recollection of my right hon. friend himself, to bear witness that those opinions have not changed since I had the honour of acting with him. I also stand here, I trust, as one of that body which represents, or which at least ought to be the maintainers of the honour and interests of England; and I can assure the House that I shall never be deterred from that duty by any taunts which my right hon. friend may not think unworthy of himself, or by any taunts which may extract a reluctant and unfrequent cheer from those who sit behind the Treasury Bench. Neither, Sir, will I ever be deterred by any of those—I will not call them unfair—but by any skilful dexterities of debate, from stating to the House those opinions which I honestly entertain on the public affairs of the country; and little shall I care whom those opinions may please or displease, or what motive may be imputed to me for doing what I most firmly believe to be my duty. But my right hon. friend has insinuated that I have availed myself of information obtained while in office; now my belief is, that I have stated nothing which every man who reads the newspapers of Europe, or who mixes in the society of any country he may happen to be in, might not have stated just as fully; and if the Ministry think that nothing of all this is known beyond the corner of

Downing-street, except that which they are pleased to communicate, they are most grievously mistaken, for much more of the political state of Greece is known to the whole of Europe than perhaps they would desire. My right hon. friend has also been pleased to talk of my unpremeditated *impromptu.* I can, however, assure him, that when I entered the House, it was my intention to confine myself to the question of the territorial limits of Greece, and that I should not have said a syllable on any other point, but for his own departure from a rule which he entreated all others sacredly to observe.

Mr. *Peel.*—I can assure my noble friend that I admit his perfect right to express his opinions, and to have them considered expressly as his own; and if I had objected to it, I should have been justly subject to censure. But I was not speaking of opinions, but of facts. Neither did I impute to my noble friend any improper disclosure of the information he obtained while in office; all that I stated was, that having made a speech, I was placed under a disadvantage when my noble friend entered into details. The fact to which I referred was this—that my noble friend stated certain circumstances in such a manner as must have led those who heard him, to suppose that he spoke from authority, and that he was in possession of the negotiations between the powers, thereby leading those who heard him to conclude that England stood alone on the question of limits; and that if she would waive her objections on that head, there was reason to believe that the other powers would also waive theirs. For this reason I thought it necessary to state that the three contracting powers were agreed upon this point, and that there was no such want of harmony as my noble friend would have made out. It was for these reasons that I made the observations I did; and I beg to assure him, that in making them I did not in the least intend to impute to him any improper disclosures.

Lord *Palmerston.*—I can assure my right hon. friend that nothing which may pass between him and me in this House will impair the friendship which exists between us: but I am sure the House could not imagine, when I was stating my opinion as to the boundaries of Greece, after having been two years out of office, that I was taking upon myself to insure what were the sentiments of Russia or France.

Sir *Robert Wilson* wished to know whether the noble lord (lord J. Russell) intended to press his Motion to a division: because, if he did not, he (Sir R. Wilson) would not trouble the House with his opinions on the question in its present state. He also thought that it would be unfair to press the matter to a division, as the papers were not before the House.

Lord *J. Russell* said, it was not his intention to divide the House on the Motion, which was then negatived without a division.

SLAVE TRADE.] Mr. *Fowell Buxton* moved, that an Address be presented to his Majesty for Copies or Extracts of all correspondence which may have taken place between his Majesty's Government and Foreign Powers, relating to the Slave Trade, since 1st of January 1829, and not already laid before this House: of all correspondence between his Majesty's Government and the British Commissioners of the mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone, the Havannah, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam, relative to the Slave Trade, since 1st of January 1828, and not already laid before this House: of all correspondence which may have taken place between the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and the Naval Officers stationed on the Coast of Africa, at the Cape of Good Hope, or elsewhere, relative to the Slave Trade, since 1st of January 1828, and not already laid before this House: and of all correspondence touching the Slave Trade received from the Governors of Sierra Leone, and other British Posssessions on the Coast of Africa, and from the Governors of the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, since 1st of January 1828, and not already laid before this House.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, Feb. 17.

MINUTES.] Lord W. POWLETT obtained leave to bring in a Bill to extend to the County Palatine of Durham the Act of Queen Anne, "for the better security of Rents, and to prevent frauds committed by Tenants.—Mr. LITTLETON gave notice, that on Thursday the 25th instant, he would move for leave to bring in a Bill to render more effectual the laws relating to the Payment of Wages in Money.—Mr. GRATTAN obtained leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Irish Act, 11th and 12th Geo. III. respecting the establishment of Houses of Industry in Ireland. — Colonel DAVIES gave notice, that on Thursday the 11th March, he would move to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the Act of the 15th Geo. III. c. 117, respecting the regulation of Pensions and Superannuation Allowances.—Mr. HUME gave notice, that he would to-morrow move for a Return of the Frauds which had been committed in the granting of Pensions and Allowances to private and non-commissioned Officers."

SMALL DEBTS.] Mr. *Sykes* wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Peel) if he intended to proceed with the Bill for the better recovery of Small Debts.

Mr. *Peel* said, the reason of his abandoning the Bill last Session was the difficulty he met with in allotting compensation to the officers of the several Courts whose interests would be affected. He intended, however, to submit a preliminary proposition to the House to-morrow evening, and he hoped, by watching its progress and effect, to be able to accomplish all that was desired on the subject.

TOBACCO AND SNUFF DUTIES.] Mr. *C. Calvert* presented a Petition from the manufacturers of Tobacco and Snuff in the cities of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southwark, complaining of losses which they had sustained in consequence of the conduct of his Majesty's Government, and praying for relief. The hon. Member stated, that the petitioners had in 1825 sustained a loss of 23 per cent, on their stock, in consequence of being misinformed with respect to the intentions of Ministers. An Act by which they were affected having expired in July 1825, a delegation waited on the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Robinson) and, in consequence of the communication which he made to them, he having informed them that no alteration would be made in them, they had subsequently increased their stock to the large amount of 2,500,000*l.* on which they had afterwards been compelled to pay a duty of 125,000*l.* by the law being altered. They had memorialized Government in vain upon the subject, and they now came to the House for redress.

Mr. R. Dundas presented a similar Petition from the Tobacco and Snuff manufacturers of Ipswich: and Mr. W. Smith, a similar Petition from the Tobacco and Snuff manufacturers of Norwich.

MILITARY OFFICERS HOLDING CIVIL SITUATIONS.] Mr. *Gordon* said, that, in compliance with repeated wishes which had been expressed to him from various quarters, he begged again to call the attention of the House to the subject of Military Officers holding high Civil situations, and retaining their Military Pay in addition to their Civil Allowances. The impropriety of such a proceeding was increased by the consideration of the severe regulations respecting officers on half-pay, whose affidavit had been recently altered, and who, on claiming their half-pay, were called upon to swear that they had no civil appointment, and did not receive from Government any other allowance than their half-pay. He was aware that a distinction was attempted to be set up in this respect between officers on half-pay and officers on full-pay; but he considered it to be unfair and untenable. If the regulations were not strictly applicable to officers on full-pay, it could only be because the circumstance of their holding civil appointments had not been contemplated. How was the case? A General Officer, receiving his full-pay from what is called the Unappropriated General Officers' Fund, held a high civil office, the salary of which he also received. It should also be remembered that a General Officer having a regiment not only received his full-pay as Colonel, but all the various allowances derived from clothing the regiment, &c. Was it fitting that an Officer thus circumstanced should be qualified to hold a high civil appointment, and receive the emoluments attached to it? The same thing happened in the Navy. The Lord of the Admiralty whom he saw opposite to him, he believed, received his full-pay as an Admiral, while at the same time he held the situation and enjoyed the emoluments of a Lord of the Admiralty. It might be said that the Lords of the Admiralty were not well enough paid. Granted. But let them be paid as Lords of the Admiralty. As in his opinion the subject was not unworthy the consideration of the House, and as the right hon. Gentleman opposite had told him that he had no objection to the Motion, he moved for a Return of the Name, Rank, and Yearly or other Pay, Allowances, and Emoluments, derived from whatever sources, of all Military and Naval Officers holding Civil or Official Situations.

The Motion was agreed to.

FEES PAID BY PERSONS ACQUITTED OF CRIMINAL CHARGES.] Mr. Secretary *Peel* rose, in pursuance of his notice to move for leave to bring in a Bill—by which, however, he did not feel quite satisfied that the immediate object which he had in view would be gained—namely, a Bill to abolish all Fees heretofore payable by persons on their acquittal or other discharge from any criminal charge. In 1818, a Bill had passed that, and the other House of Parliament, the intention of the framers of which must certainly have been to abolish all such fees, for it enacted that no fee should be paid on the acquittal of any prisoner charged with felony or misdemeanour. The construction which had been put upon that Bill, however, was, that it was applicable only to persons retained in custody, tried and acquitted, and not to persons who were only held to bail, and afterwards tried and acquitted. The object of his Bill was to relieve all acquitted persons, whether they had been in custody or only held to bail, from the payment of fees upon acquittal. At present, a person so circumstanced was liable to pay 13*s*. 4*d*. to the Clerk of the Peace, 2*s*. to the Crier of the Court, and (which was the most extraordinary fee of all) 12*s*. to the Jury on every traverse. On grave consideration, however, it appeared to him that the Bill for which he was about to move would not go far enough. It would only relieve the person acquitted from the payment of fees, but he would still be subject to the payment of different fees for the formal processes of the Court. Among other charges there was drawing up the record, for which the person tried had to pay a shilling a folio; amounting in some cases, to five or six pounds, and in many to two or three; although, in numerous instances, no record whatever was drawn up. Since he had given notice of his Bill, the hon. Member for Cumberland had expressed his intention to move for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the amount of fees receivable by Clerks of the Peace, and the authority on which those fees were demanded. He (Mr. Peel) highly approved of the proposition, and, if that Committee were appointed, he would not press his Bill upon the attention of the House until the result of its inquiries was known. He understood that last year it was a question with many country Gentlemen whether granting compensation for fees was desirable, very large sums having been demanded on that score. The Act of 1815, to which he had before alluded, provided compensation for the officers whose fees it took away, and subjected the county to the payment of that compensation. He confessed, however, that he did not see the justice of rendering the county liable at all times; although, with respect to fees, he was certainly inclined to think that on the termination of all existing interests it might be advisable that they should cease. The whole subject was one of great importance, and as he understood the hon. Member for Cumberland would take an early opportunity of moving for the Committee to which he had alluded, he would merely now move for leave to bring in the Bill, but postpone any further proceeding on it until the Committee had inquired into the subject. The right hon. Gentleman accordingly moved for leave to bring in his Bill.

Sir *T. Baring* expressed his satisfaction that it was intended to appoint a Committee to inquire into the amount and nature of the fees paid to Clerks of the Peace. In his opinion all officers of County Courts ought to be paid by salaries, and not by fees; and he was happy to find the right hon. Gentleman of the same opinion. He would take the opportunity of observing, that the Act which had been introduced by the right hon. Gentleman for compelling the county to pay prosecutors their expenses, though very good in principle, was not so in practice; and in some cases had increased the county rates so alarmingly, that it was a subject which ought to be considered by the proposed Committee.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he had abstained from giving an opinion as to whether all officers in those courts to which his Bill had reference should be paid by salary or by fees. All he asked was, whether, when an individual was discharged, he should be called on to pay for that which was not essential to his defence. He did not say that he meant to do away all fees and substitute a fixed salary. That was a point of grave importance and required much consideration.

Sir *T. Baring*, in explanation, said that in many Courts the Clerk of the Peace disposed of his fees for a certain sum to a deputy, who, of course, extended their amount as much as he was able.

Mr. *W. Smith* hoped, that before any compensation were granted for fees, their nature and amount would be strictly inquired into.

Sir *James Graham* observed, that it was very desirable a system of uniformity should be established on the subject; and, therefore, that it required a general inquiry.

Mr. *O'Connell* thought that all judicial fees ought to be abolished.

Leave was granted to bring in the Bill.

CLERKS OF THE PEACE.] Mr. *Portman* moved for leave to bring in a Bill regulating the office of Clerk of the Peace, particularly with respect to the abolition of fees and to the substitution of a regular salary.

Mr. *Freemantle* could bear testimony to the fact, that the present regulation of paying the Clerks of the Peace by fees was attended by very great confusion and inconvenience. The preferable mode was to pay by a regular salary.—Leave was then given to bring in the Bill.

CHARITABLE ESTABLISHMENTS OF IRELAND.] Mr. *Callaghan* moved for a Return of the different Charitable Establishments of Ireland. The hon. Member felt himself obliged to say that the condition of the poor in the City which he represented was so appalling, that a delay of one day in inquiring into the causes of the evil might be dangerous to the peace of the community. He would take the opportunity to ask the hon. Member for Limerick what was the proposed scope of his inquiry with respect to the condition of the poor of Ireland, for which he intended to move the appointment of a Select Committee on the 11th of March. There was much anxiety in Ireland on the subject of the hon. Gentleman's motion; and he inquired whether the hon. Member's object was to procure means of relief for the infirm, to investigate the condition of unemployed labourers, or to propose the introduction into Ireland of the principle and practice of the present system of English Poor Laws. He regretted that so distant a day was fixed for the Motion upon the subject, particularly as it was not understood in Ireland whether it were intended to introduce the Poor Laws into that country or not.

Mr. *Spring Rice*, in reply to the hon. Gentleman, must state that his motive for deferring his Motion was, because no relief granted to Ireland could be complete without a previous inquiry into the charitable institutions of that country. His first object was to ascertain the actual state of the poor of Ireland, which would not require any laborious examination; particularly as papers upon the subject had already been laid before the Emigration Committee in 1825. The second subject was the Charities of Ireland, and the effect they had in relieving distress. The third subject was the question of the Poor Laws. Many Gentlemen maintained the expediency of introducing the English Poor Laws into Ireland, but no person could think of doing this without a full inquiry into the effect likely to be produced by the measure upon the people of Ireland, and into the mechanism necessary to carry the measure into operation. Many Gentlemen, who did not think that the introduction of the Poor Laws into Ireland would be beneficial to that country, were of opinion that they ought to be introduced for the sake of benefiting England, by the preventing of Irish emigration. He begged them to reflect whether it were not more probable that the measure would have a decidedly opposite tendency. It would be premature then to argue the question. He had stated that there were Public Charities in every county of Ireland, and he could assert that in every town of Munster there were Houses of Industry. He had admitted that the distress of Ireland was less than that of England, but still the distress was sufficiently great to need inquiry. He had received a document from a Gentleman residing in Kerry, in which the writer had said, that for the last twenty-eight or thirty years he did not recollect any one period so replete with distress, or any one in which wretchedness had prevailed to such an extent. It was a question with the writer whether one half of the rents due would be paid, and whether the winter would pass without commotion. Considerable improvements were going on throughout Ireland, but though capital was augmenting, the increase of population was more rapid than the increase of capital, and the distress of the people was increasing.

Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald* said, he was ready to confirm the statements of the hon. Member for Limerick as to the credibility of the source of the information referred to on the subject of the present condition of some parts of the South of Ireland. Nobody felt more deeply than he did the vast importance of the question of which the hon. Member had given notice for the 11th of March; but he saw the propriety of abstaining from going into the subject at the present moment. That the document referred to did not exaggerate the distress existing in the district to which the writer alluded, nor the general distressed condition of the people of the South of Ireland, he fully agreed. He believed that all the districts which depended principally upon the produce of butter and cattle were deeply affected by the depression of prices in the English market. With respect to the district more particularly referred to in the document in question, he was sure that his hon. friend the Member for Limerick would be glad to hear that he had that morning seen a statement in a newspaper, which contained a description of considerable mitigation having taken place in the distress that recently prevailed in the neighbourhood. The paper stated that a Killarney correspondent had informed them that Lord Kenmare had given directions to his agent, Mr. Galway (the writer of the communication referred to) to give immediate employment to the poor in his neighbourhood; and if there were not sufficient to do on the spot, to set them to work elsewhere: it was added, that in consequence of this, above one hundred additional persons were now employed. Though exceedingly unwilling to say anything of himself, he could not omit to notice a personal allusion affecting him, which was contained in the same paper. It was added, "Will the Knight of Kerry even now acknowledge that distress prevails in Kerry?" If that were the only observation upon his conduct, he should have treated it with neglect and contempt; but having been selected as a particular object for slanderous and false assertions in consequence of what he had stated in that House, he thought it right to justify himself against such accusations. No man could do his duty in Parliament with ease and satisfaction to himself, and advantage to the country and his constituents, if he were to be exposed to such slander. On the first night of the Session, he offered a few words to the House at a late period of the debate, in the course of which he stated expressly that great distress existed in Ireland, and he was so reported to have said in every paper published in London. That being the case, whatever objections the writer of the attack in question might have to his conduct, or whatever motives might be attributed to him, in statements sent forth to the public of Ireland, he could have wished that his language in Parliament had not been misrepresented. Yet he had been subjected to this annoyance: he was represented as denying *in toto* the existence of distress in Ireland. The paper in question stated, in a manner rather uncourteous and unbecoming, that Goulburn, Peel, Leveson Gower, and Spring Rice, represented the distress existing in Ireland as only trifling and partial. He might here observe that he was not aware of any such language having been held by the Gentlemen thus designated. But the article proceeded (and this part was printed in Italics), "The Knight of Kerry denied its existence *in toto*." It was rather curious that in an adjoining column was contained a specimen of newspaper cross-readings in Ireland, in which it was stated in the Parliamentary debate, that the Knight of Kerry said there existed great distress in Ireland. [*Hear, and laughter.*] He complained of the comment that had been made upon him, and the misrepresentation to which he had been subjected; the falsehood grew as it proceeded—

"——— vires acquirit eundo:"

the comments were first made in a Dublin newspaper; they were thence transmitted to one published in his own country, where they might be expected to influence the opinions of his constituents. After stating, as already mentioned, that the Knight of Kerry denied *in toto* the existence of distress in Ireland, the article proceeded to say, "for all which abominable and flagitious mis-statements, pray Heaven, Kerry, kick him out the next election." Nobody was more anxious than he that every public act of his, whether consisting in vote or language, should be correctly known by his constituents. But while the House must admit that its proceedings were reported with a degree of accuracy almost miraculous, and with a promptitude which was of the greatest importance to the public, he thought it was not to be endured that in any thing purporting to be a report or statement of their proceedings, the House should tolerate such misrepresentation and slander as he had been exposed to. Could anything be more unfair or dangerous than that the constituent body should be thus misled in reference to the conduct and language of its representatives? On the first night of the Session he stated generally that great distress existed in Ireland: at the same time he did add, that, notwithstanding this distress, he relied upon the resources of the country ultimately to work out our prosperity; but he was far from denying the existence of distress. The object of the comments so unfairly made upon his conduct was, to bring forward the unfortunate peasantry at county meetings, under the idea that their distress had been denied by their representatives, and to force from them, by whatever means, a vehement expression of their feelings, that could serve no good purpose, but the contrary. His object was, to obtain the application of practical remedies to the public distress, if such remedies could be discovered. For what purpose could it be pretended that he had got up in his place and underrated the distress of the country? Was it in order to recommend himself to the Minister? He appealed to the invariable tenour of his public conduct in answer to the imputation. Perhaps he might have added to his popularity by exaggerating the public distress; but he would have thought it equally unsafe and disingenuous to do that as to adopt the opposite course. What he stated was, that he considered it the duty of Parliament to deal with the distress with a view to remedying it. He appealed to the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department to say whether any man surpassed him in the importunity with which he called upon Ministers to investigate the state of Ireland, in order, if possible, to relieve its distresses. He did not mean to make a boast of that; but such being his conduct, it was doubly unfair to impute to him a different line of proceeding. If such a course were practised with respect to other Members in that House, it would render it unsafe for them to do their duty towards the country. He was well aware that the House would interpose with a remedy for such practices, if he called upon it to aid him against these attacks; but he should do no such thing; he was the last man in the country to throw impediments in the way of free discussion, but let the discussion be fair as well as free. If the calumny directed against him had not proceeded on the principle of falsifying and misrepresenting the language he had thought it his duty to use as a Member of the legislature, he should not have troubled the House with one word upon the subject. With respect to the expressions really used by him, he was in the recollection of the House, and appealed to every Member who heard him speak on the occasion in question. The article alluded to was made the vehicle of a compliment to the hon. Member for Clare, on the ground of the ability which that hon. Member had displayed in his address to the House; and to this compliment he added the humble tribute of his applause of the modesty and good sense since exhibited by the hon. Member. He trusted, as the article in which he was attacked contained a panegyric upon the hon. Gentleman's parliamentary conduct (in the justice of which he entirely concurred), that no one would be more ready than the hon. Member to admit the falsehood and misrepresentation to which he (Mr. Fitzgerald) had been subjected in the course of these comments upon his conduct as a Member of Parliament.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he had had no previous expectation that his right hon. friend would have appealed to him on the subject of his public conduct, for he was not aware that it had been attacked. Now that he was informed of the fact, he participated in the indignation expressed by his right hon. friend; and would say, that within the last six months, of all the representatives of Ireland there was not one who had exhibited a more sincere desire to mitigate the calamities under which that country had unfortunately laboured; and he might add, that all his right hon. friend's representations to Government proceeded on the ground that the poorer classes were suffering great distress from want of employment. His right hon. friend was not content with urging upon Ministers the necessity of relief, but submitted to him projects for affording it, to the developement of which more hours of labour must have been applied than he had conceived it possible for a gentleman to devote to such purposes who acted without the incentives of official remuneration or official duty, and was merely influenced by a feeling of humanity and a desire to promote the public good by affording practical relief to the distresses of his countrymen. His right hon. friend had repeatedly urged upon Government the necessity of affording relief to the poor of Ireland, not only for the sake of that country, but also for the sake of this; and recommended, as relief through the medium of charity had proved ineffectual, that substantial relief should be afforded by the employment of the poor. He heard what his right hon. friend said the other night, and bore him out in his present representation of it; but even if he had not heard it, and was told of the misrepresentations which had gone abroad on the subject, he could not have credited them for a single moment, or believed that his right hon. friend would have been guilty of the inconsistency of expressing in his place sentiments so utterly inconsistent with the statements of distress which he had been making to Ministers during the last six months. [*hear*]

Mr. *Jephson* suggested to the hon. Member for Cork the propriety of including in his returns the amount of money paid to the treasurers, secretaries, and other officers of the several institutions. If this were done, it would be found that an immense portion of the funds intended for the benefit of the poor was frittered away in the support of useless and unwieldy establishments.

Mr. *O'Connell* had nothing to do with the comments that appeared in the newspapers upon the right hon. Gentleman's conduct. He certainly understood the right hon. Gentleman to differ from him in degree in his opinion as to the distressed condition of Ireland, although the right hon. Member qualified the difference by an admission of the existence of the distress. He was himself one of the right hon. Gentleman's constituents, and would undertake to say that no county in Ireland sent a Member to Parliament who possessed more entirely the confidence of all his constituents than did the right hon. Member for Kerry. The hon. and learned Member proceeded to state, that the latest account which he had received from Ireland fully corroborated his previous statements as to the prevalence of distress in that country. He fully concurred with the hon. Member for Limerick in his statement of the happy results of the measure of last Session. However, contrary to an opinion expressed in Parliament, he thought the benefits of it more visible in the unanimity and good feeling produced by it among the lower than among the higher ranks of society.

Mr. *Callaghan* said, that in the observations he had made, he referred only to the pauper population which came into Cork from the neighbouring county; and that what he had said had no reference to the disputed question of general distress.

The Motion was agreed to.

SUPPLY.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for the House resolving itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider the expediency of granting a further Supply to his Majesty.

Mr. *Hume*, after stating that he was one of those who had voted against granting any further Supply to his Majesty until Ministers had given some pledge that the distressed state of the country should be taken into consideration, and promised to come forward with some information on the subject, declared that since the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that he would give that information on Friday, he (Mr. Hume) did not feel himself obliged to oppose the present Motion.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Supply.

2,500,000*l.* were then granted for the service of his Majesty, to discharge the like amount of Supplies granted in the years from 1824 to 1829 inclusive; 25,438,800*l.* were next granted to discharge the amount of such outstanding Exchequer Bills issued in the years 1829 and 1830, as remained unprovided for. 168,800*l.* were next granted for the discharge of Exchequer Bills issued to defray the expense of public works, fisheries, and additional churches.

The House resumed, and the Report was brought up. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, February 18.

Lord *Torrington*, in presenting a petition from four hundred and fifty owners and occupiers of land in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge, complaining of agricultural distress, and praying for a repeal of the duties on Malt and Beer, observed that he could assure their Lordships, that the distress in the neighbourhood of that district, which was emphatically called the Garden of Kent, was so great that nothing could exceed it. He himself resided in the parish of Mereworth, and he would, as a specimen of the distress which prevailed in that county, describe to them the condition of that parish. The number of acres it contained was two thousand two hundred, of which one thousand were very poor land. The rental of the parish was 1,668*l.* The poor-rates, church-rates, and highway-rates, for the last year, were 1,251*l.* The poor-rates on the tithes were 372*l.*, making a total charge of 1,623*l.*,—a sum very little inferior to the rental out of which it was to be paid. The population of the parish consisted of seven hundred and fifty-five persons. The number of paupers resident in the parish, who received relief, was three hundred and twenty-three; the number of paupers resident out of the parish, but having claims on it, was one hundred and thirty-three. The severe weather of the present winter had cast thirty additional families on the parish, thus making an addition of ninety persons to the list of paupers, none of whom had ever before applied for relief. The inhabitants were paying before 15*s*.6*d*. in the pound for poor-rates, and this addition would of course bring a heavier charge upon them.

CURRENCY.] The Duke of *Wellington* said, some nights ago a noble Lord opposite (Earl Stanhope) had asked him a question respecting the authority upon which he had made the statement which he had offered to their Lordships on the first night of the Session, as to the amount of the Currency. He had then told the noble Lord that he had made the statement from information which had been supplied to him, but that he could not at the moment say from what official documents it had been derived. He had since ascertained that point. If the noble Lord had no objection, he would now make a motion which would place the documents on which his calculation was founded, on the table of their Lordships. The noble Duke accordingly moved for various returns, elucidatory of his former statement.

Earl *Stanhope* said, that the information which the noble Duke was now granting was very desirable, and very fit to be laid before their Lordships. He was, however, still unable to make out how the noble Duke could derive from these returns the results which he had stated. He would, for his own part, confess that the manner in which the noble Duke had spoken on this question on the first night of the Session, had left an impression on his mind, and he believed on the minds of the rest of their Lordships, that those results were derived from calculations founded upon official papers. It turned out, however, from what the noble Duke said on a former night, that they were derived from nothing but a memorandum of the noble Duke's own. The returns for which the noble Duke had moved, might show the quantity of paper issued by the Bank of England, and the quantity of gold and silver coined by the Mint; but they could not show the quantity of gold and silver now in circulation. A great quantity of the bullion which had been coined must have disappeared, for their Lordships had heard of one large capitalist, who, for some time, had gone on exporting to the amount of half a million of sovereigns in a week. But the statement of the noble Duke bore a fallacy upon the face of it; for if we had more gold in the country now than we had at a former period, how, he would ask, had that gold been purchased?

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that he had moved for the production of the documents from which he had obtained his information, in the hope that they would make the same impression on the minds of others as they had made upon his own. If he had drawn erroneous conclusions from those documents, the noble Lord would be able to detect them, and would have a right to find fault with them as fallacious and delusive. He thought, however, that the noble Lord would not be able to convict them of error. Indeed, he was sure that noble Lords, after inspecting those documents, would agree with him that, in the comparison which he had drawn—for it was nothing else but a comparison—between the amount of the Currency at the time when there was the greatest circulation of paper, and the amount of the Currency at the present time, he was right in saying that there was a larger quantity of coin now in circulation than there was formerly. He was sure that all their Lordships would allow that when the exchanges were in favour of this country gold would not go out of it. Gentlemen might carry it abroad with them to meet their individual expenses, but merchants would not send it abroad as an article of merchandise. He admitted that when the exchanges were against this country, the quantity of gold drawn from the Bank might indicate the quantity taken out of the country, and the result of those two principles of calculation was that which he had stated to their Lordships on the first night of the Session.

Viscount *Goderich* said, the documents for which the noble Duke had just moved, when added to those for which he had himself moved on a former evening, would put their Lordships in possession of all the information which could be of any avail to them upon this subject. As to the amount of gold coin in circulation at any given time, there must always be some degree of doubt, for no accurate information could be obtained of the quantity of gold coin that was re-imported after it had been once exported. There could be no doubt that a great quantity of the gold which was exported was afterwards re-imported when an alteration of the exchanges ensued. He would state the grounds upon which he made that assertion. During the years 1824 and 1825 the exchanges were unfavourable to England, and a considerable quantity of gold was drawn from the Bank for the express purpose of being exported to France. At the termination of the year 1825, the exchanges turned, and became favourable to this country; and then the very identical sovereigns which had been exported were re-imported in the same casks by the same persons who had exported them, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* or 2,000,000*l.* Their Lordships must not therefore assume, that because gold was exported, none was re-imported. What he had just mentioned to their Lordships he knew of his own personal knowledge to be the fact.

The Marquis of *Lansdowne* said, that although the returns which had just been moved for might afford some approximation to the amount of our circulation, they would only afford an approximation, and ought not to be considered as accurate. He was, however anxious to state to their Lordships why he should not attach much importance to these returns, even if they could be procured of perfect accuracy. He apprehended that Circulation was one thing, and Currency another, for the amount of Currency did not always agree with the amount of Circulation. He likewise apprehended that the amount of Currency was not to be taken as a test of national prosperity. One of the most acute and enlightened Ministers, on points of finance at least, which France had ever possessed, (M. Necker), had made a series of calculations at the time of the Revolution, from which it appeared that the amount of Currency in France was greater at that time than the amount of Currency now is in England; from which, if any body inferred that there was at that time greater prosperity in France than there was at present in England, he would come to a conclusion quite irreconcileable with facts. For his own part, he believed that, if by some fatal calamity half the traders of England were to become bankrupts to-morrow, such an event would greatly increase the amount of the Currency; for it would destroy confidence and intercept credit; and to supply the credit thus suspended, it would be necessary to issue a greater amount of Currency. The wealth of the country would not be increased by such an occurrence; but undoubtedly there would be a great increase in the amount of the Currency. He thought it right to call the attention of their Lordships to the distinction which existed between Circulation and Currency, and to guard them against considering the amount of the Currency as a fair index of national prosperity.

Earl *Stanhope* stated, in explanation, that he never considered gold, once exported, as banished for ever from the country.

The returns were ordered.

Candia and Greece.] Lord *Holland* said, before their Lordships entered upon the important debate which was fixed for that evening, he wished to put a question to his Majesty's Ministers upon a point, which prior to the independence of Greece being finally settled, ought to be clearly and explicitly understood, not only by the parties immediately concerned in it, but also by the Parliament of England, and by the public at large. He addressed the question which he was going to ask to the noble Lords opposite in the plural number; for he really did not know from which of the public offices the orders had been issued to which he referred, and which were now acted upon by the Commanders of his Majesty's squadrons in the Mediterranean. He was given to understand, that the admiral and captains of his Majesty's vessels on the Mediterranean station were authorized and directed to search all Turkish vessels with which they might fall in, and to intercept all such vessels as they might find having Greek men and women on board, destined to be carried as slaves into foreign countries. It had been stated to him, that such were the instructions issued to all our naval Commanders upon that station. He did not know the precise period at which these instructions were issued, but he believed that they were given to them by implication so far back as the year 1826, which was previous to the signing of the Protocol. But it mattered not when these instructions were given,—it mattered not what disputes might have arisen in consequence of acting upon them; the fact, he believed, was admitted, that the Admiral had received such instructions, and was authorized to act as he had stated. Now, this being the state of circumstances, he wished to know whether these instructions were to apply to Turkish vessels proceeding from Candia, as they had applied to Turkish vessels proceeding from the Morea and from Negropont? He wished also to know what would be the effect of these orders, if the pacification of Greece should be accomplished, leaving Candia in the hands of the Turks? He also asked whether our Admirals would be authorized to intercept Turkish vessels proceeding from Candia with white slaves on board, or whether their instructions would be reversed by the mere circumstance of that pacification? That was the most material question of all, and he therefore wished to know the construction which his Majesty's Government put upon these instructions, as there could be no doubt about their existence.

Earl *Bathurst* came forward to declare that he was the Minister from whose office the instructions to which the noble Baron alluded had emanated. At the same time he could not help expressing a wish that the noble Baron had given him previous notice of his intention to ask a question upon this subject; for, by looking at the official documents, he should have been able to give the noble Baron a more accurate answer than he could now promise to do from a mere recollection of them, so long after the time at which they had originally been drawn up. As well as he recollected—and he trusted that noble Lords would not charge him hereafter with intentional misrepresentation in case his recollection were wrong—as well as he recollected, the instructions given to our naval Commanders in the Mediterranean were given under an impression, which his Majesty's Government believed to be well founded, that Ibrahim Pacha had published a proclamation in Greece, announcing his intention of taking every Greek whom he could capture to Egypt as a slave, and of transporting a number of Asiatics into Greece, to replace the population so removed. In consequence of the information, and in consequence of impression derived from it, instructions were sent to the Admiral in the Mediterranean to apply to Ibrahim Pacha, and to ask him, in the first place, whether he had issued such a proclamation; and then, if he acknowledged having issued it, to ask him, in the next place, whether he intended to carry it into execution; and finally, if his reply were still in the affirmative, to give him to understand that the British Government would not permit him to act according to the tenor of his proclamation, but would take measures to prevent its execution. Application was made in consequence by our Admiral to Ibrahim Pacha, and his answer was, that he would give no answer, for, whatever he did was done by order of the Sultan,—that the Sultan alone was responsible for it,—and that application ought not to be made to him, but to the Sultan. We found, in point of fact, that no such proclamation had been issued. Instructions were, however, conditionally given to our Commanders, that if such a principle should be acted upon by Ibrahim Pacha, or by any Turkish officer acting under him, every Turkish vessel should be searched in order to ascertain whether any Greek prisoners were on the point of being transported to Egypt as slaves, or whether any Egyptians were on the point of arriving in Greece for the purpose of settling there as colonists.

Viscount *Goderich* said, that his principal reason for rising was to inform their Lordships, that his recollection of the circumstances which gave rise to these instructions coincided in most respects with the account given by his noble friend, the President of the Council. It was undoubtedly true, that in consequence of information which reached this country that there was an intention on the part of Ibrahim Pacha to remove the Greek population from the Morea, and to substitute a Mahometan population in its stead, instructions were sent to our Admiral in the Mediterranean, directing him to obtain a categorical answer from Ibrahim Pacha on the one hand, and from the Sultan on the other, as to the reality of such an intention, in order to intimate to either of them, in case they avowed such an intention, that the British Government would not suffer a measure of that nature to be carried into effect. He did not think that the memory of his noble friend (Earl

Bathurst) was altogether correct when he stated that our Admiral received authority to take direct steps to prevent the execution of Ibrahim Pacha's designs, in case our information respecting them proved to be correct. All he had to do was to communicate the fact to the Government at home, in order that he might receive further instructions. In point of fact, Ibrahim Pacha disavowed the proclamation, though he wished to throw the responsibility of all he did upon the Porte. If he recollected rightly, the Porte had also disavowed the proclamation. If so, there could be no doubt that those orders having been founded on a conditional state of things, which in point of fact never existed, must be a dead letter; and, therefore, any authority which our Admirals might have to intercept Turkish vessels with Greek slaves on board, must be quite distinct from the orders which had been given to Sir Harry Neal.

Lord *Holland* begged leave to say a few words in explanation, for it appeared to him, from what had fallen from the two noble Lords who had just addressed their Lordships, that they did not understand the drift of his questions. First of all, let him be permitted to say to the noble President of the Council that it was no want of candour that had prevented him from furnishing the noble Earl with previous notice of his intention to put these questions. Neither had the noble President any reason to complain of the course which he had pursued, for his main question was merely prospective. His question was, not when these instructions were first issued, and what was their precise nature and extent; but taking it for granted that they were in force, did they apply to Candia as they formerly applied to the Morea and to Negropont? And would they apply to Candia, when the pacification of Greece was completed, supposing Candia to be still left in the hands of the Turks? As to the extent of the orders, though he knew that it had been the subject of dispute between the Government and the gallant Admiral who had gained for himself immortal glory at Navarino, that, he could assure their Lordships, was not the point at which he had been aiming. But as one of the reasons assigned for the recall of that gallant officer was, that he had not put his orders in force in the manner in which he ought, he (Lord Holland) had been of opinion either that those orders were still in full force, or that new and less ambiguous orders had been issued in their stead. Without pretending to know any secrets of our own Government, he might be permitted to refer to the orders issued by the French Government to the French Admiral which were in his possession; and if the orders issued to the British Admiral were similar to those issued to the French Admiral, there could be no doubt that until the pacification of Greece was complete, he must intercept all Turkish vessels having Greeks on board to be carried into slavery. He had not put the questions which he had asked of his Majesty's Government with a view of censuring their orders; for he had no doubt that both the British and the French Admirals had been called on to interfere with such an unlawful traffic as a white slave trade in the Mediterranean. The orders which had been sent to the French Admiral were to this effect:—"You will lose no time in announcing to Ibrahim Pacha that you will not allow any such outrage upon the rights of humanity, but will prevent it to the utmost of your power: and if you find any such captives on board the vessels you may visit, you will forthwith set them at entire liberty." It was not merely the spirit of the orders of the French Government that induced him to believe we were not to suffer this slave trade, he was led to the belief also by the spirit of the answer made by a leading Member of the Government in the House of Commons when interrogated upon this point. When a question was put to him upon it, about a year or a year and a half ago, it was distinctly understood from his answer, that such orders were still in force. He asked whether, circumstanced as things now were, our Admirals had still the same instructions and the same right to stop Turkish vessels laden with Candiote slaves, and whether those instructions would continue in force after the pacification of Greece was finally concluded.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that he could not pretend to recollect precisely the terms of an order issued four years ago; but he believed the fact to be as the noble Viscount (Goderich) had stated it —namely, that the order referred to applied solely to the Morea. He (the Duke of Wellington) believed that it was not applicable at that time to Candia, or indeed to any other part of Greece, save to the Morea. As the Morea had not been liable to have its population exported in this manner, the order, though it still remained with the Admiral, was not likely to be executed, as the contingency for which it had been issued to provide had never existed.

Lord *Holland* said, that there was one merit, at least, in the answer of the noble Duke—it was a distinct and explicit answer. He now understood that the instructions did not apply to Candia. He did not wish to argue the policy or impolicy of that arrangement at the moment, when their Lordships were about to have a great question submitted to their consideration; but he could not help requesting their Lordships to remark the situation in which this country and the British Admiral were placed by it. The original instructions were issued before the Protocol, and consequently before the signature of the Treaty of the 6th of July. On what principle were they issued? Were they not issued on the score of humanity? Were they not directly contrary—were they not in the very teeth of that austere and extreme neutrality which the noble Lords opposite so much affected? For, strictly speaking, we had no right, according to the ordinary law of nations, to interfere in any struggle which might be raging between the Turks and their subjects—the Greeks. He had no doubts that those instructions were issued because the honest, and manly, and humane nature of the late Lord Liverpool was shocked at the contemplation of a war conducted on such principles, and was revolted by the outrages which were committed during its continuance, upon human nature. Upon such grounds we had interfered to prevent such a traffic, and he wished to know whether any difference at all was made on that occasion between the inhabitants of Candia and those of the Morea? At all events, we sanctioned the principle of interference with such an odious traffic, and if it should hereafter be the policy of the Ottoman Porte to transport the Greek inhabitants of Candia as slaves to Egypt or elsewhere, having already sanctioned the principle of interfering, by preventing the transportation of Greek slaves from the Morea, we had set the example to the other Powers of Europe to interfere and interrupt such a trade, if trade it could be called, should it ever be carried on. If such a transportation of the inhabitants of Candia should be attempted, it would be right and fair, under such circumstances, for the Powers of Europe to interfere; and what then, became of the pacification of Greece? Would it not be more prudent, and certainly more effectual towards establishing the pacification of Greece, to have that point settled in the first instance, and not to leave the Powers of Europe, as they stood before the 6th of July, possessed of the right of interfering and engaging in warfare with the Turks without the restrictions and fetters imposed upon them by that Treaty? It was to avoid such a state of things that he (Lord Holland) was anxious that some arrangement should be made with regard to Candia. It was for that purpose he had asked this question before the final settlement of Greece had been arranged; and if the views which he had stated to their Lordships on the subject should appear just and correct to his Majesty's Ministers, it might be yet time enough to adopt them and carry them into effect in the intended settlement of Greece.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, the line pursued by the noble Lord on this occasion had been most informal. The noble Lord came down to the House, and without any notice whatever, put a question respecting transactions that had taken place three years ago; he made three speeches, containing long reasonings in each of them upon the subject, and then called upon his Majesty's Government to answer at once his hypothetical question. As to what might be the conduct of the Powers of Europe if certain occurrences foretold by the noble Lord should take place, it was not for him to say; but this he would say, that he was ready, whenever the noble Lord should think proper to bring forward any specific Motion upon the subject, to answer any questions he should have to propose. But for the present he would beg the noble Lord to bear in mind that the measures which had been taken to prevent the transportation of slaves from the Morea, were not applicable to Candia, because the circumstances respecting the transactions in the Morea did not apply to Candia; and before the noble Lord assumed that the same principle which had been formerly acted upon with regard to the Morea would be applied to what might occur in Candia, it was necessary for the noble Lord to show that the state of things in the Morea was similar to the state of things in Candia.

Lord *Ellenborough* said, it should be recollected that the statement as to the transportation of Greek slaves from the Morea to Egypt was almost in every respect an exaggerated, false, and unfounded story.

Lord *Holland* would merely ask, in reply to what had fallen from the noble Lord, whether a great many slaves who were about being transported by Ibrahim Pacha from the Morea had not been seized and released by Sir E. Codrington, and whether there were not many Candiotes amongst those who were thus released?

Lord *Ellenborough* said, it was impossible for him to say whether there were or were not Candiotes amongst the slaves transported to Alexandria, but to show that there had been much exaggeration and misrepresentation abroad upon the subject, he would state a simple fact. It was well known that there were many Greek slaves serving in the Turkish army in the Morea, and when that army was about to evacuate the Morea, and they were left to their choice, either to go with their masters or to remain with their relations, they preferred going to Egypt to remaining in Greece.—The subject was here dropped.

Portugal.] Viscount *Melbourne* moved, that that portion of the King's Speech delivered at the opening of Parliament which related to Portugal should be read; which having been done, the noble Lord rose to introduce the Motion of which he had given notice upon the subject. We regret to say, however, that the noble Lord throughout the whole of his address to the House, spoke in so low a tone, and so frequently dropped his voice, that it was exceedingly difficult to catch what fell from him. He commenced by observing that their Lordships were aware, from that portion of his Majesty's Speech which had been just read, that his Majesty saw very little prospect of the negotiations which were announced at the commencement of the Session in 1825, and were again mentioned in less sanguine terms in his Majesty's Speech at the close of the Session, being brought to any satisfactory conclusion,—that he saw very little prospect of a reconciliation between the Princes of the House of Braganza, and that so much inconvenience had resulted from the present state of affairs—the continued interruptions of the relations between this country and Portugal had been productive of so many inconveniences and embarrassments,—that it was the desire of his Majesty "to effect the termination of so serious an evil." From this latter portion of the Speech it might be pretty clearly and distinctly seen, that the termination which his Majesty had in view was the recognition of the present Government of Portugal; and his (Lord Melbourne's) noble friend, the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had, he believed, already stated on the first night of the Session that the only consideration as to the recognition of that Government was a question of time, and that it was not the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to give any further information to the House before that recognition should take place. Under such circumstances, he conceived it to be his duty, seeing that this was a question affecting the best interests, and replete with the most serious consequences to the good faith and honour of this country, to bring it under the consideration of their Lordships. In doing so it would be necessary for him in the first place to lay before their Lordships a clear and detailed statement of the whole course that had been pursued in regard to Portugal, in order to enable them to judge whether the interests of this country had been properly consulted, and whether proper measures had been taken to maintain our honour, and to preserve our fidelity to the engagements into which we had entered. He should commence his statement with the period when the Emperor of Brazil thought fit to adopt measures for the separation of the Crowns of Portugal and Brazil. Having come to that determination, his Brazilian Majesty chose to accompany the separation of the two Crowns with the establishment of a Constitution in Portugal, and he consulted Sir C. Stuart, our Ambassador then at Brazil, respecting the formation of that Constitution. Of that Constitution also Sir C. Stuart was the bearer to Portugal, and the adoption of it in that country was cautiously and temperately recommended in certain despatches from Mr. Canning, who then filled the office now filled by the noble Lord opposite, and who acted as the Minister of the Government of this country for Foreign Affairs. There was, besides, the direct and active interference of our Ambassador (Sir C. Stuart) to induce the people of Portugal, to accept that Constitution, which was accordingly accepted, which became the Constitution of Portugal, and which Don Miguel, at Vienna, pledged himself to support in the presence of our Ambassador. The result, however, was, that that Constitution was entirely overturned; that in the overturning of it, and in the usurpation of Sovereign authority by Don Miguel, there were manifested on his part a contempt of all promises, a violation of all engagements, and that such of the inhabitants of Portugal as had supported the Constitution were driven from their homes, dispossessed of their properties, and either transported to pestilential climates, or condemned to an ignominious death upon the scaffold. Such was the fate of all those who adhered to the Constitution established by British influence in Portugal, or who were charged with adhering to it. That short and simple statement of the case he was confident would make their Lordships feel that it was their duty to enter upon a full inquiry into this subject. The end and termination of all those proceedings in Portugal their Lordships would see was, that all those suffered in the way he had described who had adhered to the Constitution brought to Portugal from Brazil—a Constitution which had been so recommended by our Government to them, and which had been adopted by them principally through the direct and active interference of his Majesty's representative at Lisbon—a Constitution supported by a British army, and upheld by the continuance of that British army in Portugal long after the occasion for which it had been first sent to that country had ceased to require its presence there. And now, after all such changes and alterations had taken place, and after the destruction of that Constitution in the establishment of which we had been leading and principal agents, his Majesty's Speech deplored the evils arising from the interruption of our relations with Portugal, and expressed a wish for their renewal. But he would ask whether we could by any such renewal ever stand again in the same relations towards Portugal as formerly—whether it were possible we ever could renew the same relations of confidence and friendly feeling that formerly existed between us, and whether there was any party in that country that would not regard us with feelings of distrust and hostility? Could we reckon upon the friendship of the partisans of Don Miguel, whom we had offended by our interference for the establishment of a liberal constitution in Portugal, or could we seek for the friendship and support of that party who had listened to our advice, and had been ruined by its adoption? The fact was, that our conduct towards that party had thrown them into the hands of foreign Powers. It had been stated, either by the noble Duke, or by the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, upon a former night, that in consequence of what had taken place in Portugal, there was a risk, if our relations continued much longer interrupted, of our throwing the parties into which Portugal was divided into the hands of foreign Powers, and of dissolving that friendly connexion which had so long existed between this country and Portugal. But it was extremely improbable, that by the mere renewal of our commercial relations with Portugal we should renew our ancient amity and mutual feeling of good will; and in regarding this question, he, for his part, did not merely look upon it as one connected solely with our commercial relations, but one which gravely affected the public interests and honour of this country. Our conduct in this instance was of a piece with acts of ours recorded in history, and to which we could not look back with any degree of pride or satisfaction. Our character did not stand high upon the continent, for what had we done there? If we referred to history, we should find that it was filled with the records of a series of abandonments,—the abandonment of the Elector Palatine,—the abandonment of the French Protestants by Charles 1st,—the abandonment of Holland, and the whole Protestant interest of the continent, by Charles 2nd,—the entire abandonment of our continental Allies, by the treaty of Utrecht, which gave rise to the resolution that the noble Duke opposite had termed ridiculous, but which was then rendered necessary by the pusillanimity of the Minister of the day—the abandonment of the Emperor in 1735, in consequence of which Alsace and Lorraine were wrested from him; and, finally, the abandonment of Prussia by the peace of 1763. Such was our history, and it shewed that our conduct upon the continent had been characterized by a series of abandonments and by the violation of good faith and plighted engagements towards our Allies. But it might be said, and it had been said, that it was not the policy of this country to interfere in the affairs of other nations. He (Lord Melbourne) would be the last man in that House to recommend the adoption on our part of a meddling and interfering system, such as that which the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs had upon a former occasion so strongly condemned; but he could not avoid remarking that at the same time that the noble Secretary expressed his disapproval of such a system, he was meddling and negociating with every court in the world; and in truth it was necessary, circumstanced as this country was, to carry on such negotiations. While the noble Secretary expressed so decided a condemnation of the principle of interference, he must be too well acquainted with practical affairs not to know, that with dominions such as we possessed, and with the various relations which appertained to us, as the first commercial and manufacturing country in the world, and which bring us into connexion with every nation in the globe, the strict principle of non-interference was a policy entirely impossible for adoption on the part of this country. It was well known that since the conclusion of the great war with France efforts had been made in almost every part of Europe by the people generally desirous to obtain better institutions, to get rid of their old forms of Government, and procure for themselves some share in the administration of their own affairs. Revolutions for such objects had occurred in Spain, in Naples, in Piedmont, and in Portugal. These struggles had been encouraged by speeches and by public meetings in this country, and hopes had been held out to those engaged in them by the levying of men in this country for their assistance. He had always disapproved of the adoption of such measures on the part of individuals in this country, but whose honourable motives he respected, and whose patriotic principles he admired; and he disapproved of such measures, because that which was only the act of an individual would on the continent be applied to England generally, and persons abroad would be deluded into the notion that they might count on the support of this country in their efforts to obtain independence and good government. The impression had in consequence gone abroad, that the Government of this country was inclined to support those who were not afraid to encounter the evils of civil war, and it was for that reason he (Lord Melbourne) had always disapproved of the species of interference which had been manifested by the people of this country in behalf of the revolutions on the continent. He was of opinion that the honour and interests of this country were so deeply compromised by the measures which had been adopted with respect to Portugal, that it was due to their Lordships to demand from his Majesty's Ministers a full and complete statement of the whole facts of the case, of the course which they had pursued, of the guidance which they had followed, and of the measures which it was intended to adopt in order to bring the negotiations on the subject at length to a termination. A number of papers had been laid upon their Lordships table last Session, which he now held in his hand. They had been laid before them in consequence of a motion made in the other House by an hon. and learned friend of his, and which specifically called for all papers relating to the negotiations carried on between the Crown of Great Britain and his Brazilian Majesty. That motion was shaped in the form in which it had been carried upon a direct understanding with the Minister of the Crown, that all information should be communicated, which did not contain such premature disclosure of negotiations, or matters then pending, as might be injurious to the public interests. In looking over these papers, however, he did not think there had ever been a more meagre unsatisfactory series of documents concerning a series of events presented to Parliament. These papers were divisible into four or five portions. The first related to the embassy of Sir C. Stuart; the second related to the Protocol of Vienna; the third consisted of despatches to and from our Ambassador at Lisbon, after the return of Don Miguel. There were two letters also which passed between the Marquis Barbacena and the noble Lord opposite (the Earl of Aberdeen), respecting a demand made by the Marquis for assistance from our Government for the Queen Donna Maria; and the remainder consisted of a correspondence between the noble Duke (Wellington) and the Marquisses of Barbacena and Palmella, respecting certain Portuguese troops landed in this country. Nothing could be more meagre and unsatisfactory than the first portion of these papers. They were, in many instances, contradictory of each other. The second letter of Mr. Canning alluded more to the necessity of interference than the first; and the second letter of Sir William A'Court differred from his first letter, for in the second he expressed himself satisfied that the Constitution would be adopted and sworn to in Portugal. And here the noble Lord said he could not avoid making an observation which had often occurred before to him,—he alluded to the impropriety of individuals employed in his Majesty's service accepting, when in the discharge of such duties, titles and honours from foreign Governments. Let those who did not serve the State in a civil or military capacity, if they pleased, receive such honours, to whatever extent they might be proffered; but let those who were employed in the special service of the King of Great Britain be contented with the honours conferred upon them by their own Sovereign, which were always liberally, and sometimes even prodigally, bestowed upon those who served him faithfully. Above all let not individuals decorated with foreign titles, and upon whom properties had been bestowed by foreign Powers, be accredited to foreign courts as the representatives of the King of Great Britain. The evils which had occurred from employing such individuals in stations of such delicacy and importance, were too obvious and too well known to render it necessary for him more particularly to allude to them. The noble Lord proceeded to complain that there was a gap in the correspondence laid before Parliament, extending from the 4th of August, 1826, to the 5th of November, 1827, and it was principally to fill up that important gap that he had called their Lordships' attention to the subject, and should ask them to concur with him in the Motion with which he meant to conclude. He next came to the Protocol of Vienna, which had been signed by Don Miguel in the presence of our Ambassador. He did not wish to use any strong or violent expressions regarding the public capacity of that individual; enough had appeared of his private character, and upon the face of the papers which had been laid before the House; and enough was known of his conduct in 1824, when he rebelled against his father for the purpose of usurping his authority, to render it needless to say much regarding his conduct in a public point of view. But he conceived that in a great and moral country like this, they should affix the stamp of their reprobation upon the conduct of a man who had violated all his engagements, and proved himself alike indifferent to honour and to faith, to the most sacred promises, and the most solemn contracts. Their Lordships were aware of the engagement to which Don Miguel pledged himself at Vienna in the presence of the British Ambassador. It had been said that the British Ambassador was no party to that, that he was merely a witness on the occasion,—rather an odd situation for a British Ambassador to fill,—but the presence of our Ambassador on that occasion, it could not be disputed, was a sanction on our part to the proceeding that took place, and to the engagement which was then entered into. The fact itself was sufficient to show their Lordships the necessity of having further information laid before them on the subject. But it would appear distinctly from a letter written by the Emperor of Brazil, that Great Britain not only directly assisted him in procuring the adoption of the new Constitution in Portugal, but also impliedly engaged to maintain it; for his Majesty expressed his thanks in the letter in question for the assistance thus afforded to him, and his hope that since the Constitution had been framed we should enable him to ensure the maintenance of it for the future. Now, if that letter received no answer disavowing any such intention on the part of Great Britain, and if it were, on the contrary, sanctioned by the conduct of the British Government acting and taking the part which it did, he could not see how this country could consistently have departed from the line of policy to which it thus stood pledged. Don Miguel having made every promise required in the presence of the Emperor of Austria and of the Ambassador of Great Britain,—having promised to adhere to the Protocol, to maintain the Constitution, and to put an end to all former differences, by granting a general amnesty on his arrival in Portugal, proceeded to Lisbon; and what were his first steps on arriving there? The moment he arrived, instead of granting an amnesty, he commenced a general persecution. Was it not plain, then, at once that he did not mean to keep one of his promises, and that as he had broken his promise as to the granting of an amnesty, he was also determined to break his promise as to the maintenance of the Constitution which he had pledged himself to uphold, but which, from the outset, it was obvious he intended to overthrow? Either he would keep all his promises or he would not; and as he commenced, on his very landing, by breaking one of them, it was quite obvious that he was determined to break them all. Such being the case, he (Lord Melbourne) would ask, why was our Ambassador allowed to remain so long at Lisbon? Why was not he immediately withdrawn, when Don Miguel commenced by breaking one of the engagements of that Protocol, the making of which our Ambassador at Vienna had witnessed, and the violation of which was witnessed by our Ambassador at Lisbon? But it might be said that the taking of such decided steps might lead to war, which ought to be avoided in the present state of the country. He (Lord Melbourne) could not entertain any apprehensions that such would have been the result of a bold and manly policy; on the contrary, he conceived that a much greater risk of war was incurred by the manifestation of weakness and fear, than by the assumption of a hostile attitude when we were called upon to assume it; and he very much dreaded that the timid policy which we had latterly pursued might eventually, and that at no very distant period, lead to war. What had happened in this case? We allowed Don Miguel to proceed step by step, breaking every promise, and violating every engagement which he had made, until his open usurpation of the Crown left us no decent alternative but to withdraw our Ambassador. Either we should not have interfered at all in the matter from the commencement, or we should have stopped him at first in his proceedings for the destruction of the Constitution. With regard to the Protocol of Vienna, the explanation afforded upon that subject in the papers laid before Parliament appeared to him extremely lame and unsatisfactory. He should like to know what actually took place on the occasion of the signing of the Protocol; he should like to see a copy of the reply to the despatch of our Ambassador at Vienna respecting it, and he should also like to see copies of the despatches of our Ambassador at Lisbon, respecting the conduct of Don Miguel after his arrival there. It was stated in his Majesty's Speech at the close of the Session of 1828, in reference to the state of Portugal, that "the just expectations of His Majesty have been disappointed; and measures have been adopted in Portugal, in disregard of the earnest advice and repeated remonstrances of his Majesty, which have compelled his Majesty, and the other Powers of Europe acting in concert with his Majesty, to withdraw their representatives from Lisbon." If such advice and remonstrances had been repeatedly tendered, and if the despatches and documents in proof of that fact were in existence, it was fit they should be laid before the House, for not a word to such an effect appeared on the face of the papers that had been presented to Parliament. It would seem, indeed, that Parliament and the public had been much misled throughout the whole of the transactions connected with Portugal, and it was the duty of their Lordships to call for full and ample information on the subject.

There was one portion of the papers presented to Parliament to which he could not allude without pain and regret—he meant the correspondence between the noble Premier and the Marquisses Barbacena and Palmella, respecting the Portuguese troops that had been landed in this country. It was, in his opinion, one of the greatest blessings of our Constitution, that under it the very highest offices in the State were open to every individual in the country. He could not avoid observing, however, that the present noble Premier should endeavour to give to his administration as much of a civil character as possible, in order not to afford his enemies an opportunity of saying that that act (he meant the conduct adopted towards the unfortunate Portuguese troops) could only have been conceived in the mind of a mere soldier, and that it would not have been tolerated for a moment in the mind of any other individual in such an exalted station. That act he (Lord Melbourne) would say was contrary to the law of nations. We admitted them to land in this country when we might have prevented them: it might be perfectly fair on our part not to allow them to convert our ports into arsenals; but what right had we to follow them upon the high seas, and to stop them within the waters of a friendly Power? Such a proceeding was obviously contrary to the laws of nations. Why not stop them in port, and before they had proceeded on their voyage?

But it was replied that they had sailed with false clearances. The fact was, that previous to their sailing the Marquis Palmella had apprized the noble Duke opposite that their destination was Terceira; and the noble Duke could not, therefore, have been misled by any false clearances as to their real destination. This was a subject regarding which he was sure their Lordships would see at least the necessity of having further information laid before them. Altogether he trusted he had made out a case, demonstrating to their Lordships the necessity of having fuller and more complete information laid before them upon all the subjects he had mentioned. He should say no more, further than to add, that the line of conduct pursued by the Government of this country all through these transactions had been characterized by a disingenuousness and a harshness unmitigated by the expressions of any one honourable sentiment or generous feeling. The whole of our policy with respect to Portugal had been disgraceful, and to persist in it would be still more so. The noble Lord concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would cause to be laid before their Lordships:—1st. Copies of any despatches to and from Sir Henry Wellesley, respecting the conferences held at Vienna in the month of October, 1827.—2nd. A copy of instructions given to Sir Wm. Clinton, Commander of the British forces sent to Lisbon in the month of December, 1826; and Copies of any subsequent despatches to the same officer, as far as such despatches relate to the object and extent of the employment of the British force in Portugal.—3rd. Copies of any instructions given, or communications made, to Sir William A'Court upon the same occasion.—4th. Copies of any despatches received from Sir William A'Court between the 4th of August, 1826, and the time of his departure from Lisbon; and also of any despatches addressed to Sir William A'Court by his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs during the same period, as far as such despatches relate to the internal political affairs of Portugal.—5th. A Copy of the Protocol of the conference held at London on the 12th of January, 1828, between the Ministers of England, Austria, and Portugal.—6th. A Copy of the instructions given to Sir Frederick Lamb his Majesty's Ambassador to the Regent of Portugal.—7th. Copies of such further despatches, or such further extracts from the despatches, from Sir Frederick Lamb, as relate to the proceedings in violation of the engagements entered into by Don Miguel, and to the steps directed by the British Government to be taken in consequence thereof.—8th. Copies of all despatches addressed to Sir Frederick Lamb by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs subsequent to the 1st of March, 1828.—9th. Copies of all communications between his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Portuguese Ambassador, the Marquis Palmella, subsequent to December, 1826.—10th. A copy of the instructions given in 1828 to Lord Strangford, his Majesty's Ambassador to the Court of Rio Janeiro, and Copies of all correspondence upon the objects of his mission.—11th. Copies of any communications made to or received from the Courts of France, Spain, Austria, and Brazil, relating to the settlement of the affairs of Portugal, and to the recognition of Don Miguel as king of that country.—12th. Copies of the whole correspondence respecting the arrival, residence, and departure of the Queen Maria da Gloria.—13th. Copies of the correspondence which took place before the arrival of the Portuguese refugees, relating to their reception in this kingdom.—14th. The correspondence between the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Marquis Barbacena on the subject of the Portuguese refugees leaving Plymouth, and the subsequent interruption of their landing in Terceira.—15th. The Protest of Count Saldanha, transmitted to Captain Walpole, and referred to in the enclosures D, G, and K, in No. 39 of the papers presented to this House.—16th Copies of the negotiations and settlement which took place in London with Don Miguel, referred to in the despatch from Sir Frederick Lamb to the Earl of Dudley, of the 1st of March, 1828."

The Earl of *Aberdeen* said, that if the Motion of his noble friend had been more in accordance with Parliamentary usage and form, and if he had merely called for additional papers to explain the course which his Majesty's Ministers had deemed it right to pursue with regard to Portugal, he should have felt it his duty under such circumstances to oppose it, on the ground that such information was at present unnecessary. He was much more inclined therefore to oppose the Motion, which was clearly made with very different views and for a very different purpose. Indeed, if the noble Viscount had intended to follow up such a Motion by an impeachment of his Majesty's Ministers, the papers which he had just moved for might certainly be necessary, in order to afford him grounds, if possible, of sustaining such a charge; but if it were merely information he desired, the noble Viscount, he must say, had, indeed, the most insatiable appetite he ever knew. The truth was, that if all the papers which he asked for were produced, they would amount to many volumes, and a great portion of them would be found to have no practical relation to the question upon which the noble Lord had addressed the House. Amongst other papers, the noble Lord had moved for copies of all the despatches addressed to Sir F. Lamb from the 2nd of March, 1828—that was, during all the time of his mission to Lisbon, for he only arrived there at the latter end of February; and the noble Lord had also moved for copies of any despatches from Sir Wm. A'Court between the 4th of August, 1826, and the time of his departure from Lisbon; and also of any despatches addressed to Sir William A'Court by his Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs during the same period, as far as such despatches relate to the internal political affairs of Europe. Why, these papers would comprehend a detail of all the transactions that had occurred there during the whole of that period; and did their Lordships conceive it necessary to have such information laid before them? He considered it to be his duty, in the present situation of this country with respect to the kingdom of Portugal, to state that he had not altered the opinion which he expressed when the papers respecting Portugal had been laid upon their Lordships table last Session. That opinion was, that they contained sufficient information on the subject, and he had now only to add, that until the measures which his Majesty's Ministers had advised his Majesty to adopt should be carried into effect, it was not their intention to lay any further information before their Lordships. When the change which was in contemplation should be completed, then further information would be readily laid before their Lordships. If the noble Viscount had read more attentively than he appeared to have done papers already before the House, it was probable he would not have made this motion. Before he adverted to the various topics of the noble Mover's speech, he felt bound to say a few words upon a subject which, though the noble Lord had not himself dwelt much upon it, their Lordships would no doubt hear a good deal about in the course of the evening,—he meant the character of Don Miguel. He was anxious that he should not be misrepresented, as he had been upon a former occasion, in reference to what he thought on that subject, and as he meant to state his opinions regarding it plainly and clearly, any further misrepresentation of them could be only wilful. That Don Miguel was a most heartless and incorrigible person it was not possible to deny; that Don Miguel might be cruel also, he was ready to believe and to admit, as he knew very well that cruelty was too often the offspring of cowardice; but this he would say, that when he saw the absurd exaggerations which were put forth respecting that Prince, he could not avoid confessing, that to him such statements appeared calculated to have, upon fair minds who clearly perceived how gross were the exaggerations, an opposite effect from that which they were intended to produce. Such exaggerated statements were calculated to create a doubt of what was before believed to be true. It was his opinion that it was an unwise course to dwell too much on the personal character of princes, and still more to make their personal character a motive to influence the political conduct of other nations. He thought it was a question of minor importance, whether Don Miguel were a Nero or a Titus. That was a matter of comparatively small importance, considered with respect to the interests of the two countries, England and Portugal, conjointly; or separately, with respect to that course which it was essential for us to pursue, in order to maintain the honour, consistency, and well-understood interests of this country. Don Miguel had been accused by the noble Lord of having usurped the throne of Portugal. Now he did not mean to enter into all the mysteries of the law of jurisprudence in Portugal, but he must say, that whether Don Miguel were a usurper or not, their Lordships must allow the Portuguese nation, after all, to be not only the proper, but also the most competent judge to decide on that matter. There was no denying that by a vast majority of the Portuguese people, Don Miguel had been declared to be no usurper, but possessed of a legitimate right to the throne; and he apprehended, that from that decision there was no valid appeal. When he said that an immense majority of the Portuguese were of that opinion, he could not more satisfactorily support his assertion than by directing their Lordships' attention to the different manner in which the two brothers had presented themselves to the Portuguese nation. When Don Pedro sent that Constitution to Portugal—an ill fated present he feared it was —in its preamble he ordered it to be sworn to by the three estates of the kingdom, and afterwards promulgated. How was that direction complied with? Why, the party in power were afraid to comply with Don Pedro's order, and submit the act of Constitution to the three estates, because they well knew, that if the three estates were assembled, the right of Don Pedro to grant that Constitution would be questioned. Don Miguel, however, acted very differently when he went to Portugal,—whether the Cortes were assembled legally or not was another question,—yet he did in fact assemble them, according to all the ancient, lawful forms prescribed for such assembling, and submitted his claim to their deliberation. A more numerous or respectable assemblage than the one in question, in point of rank, wealth, and character, never met in Portugal. That assemblage affirmed his right to the Crown; and the persons who composed it were, after all, the most competent judges of the question. Then came the question as to the conduct of Don Miguel in respect to the violation of all those pledges which he had entered into at first in Vienna, and afterwards in England, and on this point, indeed, his conduct was utterly indefensible. This was "the head and front of his offending." All the engagements which he had entered into with his brother, with the Emperor of Austria, and with the King of England, he had shamefully violated; and this conduct had led to the present situation of affairs existing between England and Portugal. The noble Viscount had asked, when Don Miguel began to show an inclination to violate his promises, why did not the English Government immediately recall its Ambassador? Did the noble Viscount really think that that would have been the most prudent course to adopt. The Government had in his opinion followed a much more advisable course. On the intimation given by Don Miguel of his intention to violate the promises he had made, the English Ambassador repeatedly remonstrated with him in the strongest manner. The next step he took was to suspend all intercourse with the Portuguese Government, and retire from the court. His last step, when nothing else was left for him to do, was to leave the country. What more could be done short of taking measures to declare war? Every thing in the way of remonstrance or threat that could be used, short of actual hostility, was employed. But if the arguments of the noble Viscount meant any thing, — if there were any consistency, honesty, or common sense in them, they must mean that the English Government ought to have adopted measures of force to compel Don Miguel to fulfil his promises; but their Lordships would hardly be prepared to approve of such a course. Every thing, indeed, short of actual warfare had been tried, and that, he was persuaded, was a result to which their Lordships unquestionably would not come. With respect to one part of the noble Lord's motion, which called for a copy of the negotiations which Lord Strangford carried on at Rio, he might say, that the result of those negotiations were already before their Lordships, in that portion of the papers laid on the Table which related to the transactions between the Marquis Barbacena and the English Government. In fact, Lord Strangford, on arriving at Rio, could hardly be said to have negociated at all; for he was told that a Brazilian Ambassador, with Plenipotentiary powers, was in Europe who was fully empowered to enter into and conclude all negotiations with respect to Portugal. The papers then on the Table, he might say, contained the result of Lord Strangford's mission, which was undertaken in the most amicable manner, and entirely in a spirit of reconciliation and friendship. But the Marquis Barbacena asked the English Government for succours, to assist in making a conquest of Portugal, and founded his claim on ancient treaties which were said to be still in existence. The noble Viscount would of course perceive what answer it was his duty as a Minister of the Crown of Great Britain to give to such an application; especially, when it did not appear that the English Government was bound by any treaty of the kind supposed. The Marquis Barbacena repeated his application to our Government, and said, "If the existing Treaties do not authorize you to lend us assistance, let us make fresh ones." The Government thought that war could not, under any circumstances, be entered upon for such a purpose; and he must say, that it was most fortunate that the English Government did come to such a decision; for if we had entered into a war, the burthen of that war and its expenses would, under any circumstances, principally have fallen on this country. But it so happened that not only the principal burthen would have fallen on this country, but we should have had to wage it singly with a Power which had violated no positive engagements with us, for this country had received no guarantee from Don Miguel, but had only been the depository of pledges to his faith. If, indeed, he had guaranteed the fulfilment of his promises to this country, then he admitted that the country would have been bound in honour to see those promises executed. But nothing approaching to any guaranteed engagement had been entered into, and therefore we were not bound in support of the honour of the country to adopt hostile measures. If we had entered into war on the Marquis Barbacena's representations, he repeated, that this country would actually have had singly to undertake the conquest of Portugal. The Marquis Barbacena addressed his note to the Government, requesting its assistance, in November, 1828. But what said the Brazilian Minister in April, 1829? He derived his information indeed from newspapers, to which the noble Viscount professed to have recourse; but he had every reason to rely on the accuracy of the statement he was about to read to their Lordships. It appeared from the Brazilian newspapers, that one of the Deputies of the Brazilian Chamber reproached the Government for interfering with the affairs of Portugal, because the Brazilian Government was on terms of peace with Portugal, and carrying on all the relations with Portugal as this country did at present. How did the Brazilian Minister reply to that charge? [The Earl of Aberdeen here read a paragraph from a Brazilian newspaper, which stated that the Minister of the Interior of Brazil expressed his surprise at so serious a charge being brought against the Government, which he declared was far from wishing to interfere with the affairs of Portugal,—reprobated in the most unqualified manner every act performed in Europe by the Brazilian diplomatist, who, he said, had no authority to act; and required that the Brazilian Government might not be considered responsible for what had been done in Europe by unqualified individuals, who had received no instructions to act as they had done. He asked, was the Government to blame because the distance of Brazil from Europe prevented their disapprobation of such conduct speedily reaching that part of the globe? Already, he reminded the Chamber, one Brazilian diplomatist had been dismissed, for conduct similar to what had excited the worthy Member's censure. How then could the Brazilian Government be charged with interfering in the affairs of Portugal?] This party, therefore, (continued the Earl of Aberdeen,) for whose benefit we were asked to assist to conquer Portugal, refused to sanction any such proceeding on the part of its agents, and, consequently, we should have been left to carry on the war alone. The English Government, in declining the proposal made to them, had acted not only justifiably, according to their conception of the interpretation of the treaties and engagements which existed with respect to Portugal, it had also acted most fortunately, inasmuch as the result would have been what he had stated to their Lordships. The principal ground on which the noble Viscount rested his reason for interfering with the present Government of Portugal, was the abandonment, as he conceived, of the Constitution, of which a present had lately been made to that country. What sort of interference the noble Viscount meant, unless by war, he could not understand. By what other method could the English Government force that Constitution on the Portuguese nation? The noble Viscount undertook to give a plain, simple, unvarnished statement of what he called the facts respecting the origin of the Constitution; but a statement more opposed to the facts he had never heard in the whole course of his life. If any one thing were more certain than another, it was the extraordinary anxiety which Mr. Canning showed to disconnect himself and this country from every thing belonging to that Constitution. The noble Viscount had said that Sir Charles Stuart assisted in the formation of that Constitution. Now there was not the least shadow of foundation for any such statement. Sir Charles Stuart was merely the bearer of the Constitution to Europe, and that was all the concern he had in it. The instant it arrived in Europe, Mr. Canning was so much alarmed at the idea that this country might be thought to have had something to do with it, that he immediately wrote despatches to every Court in Europe, stating that the English Government had no concern in the formation of it, and that Sir Charles Stuart, in bringing it to Europe, had acted on his own responsibility, without receiving any instructions from his Majesty's Government. Thus, then, the noble Viscount's plain, simple, unadorned statement was entirely erroneous. No less wrong was he when he said that the general impression in Portugal was, that England would support the Constitution, and that those who had acted on that persuasion had become victims in support of what he at last called a British Constitution. The noble Viscount even went so far as to say that the Constitution was supported by the British army. That the presence of the British army might have operated in securing the existence of the Constitution, he would not deny; but when the army was sent to Portugal, great care was taken to declare that the sole purpose for which it was sent was to resist what was conceived to be a threat of foreign aggression. Six months afterwards, when a vote of credit passed the Parliament before the close of the Session, the same declaration was repeated in both Houses—namely, that the army remained in Portugal exclusively for the purposes for which it was originally sent. He could refer their Lordships to declarations, made in the strongest manner possible, disclaiming any other object in continuing the army in Portugal but to resist foreign aggression. That was acting strictly according to Treaties, but it formed no part of our obligation, implied or expressed, towards Portugal, to enforce any species of Constitution on the people of that country. Therefore, when the noble Viscount said that the Constitution was maintained by the British army, he completely misrepresented the state of the case. Though he should be very unwilling to call that Constitution a British Constitution, inasmuch as it had been concocted in Don Pedro's brain in less than a week's time, and therefore, however well intended, must be imperfect in its parts and in its operation, yet he admitted that those Portuguese who supported it might have been led to do so from the partiality which they might suppose this country would naturally entertain for it, and from an opinion that they were acting in conformity with the wish, at least, of the British Government. Inasmuch as they had been affected by those considerations, and suffered in consequence, although he felt most unwilling to interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal, or of any other nation, yet, in his opinion, it ought to be with the utmost possible reluctance that any person should think of renewing our relations with Portugal, unless those unhappy persons were placed on a footing of perfect security. The noble Viscount had asserted that he (the Earl of Aberdeen) had stated that England had allowed other Powers in Europe to occupy her place with respect to Portugal. That was not, however, the fact. He had stated, that if England maintained indefinitely her present situation, their Lordships could not expect other Powers to follow her example. She would in such case, be throwing the advantages which her connexion with Portugal had given her into other hands. Hitherto, all Europe had kept back, with a confidence which was highly honourable to this country, and which did not bear out the imputations which had been for some time uttered respecting the footing of disrespect on which this country stood with other Powers in Europe. They had all acted with a most honourable spirit towards England, but it behoved this country to take the lead in Portuguese affairs, for if she did not, she would lose the commanding influence she had always possessed and deserved in Portugal. He thought, that whoever might be Sovereign of Portugal, if we rightly understood our own interest, we should be on a good footing with him. During the periods when this country had been most closely connected with Portugal, that country had not been blessed with the most amiable monarchs. But it was never necessary to look at the personal character of the kings of Portugal, when forming an intimate connexion with that country; and if it should be necessary to recognize that Government in favour of which the Portuguese people had declared, he had not the least doubt but that our mutual relations would be as cordial as ever they had been. The severities and excesses which had taken place in Portugal in the administration of the Government, he deplored as much as any man. But we were not entirely guiltless ourselves on this subject. We remonstrated with the Portuguese Government, and protested against the course which we call severe and cruel, but the reply was obvious. The Portuguese Government said, "You keep us in a state of alarm and apprehension. You allow plotting to go forward in England against our institutions, and permit great bodies, against which we must protect ourselves, to exert themselves for our overthrow." Now self-protection, whether a government was legitimate or not, was the first of all duties, and we therefore must consider ourselves a little responsible for those severities of which we complained. The noble Viscount had adverted, as it was impossible not to expect he should do, to the event which took place off Terceira, and which he described in terms of unmeasured reprobation. But if that affair were fairly and impartially considered, the English Government would be found to have done nothing but what a strict sense of duty and obligation to preserve a neutral line of conduct compelled it to do. He would give the noble Viscount, in a very few words, the simple narrative of that affair. The noble Viscount had alluded to some correspondence which he supposed to have taken place before the Portuguese who were defeated at Oporto, arrived in England, and by which they were invited to come to this country. That was not the case. The simple facts were these. After the failure of the expedition which had set out to Oporto, and after the leaders of it had returned to this country because they found the sentiments of the whole Portuguese people against them, the troops, who had taken to flight without striking a blow for that Constitution which they were supposed to be so desirous of defending, went into Spain. The Spanish Government allowed them to enter its territory, but ordered them to quit it within one month. This condition was difficult to be complied with; indeed impossible. What then, did the English Government do in behalf of those unfortunate persons? We entreated the Spanish Government to extend the period, which was granted, and means were taken to bring the Portuguese to this country, where, on application, they were assured they would be received and enjoy protection and hospitality. Measures were prepared, and even lodgings taken for their reception. They arrived at Plymouth, and soon amounted to upwards of three thousand. For some time they remained there quietly, until at last an application was made by the Brazilian Minister to his noble friend near him (the Duke of Wellington), requesting a convoy might be given to the Portuguese troops to go to the Azores. His noble friend of course could have no knowledge of foreign troops in England, and he told them they must disperse, or if they left the country, they must leave it as individuals and not as troops. Some time afterwards the Marquis Palmella, on being told that these troops must be dispersed in certain numbers in the neighbouring towns, declared that they preferred being sent to Brazil, and desired a convoy for them. Now, granting a convoy would have been an unjustifiable act, for we had no right to protect them against Portugal any where but in England. The leaders wanted the English Government to give a guarantee for the safety of these troops. That was refused, and after a great deal of difficulty and negotiation their departure (which had been strongly insisted on because it would relieve the apprehensions of the Portuguese government, we knowing that their existence at Plymouth, embodied and ready to depart, did, in fact, create fears in that Government, and consequently led to many of those acts which we deplore on the part of that Government, in order to protect itself against invaders), their departure was at last fixed, and they determined to go to Brazil. In the mean time a revolt took place in Terceira against the Government of Don Miguel, and applications were made for assistance. Now at that time there being no civil war in Terceira, the garrison only being in favour of Don Pedro, and the whole population being friendly to Don Miguel, could the English Government, he would ask, have permitted these troops to have gone in warlike preparation to take the Island, and at the same time have maintained that honest neutrality it professed? Impossible! We might have done so, to be sure, availing ourselves of Don Miguel's breach of engagement, and every thing that was odious in his personal character, or of the weakness of Portugal, which left us nothing to fear in the way of retaliation: but would these have been sufficient reasons for diverging from a course consistent with honesty, and he must say the only course proper for the English Government to pursue, considering what it had declared should be its line of conduct from the first? It was quite monstrous to talk of these troops being helpless unarmed men. Their lordships all knew that soldiers well officered and well disciplined, having arms again provided for them, were as formidable as if they had never been deprived of arms; and it was notorious that such arms had been provided for them. Their remaining in that state at Plymouth was a very flagrant breach of neutrality on the part of England according to all the law of nations, and he would take the liberty of reading a passage from an author, which would show that, according to the general principles of the law of nations, it was incumbent on the English Government to disperse those troops. Vattel, speaking of the duties of neutral States, said, "On the other hand, it is certain that if my neighbour affords a retreat to my enemies, when defeated and too much weakened to escape me, and allows them time to recover and watch a favourable opportunity of making a second attack on my territories, this conduct, so prejudicial to my safety and interests, would be incompatible with neutrality. If, therefore, my enemies, on suffering a discomfiture, retreat into his country, although charity will not allow him to refuse them permission to pass in security, he is bound to make them continue their march beyond his frontiers as soon as possible, and not suffer them to remain on his territories on the watch for a convenient opportunity to attack me anew; otherwise he gives me a right to enter his country in pursuit of them." Their Lordships knew what effect those troops had on Portugal, because the Marquis Palmella had said that their dispersion would relieve that country from fears. Perhaps those apprehensions were unfounded, after what had taken place at Oporto; but when those troops departed they were told that they would be prevented taking part in the civil war raging in Terceira, being, as it were, fitted out from this country, where, if they had not been received, they would either have remained prisoners in Spain, or been captured by the troops of Don Miguel. Therefore it was quite impossible for them to go from this country furnished for an attack on any part of the Portuguese dominions. The noble Viscount had asked "why did we not stop them at our own port?" The reason was, because they went on board with clearances for Brazil, where we were told they were going; but having been deceived before by a Brazilian agent with respect to the destination of some arms, which had been conveyed to Terceira, we told them that having been deceived once, we would not be deceived a second time. If the decision of the English Government had been otherwise, he conceived that its neutrality would have been completely illusive. We knew their intention, for though they had false clearances, we could not shut our eyes to their real destination. Some of those troops did go to Terceira, and the result was, that one person, an Englishman, was unfortunately killed. The masters of the vessels knew nothing of their destination, but were forced to go there. They implored the officers on board to allow them to change their course, but they were compelled to advance to Terceira; and it was only at the very last moment, and after every possible endeavour had been made, in vain, by the naval officer stationed on the spot, to induce the Commander of the troops to alter his course, that a shot was fired. It was then discovered that of these helpless, unarmed, and faithful followers of their lawful Queen, Donna Maria, three hundred out of six hundred were Germans and Danes, exported from Hamburgh and Lubec. These were the lawful and faithful subjects of her Majesty Donna Maria! Was not this open war? Could any thing be more absurd, then, than to say that England interfered with helpless individuals going to the territory of their lawful Sovereign? If we had done otherwise than we had, we should, to all intents and purposes, have been affording means and facilities to those troops to engage in the civil war at Terceira. No impartial man could look at the transaction, from the first to the last, without being struck with the fraud that had been committed. It was not, therefore, surprising that the language of some of the letters which passed on the occasion was stronger than suited the taste of the noble Lord opposite. The character of the whole proceeding was such, that if fairly viewed, would not only justify the measures which were taken, but actually show that they were necessary. There was another part of this transaction which was not a little curious. How were these troops maintained? how were they paid? Their Lordships, perhaps, were not aware that these troops were actually maintained by English money, of which English creditors were actually defrauded! for the expense of the maintenance of those troops was defrayed from the dividends of that loan which had been remitted to England regularly by the Brazilian Government, for the purpose of being paid to British creditors. That money was intercepted in its course, and appropriated to this purpose, all participation in which the Brazilian Government disavowed. [The noble Earl here read an extract from a speech of the Brazilian Minister of Finance, informing the Brazilian Chamber that the dividends had been sent to England, and ought to have been placed in the Bank of that country, but might possibly have got into hands which had diverted the money from its proper course.] Those dividends, his Lordship observed, had never been deposited in the Bank of England, but had fallen into the hands of other parties, who had diverted them from their lawful destination. He repeated it was impossible for this country to have allowed the expedition to proceed against Terceira. The principle of neutrality which we had laid down we had uniformly observed throughout this contest, in spite of all the impressions which might arise from our having used the force of Government against what might appear a feeble party. Most scrupulously had that neutrality been observed towards the opponents of Don Miguel, and he did think that the present Portuguese Government had much more reason to complain of our conduct than its opponents. But in addition to the general law of nations, which obliged us to act as we did with respect to these troops, he was not quite sure that the Portuguese Government, on the strength of commercial Treaties which did exist, might not make a demand on this country, which it would be very difficult to meet under the words of the Treaty. He did assure their Lordships that every step taken in the business had been the result of a sense of duty, and not of any application from the present Government of Portugal; and he thought that when the Portuguese Government learned that persons calling themselves the agents of Don Pedro were allowed to exercise sovereign powers in this country, granting orders and rewards, it would have some reason to question our strict neutrality. It was his opinion that even if the information asked for by the noble Lord were proper to be granted, yet no practical use could be made of it; but believing the information on the Table of the House quite sufficient to explain the actual state of the relations between England and Portugal, and Government having promised, when any change took place to afford ample information to their Lordships, he felt himself obliged to oppose the noble Lord's Motion.

Viscount *Goderich* concurred in what had fallen from the noble Earl with respect to the bringing of the Portuguese Constitution to Europe. It was deemed indispensable to the tranquillity of Europe that Portugal should separate from Brazil, and Sir Charles Stuart was sent to Portugal to explain the necessity of such a proceeding to Don John, then the King of that Country, who assented to the principle, and directed Sir Charles Stuart to proceed to his son, Don Pedro, at Brazil, with a proposition to separate the countries. Before Sir Charles Stuart arrived there, Don John died, and he was thus placed in the peculiar situation of messenger from the King of Portugal to the King of Portugal; for Don Pedro became, by his father's death, the sovereign of that country. He, however, consented to adopt the measure of separation. There were, it is true, at that time, considerable differences respecting the mode, in case of future successions, how the separation was to be perpetuated. However, in the end, Don Pedro consented to this separation, and also, which was not at first contemplated—granted a Constitution as well. When in the sequel it became known to Mr. Canning that Sir Charles Stuart was to be the bearer of this Constitution to Lisbon, he wrote to that Ambassador, on the 12th of July, in these words:—"Every thing which you bring from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon will be precisely what the Portuguese nation have a right to expect, except the Constitution;" and Mr. Canning then went on to state, in the same despatch, "but, in order that we should better inculcate on other Governments our disinclination to meddle in their internal affairs, it is expedient, in this respect, to remove all grounds of jealousy of British influence, and it is therefore his Majesty's desire that you should proceed to England as soon as you deliver into the hands of the Infanta Regent, and of the Portuguese authorities, her brother's despatches." In the same spirit he wrote on the 12th of July to Sir William A'Court, that, as a foolish notion prevailed in France of the influence of Great Britain having been used to obtain the Portuguese Constitution, it had been ordered that Sir Charles Stuart should at once return home, to obviate any such impression. It was true, indeed, that, in a subsequent despatch, of the 17th of July, he did convey to Sir Charles Stuart an opinion, which certainly the Government of England had a right to adopt (but it was evidently adopted as the result of a balanced opinion), that the best course for Don Miguel to pursue appeared to be the fulfilment of the Charter. Mr. Canning, had, however, always left it open to the Portuguese nation to take this Constitution as they thought proper, hoping only that their decision would be eventually productive of their own happiness. This was the course which at the time, and under the circumstances, became a British Minister, who was bound to look with a prudent consideration to future events, and to the operation of this Constitution on the relations of Portugal with other States. Undoubtedly Mr. Canning, if he consulted his own feelings, wished for the acceptance of the Constitution; but at the same time he said as a British Minister, "We are no judges of what is fit for the internal arrangements of the people of Portugal; but as the separation of your kingdom has been accomplished by the force of our reasoning with Brazil, we think it reasonable you should adopt the views of Don Pedro at the time when he made that separation." This was the language of Mr. Canning; and so far as the British Government was concerned with this Constitution, he could not coincide in the inferences of the noble Mover, that we were bound on that account to interfere in a stronger manner after the delivery of the documents by the British Ambassador. It was undoubtedly true, as his noble friend had said, that troops were sent out to Portugal by Mr. Canning towards the end of the year 1826; but this step was taken without the slightest reference to the question of the Portuguese Constitution;—in fact, the substance of the orders to these troops was most unequivocally to refrain from all interference whatever in the internal struggles of the people of Portugal, but to protect them, in virtue of the provisions of ancient Treaties, from any attack by foreign force. This was not to protect the Constitution from the opposition of the people for whom it was intended, for Great Britain was bound to do no such thing—such a principle having never in fact been suggested from beginning to end—but simply and exclusively to prevent Spain by force from overrunning Portugal. With reference to the character of the individual who had usurped the Government of that country, he had no objection to adopt it from the words of the noble Earl opposite; these were true and correct, and whatever was the complexion of his vices, the affliction merely concerned the Portuguese, not the British, except, perhaps, so far as they might be supposed to affect the latter in the progress of the external relations of the new kingdom. The effect of Don Miguel's passions, however, was certainly to exhibit him offering a great insult to the Crown of England, one which the latter could only overlook in pity for the feebleness of the weaker State, and from a sense of magnanimity towards an individual at once mean, perfidious, and imbecile. And here, perhaps, he concurred with the noble Earl in thinking it best not to heap terms of obloquy upon princes, with whom hereafter it might be expedient for us to hold relations, even though such terms were the natural offspring of honest and well-regulated minds. He likewise agreed that England was not bound to have gone to war to repress the treachery of this prince; but he could not see that such a result would have necessarily followed the adoption of the policy so often recommended on this subject. Whether it were likely or not that less measured language had been used towards Don Miguel by the Government during these transactions, than appeared on the face of these papers, was what he could not say, for he could only form a judgment from the papers before him; but in exact proportion as he thought it would have been unwise for the Government to involve themselves in hostilities upon these points, in exactly the same degree was Parliament bound to look with jealousy at the course taken by that Government towards Don Miguel. There was one topic, the last touched upon by both his noble friends, on which he must say something, and, he lamented, in a different tone from that of his preceding obvervations, he meant the affair at Terceira. He well recollected when, last year, the noble Lords opposite (the Ministers) pledged themselves to place on the Table all the Papers concerning it, they expressed their confidence that when this information was perused, it would be found to remove every doubt upon the propriety of what had been done, and compel their Lordships, by the demonstrative force of reasoning, to approve of the course which the Government had taken in the matter. He now begged to assure their Lordships that he had sat down to read these papers with the strongest desire to find that the honour of the Crown—not the particular character of this or that administration—had not been compromised by the affair at Terceira, and with the most conscientious anxiety to come to the same conclusion as the Government. He lamented, however, that the result did not correspond with his wishes, for he was obliged to confess that the Papers did not remove from his mind the unfavourable impressions he had previously imbibed, or suggest to him any train of reasoning to alter their force. In considering how far the conduct of Government was open to approval or disapprobation with reference to this business, they were bound to consider a little the circumstances under which it had occurred; the actual condition of Don Miguel at the time, and that of Donna Maria, relative to their respective connexion with the dominions of Portugal. The Brazilian Minister, Viscount Itabayana, had applied to the British Government to export arms to some foreign place, and his noble friend immediately gave that permission, accompanied with certain conditions; namely, that these arms should not be conveyed for use to any place where civil dissensions raged in the dominions of Portugal. Now this condition was accepted by Viscount Itabayana, but the noble Duke opposite afterwards said, that in conveying the arms to Terceira a breach of faith had been committed with him, for he thought they were intended for Brazil. He (Lord Goderich) confessed that on the face of these Papers he saw nothing to conduct him to that inference; and yet the right interpretation of a few passages in the letters which passed at the time, was of great importance in leading their Lordships to a right view of what had subsequently happened. How could it be necessary for Viscount Itabayana to ask the permission of the British Government to export arms to Brazil? It was supposed, he was aware, that such permission was necessary, but the fact was exactly the reverse, and no licence was necessary. True, the law gave a power to the Crown to prevent, by an order of Council, the export of arms, but no such order existed at that time, and therefore none could have been in force, which required a licence to obviate. In fact, the only order in Council at the time in force was one which prohibited the export of arms to the coast of Africa, without a particular form of licence; and why? Not because of any troubles which were raging in many parts of Europe; not because of the contending relations of the Braganza family, but solely and expressly to prevent the export of arms for carrying on the slave trade on the coast of Africa. [*hear*] How could it then be contended that any permission was required to export arms to Brazil; none was necessary, nor up to this hour could the Government, as the law stood, prevent an agent of Don Miguel's from exporting arms to Portugal. The evident neutrality, then, was not to interfere at all in the exports of arms; instead of which the people of Terceira were prevented from having them, while the partisans of Don Miguel were not. The Government ought not to have been in ignorance of these distinctions, or to have mistaken the law which applied to them. He was prepared, indeed, to make a distinction between this application of Viscount Itabayana and the one subsequently made for the removal under convoy of the Portuguese troops in dépôt at Portsmouth, and upon that branch of the inquiry he perfectly agreed they were bound not to permit the assemblage of troops on the coast of England to arrange plans of hostility against a country towards which it professed and meant to be neutral. Indeed, he thought they were justified in putting an end to that dépôt where it was, and to afford these people a conveyance to the Azores. But he repeated, there were some singular things conveyed through the correspondence in their Lordships' hands, which must be well understood before they hastened to conclusions, and he begged permission to refer to some of them. On the 8th of December the noble Duke opposite, in a letter dated from Goodwood, thus wrote to the Marquis Palmella :—"Some time ago one of the Brazilian Plenipotentiaries now in England, wrote me a letter to desire that convoy might be given to an expedition intended to be sent against the Azores." Now what meaning was to be attached to the word "against" except to convey the intention of hostility. [*The Duke of Wellington here said "No."*] Did the noble Duke mean to say that he disbelieved the nature of the application of the Marquis Barbacena, to which his phrase alluded? If so, then he (Viscount Goderich) could only remark that there was no evidence upon the face of these documents to justify such an imputation; for what were the words of the Marquis Barbacena when he applied to Ministers? When he wrote to the noble Duke opposite, on the 15th of October, he said, "The Secretary to the Government of the islands of the Azores has just arrived in London, authorized to demand with the greatest urgency, the immediate despatch of a part of the faithful Portuguese troops which are now in England, and whose presence in the above-mentioned islands would ensure their defence as well as their tranquillity, under the Government of the legitimate Sovereign, against the attack with which they are menaced by the illegitimate Government established in Portugal." So that the application was not for leave "to attack" the Azores, but to repel a threatened attack of them by the usurper. The movement of the Marquis Barbacena is, then, entirely defensive, and in answer to an application, in which he says he is bound to concur, he goes on thus—"Determined as I am to grant the succours which faithful subjects of the Queen demand from her, and persuaded that these succours, when once landed at Terceira, will be sufficient to put this island out of danger, I cannot conceal from myself the risks which the transports may run during their voyage, if they be not protected by some ships of war. Such, M. le Duc, is the strong motive which makes me have recourse to your Grace, for the purpose of demanding from his Britannic Majesty, in the name of the Queen, the convoy of a ship of war, to escort from England, to a possession which remains subject to the legitimate authority of her Most Faithful Majesty, a part of the loyal troops which are at Plymouth, the succours in question not to be landed at Terceira, in the unfortunate event of that island having fallen under the aggression with which it is threatened. From what is above stated, you will see, M. le Duc, that there is no question of a hostile undertaking, but simply as a measure of defence, dictated by the feeling of that strict obligation which is imposed upon every sovereign to protect his subjects." This was the tone of the letter of which, when afterwards writing to the Marquis de Palmella, the noble Duke said it conveyed an intention of attacking the Azores—a wrong impression evidently from the words employed on that occasion. The noble Duke, in his answer to the Marquis Barbacena on the 18th of October, says, after describing the Portuguese as not in the quality of troops, but of individuals —"I also announce to your Excellency, that His Majesty's Government cannot permit that England should be made an arsenal or a fortress, from whence any one may make war as he may think proper. If those Portuguese subjects desire to make war at the Azores instead of doing so in Portugal, of which they have the choice, let them go there as individuals if they please. But I must candidly tell you, Monsieur le Marquis, that it cannot be permitted that individuals, of whatever character they may be, should prepare warlike expeditions in the ports and arsenals of this country, in order to make attacks upon others." Well, then, in the end, they did go out as individuals. [The Earl of *Aberdeen*.—"I must deny that."] They surely went without arms, and in ships exposed to every risk; he could not, therefore, concur in opinion that they had departed in any other character than as individuals. When the noble Duke used the term individuals, he never could have meant that it was necessary they should depart each man in a separate ship. If he meant that six hundred of them should not go out in any single ship, he ought to have told them so in the first instance, and not to have led them into an error, the consequence of which was, their exposure to the reckless consequences of Captain Walpole's attack. He intended to make no complaints against the refusal of the Government to give a guarantee, or convoy, to secure the escort of these Portuguese to the Brazils, and therefore he should come to the letter of the 12th of December, from the noble Duke to the Marquis de Palmella, in which were these words:—"His Majesty's servants have been informed by me of your assurances that these troops are going to the Brazils, and they rely upon them. But I have to inform you, that as your orders may be disobeyed, other authorities may interfere in the disposal of these troops. The King's servants have thought proper to advise his Majesty to give orders that effectual measures may be adopted to prevent any attack upon the Portuguese dominions in Europe by any of these troops." He could not help observing, that the meaning of this passage in the noble Duke's letter was very vague, for geographers had differed, whether the Azores were in Europe or Africa. If not in Europe, then they were not comprehended in the prohibition: if in peace with their lawful Sovereign, then the Portuguese had no right to be opposed in proceeding towards them. And it was on this same day (the 12th of December) that there issued, in the shape of instructions from the Admiralty, Captain Walpole's warrant to burn, sink, and destroy any of the ships bearing these Portuguese to Terceira. They were charged with intending to make an attack on that Island. This was quite contrary to the fact, as conveyed in the applications of the Marquisses Barbacena and Palmella, the latter personage being likewise exposed to an imputation of telling an untruth on the occasion. This imputation was, he thought, an act of great cruelty, when directed against an honourable man, for such he knew he was from his conduct during many years in the discharge of high diplomatic functions in this country;—against a man, too, in the hour of his misfortune, when flung from eminent station, and reduced to exile and beggary because of his fidelity and honour: it was, he repeated, cruel to impute such conduct to a person so placed, and who on the face of these papers, instead of deserving to be accused of having practised delusion, had stated most distinctly that the destination of these troops had been altered from Brazil to Terceira,—it was made voluntarily, and without the least knowledge of the order issued from the Admiralty. It was right to notice that another reason given, during these discussions, why the Portuguese ought not to be permitted to go to Terceira, was, the divided state of parties on that island. Where was the proof of these alleged divisions? The first intimation of them was given in the noble Duke's letter of the 30th December. Although in the Marquis de Palmella's, on the 20th, information of the perfect tranquillity of the island was conveyed, yet the noble Duke writes—"The Azores are part of the dominions of Portugal, and we know that a civil war is now carried on in those Islands, particularly in that of Terceira." Where was, he repeated, the proof of that fact, and of the announcement to these Portuguese that they should not be permitted to land there?—[The Duke of *Wellington*—"Why in the very sentence you are quoting."—Lord *Holland*.—"Yes, at the end."]—He had not overlooked the words, "they will not be allowed to land there;" but he meant to ask, why the announcement had not been previously made, and the necessary orders issued to warn these Portuguese of the risk to which they were exposing themselves before they had embarked and incurred it? He admitted that it was possible his reasoning might be overturned by a fresh statement but it could not upon the information then before Parliament, and he spoke from those official documents presented by his Majesty's command, and not from newspaper reports or unauthorized communications. In them there was not the least proof that the Portuguese were early warned to avoid Terceira, or that any dissensions raged on that island. The noble Duke had, indeed, said that the Azores were part of the dominions of Portugal; so they had been for nearly 200 years, but they were at this time perfectly tranquil. Terceira was held for the legitimate sovereign, Donna Maria da Gloria—she had the real actual possession. Don Miguel had *de facto* seized the Crown of Portugal; and unless it was meant to be contended that he had on that account a right *de jure* to its distant possessions, there was no pretence for depriving the Queen of Portugal of her legitimate rights of sovereignty where they were duly administered. She had reality of possession and force of law there at least, and what was against her? Not a *de facto*, but a pretended claim *de jure* on the part of the usurper. The noble Viscount proceeded to observe, that he thought the Marquis Palmella had been most cruelly treated. He showed nothing like duplicity in any part of his conduct, and he knew that he was a most respectable person, from often having had occasion to see and correspond with him in his diplomatic capacity. The Marquis Palmella was now reduced from a high and affluent situation to a state of exile and poverty, and it was cruel to add to all this the charge of duplicity and deception. It was said that the Commanders of the vessels who carried out the Portuguese troops did not know their destination, and that they were not aware that they had been prohibited from landing at Terceira. If so, the Ministers were so much the more to blame; for these Commanders ought to have been informed of it, more particularly when the order of the Admiralty was issued, commanding our ships of war to burn, sink, or destroy (for such the order was in effect) any vessels that should attempt to land at Terceira. In consequence of this neglect the men and the vessels of this country might have been destroyed by the fire of our own ships of war. If that warning had been given, probably the ships would never have sailed, and the attempt would never have been made.—If, in spite of the warning, the parties had persevered, it might have been possible to have prevented it, by an act of authority. He might be told that Government could not have prevented it, inasmuch as the act was no violation of the municipal law; and perhaps, therefore, an act of authority might have been required; but he (Lord Goderich) should be glad to hear what right was given by the municipal law to treat the King's subjects in a manner not warranted by the law of the land. The law of nations which might apply to the Portuguese could not extend to British subjects, who might all have fallen victims to the rash and unadvised order of the Admiralty. The noble Earl (Aberdeen) had talked of the rashness of Count Saldanha, and of the loss of one life as the consequence of it. Whether his courage ought to be praised, or whether he ought to be blamed for his rashness and obstinacy, was a matter of no consequence—one shot had destroyed one life; but it was to be recollected that instead of a single shot a whole broadside might have been discharged, and not only the six hundred Portuguese but the British crew and the ship might have been sent to the bottom. Providentially that issue had not followed, but the principle was the same, and such might have been the melancholy result of the order of the Admiralty. He was sure that his noble friends would have had their minds wrung with the bitterest affliction if anything of the kind had happened, and then they would have had to exclaim, "Good God! that we had but thought of warning these people before they went on this fatal expedition!" He had thought himself compelled to make these observations, but he would ten thousand times rather have had his judgment convinced by what had fallen from the noble Earl, which would have prevented his arriving at a conclusion so painful. He was sure that his noble friend would do him the justice to admit that he had not described conduct which he disapproved, in terms inconsistent with the courtesy due from one public man to another; or with the consideration due to the dignity of their Lordships and the importance of the question; he had discharged an irksome duty; and he might assert, with deep regret and entire sincerity, that he wished to God the record of the transaction to which he had alluded, could be blotted from our annals.

Lord *Wharncliffe* said, he could neither concur with the noble Mover, nor with the noble Viscount who had just taken his seat. That noble Viscount, in particular, seemed to have gone over the papers to which he had referred so repeatedly by some system of cross-reading, and had arrived at a conclusion corresponding with that mode of perusal. The House ought to remember the statement of Mr. Canning, when he proposed that troops should be sent to Portugal. In terms stronger than any other man could use, he expressly asserted that they were not to act either for or against the Constitution—they were only to defend the country against invasion by the troops of Spain. What reason, then, could the Portuguese have for thinking that this country had taken what the noble Viscount was pleased to call the British-Portuguese Constitution under its special protection? His noble relative (Lord Stuart of Rothsay) when Sir C. Stuart, had only brought the Constitution to Portugal in his capacity of a Portuguese Plenipotentiary; and when the Emperor of Brazil was anxious to consult him on the subject, he was too prudent to consent to give any advice, so that that circumstance could not be construed into an approval in the face of Mr. Canning's direct disavowal. The simple question was this:—When Don Miguel reached Portugal, and a party, which seemed the strongest, made its appearance adverse to the Constitution, was Great Britain called upon to interfere, and to force it upon the people? He denied that she was so called upon, and he denied that if any British Minister had attempted to force it on the Portuguese he would have been supported by the British nation. This country was bound to remain strictly neutral; she had remained so, and if the Portuguese were deceived in their expectations, they were alone to blame. He agreed that there was something painful to the feelings in what had occurred at Terceira; but how was this Government in fault? That, and that only was the real point in issue. The island was not solely and absolutely in the possession of the King of Portugal, for a civil war was raging there at the time, and the mere use of the word "attack," in one of the documents, did not merit the importance attached to it by the noble Viscount. His noble friend (Lord Goderich) had argued that some warning ought to have been given; and this country had been held up, with respect to that transaction, as guilty of a most scandalous breach of good faith towards Portugal. All he could say was, that if the conduct of the British Government towards other Powers was no worse than it had been towards Portugal, there would not be much reason to complain. He denied again that Mr. Canning had ever upheld such a notion, as that we were bound to assist any foreign nation in maintaining or destroying its Constitution. His liberal mind was naturally inclined to the extension of liberal principles; but he always maintained that Great Britain could not interfere to promote that extension. On these grounds he should vote against the Motion.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* could not allow the question to come to a vote without offering a few remarks upon the peculiar situation in which this country was placed with regard to Portugal. He did not intend to uphold the policy of one Minister against that of another Minister; but to review the conduct of Great Britain towards Portugal as a whole, and to consider whether the natives of that country had been treated by this country in a manner to inspire affection and confidence, and to lead the rest of the world to believe that Great Britain had acted with becoming consistency and energy. He well understood the doctrine of non-interference; and in nine instances out of ten he should approve it; but he could not understand, in the condition of the relations between this Kingdom and Portugal, between a powerful and a weak State, with the capital of the latter occupied by the armies of the former—how, after the danger of invasion, for which those armies were sent out, was at an end, we could allow our troops, like Ambassadors, to remain mere calm spectators of the transactions before their eyes. Sir C. Stuart had acted, first the part of a witness, and afterwards that of a letter-carrier; at one moment he was a Brazilian, and at another a Portuguese plenipotentiary. That was a matter of comparatively slight importance; but there was another circumstance too much kept out of view in the course of this night's debate; he alluded to the fact, that Great Britain had acknowledged the Queen of Portugal—and in what relation did this country stand therefore with regard to the dynasty of Braganza? It had been said that we ought not to interfere in the affairs of Portugal.—Not interfere with the affairs of Portugal! What had been our conduct towards that State? Let Don Miguel answer the question. As a rebel to his father we conveyed him a prisoner to France, and from France he was sent to Vienna. After an involuntary residence there, after being affianced to the Queen of Portugal, and after the most solemn protestations, he had been allowed to return to his native country by the agency and interposition of Great Britain; and yet with these facts before our eyes we were to remain tame witnesses of the overthrow of that very system we had been endeavouring to support. By some artifice of special pleading it might be attempted to escape from the difficulty arising out of interference at one time and non-interference at another, yet there was not a nation in the civilized world to whom Great Britain had not rendered herself ridiculous by sending a military force to Portugal to do nothing but to keep up a species of mock neutrality, and defeat the very end for the accomplishment of which she had so long laboured. The noble Earl (Aberdeen) had attempted to establish a case on the law of nations; he had made a pompous reference, and had read a learned quotation from Vattel; but the only question to be considered was, whether what had happened at Terceira was an attack, or were the Portuguese conveying themselves to a friendly shore where no attack was necessary? With their ultimate destination we had nothing to do. A great deal had been said of "a civil war raging in Terceira," but nobody had instanced a single battle; it might have "raged" in the correspondence of the noble Duke and the Marquis Palmella, but assuredly it had not existed, much less "raged," anywhere else. Of this he was quite certain, that all England, that was out of office, had rejoiced in the glorious victory of Count Villaflor over the expedition sent out by Don Miguel, and it was unalloyed by any necessity, on the part of the conqueror, to turn his arms against a single inhabitant of Terceira. When the Portuguese, who had been so inhospitably treated in England, were landed in France, they were allowed to proceed without molestation to Terceira, and Don Miguel himself had never dreamt of complaining of a violation of the law of nations. Although many parts of the speech of the noble Foreign Secretary had given him (Lord Carnarvon) much pain, one portion of it had excited in his mind unmixed satisfaction. The noble Earl had distinctly stated, that Great Britain would never recognise the usurper of Portugal, even as King *de facto*, until he had done full justice and made complete reparation to the unhappy victims of his tyranny. Englishmen knew little of the degree of suffering to which those victims had been exposed: they were not merely detained for safe custody, they were immured in the most loathsome dungeons, and if they were ever restored to freedom, many of them could never be restored to health. Of Don Miguel himself he would not attempt to speak; he should fail in expressing his sense of disgust and hatred, and after the terms employed by the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, all he (Lord Carnarvon) could say would appear like apology, if not panegyric. Although the usurper had now gained footing, there was a time when Great Britain might have had the whole army of Portugal on her side, while Miguel would have been left with only his priests, pandars, and parasites. He was aware that the Motion of his noble friend would require some modification; but, in the general statement, that further information was required to vindicate the character and honour of this country, he heartily concurred.

The Marquis of *Lansdowne* observed that after what had been already said, it was not necessary for him to add anything to justify, and little to explain, the vote he intended to give. If, by supporting the Motion, it could be supposed that he meant at all to sanction the principle, that Great Britain ought to have interfered to guarantee the Constitution of Portugal, he would vote against it, and he trusted the time would never come when Ministers would advise the King to guarantee a Constitution of any kind for any Foreign State. He would also rather oppose the Motion of his noble friend than that his vote in its favour should lead to the slightest implication, that under the circumstances it was fit to recognise the authority of Don Miguel. The rule of that tyrannical usurper was repugnant to the feelings of the whole kingdom, and it was needless for him to add a single touch to the picture drawn by the noble Secretary of State. What he understood to be sought by the Motion was this,—that without interrupting negotiations, for none were pending—without committing Great Britain to any future course of conduct, for no such course had been pointed out—the House and the country ought at least to be furnished with the fullest information before a step was taken that could not be adopted without pain and regret. What, he would ask, had been done to meet this great evil? During the last two years our foreign relations had undergone an alarming change; at one end of Europe a mighty State, the maintenance of which was once considered essential to the balance of power, had been reduced to a state of dependence and vassalage; while at the other end those friendly relations, the preservation of which our wisest Statesmen had held necessary to the welfare of this country, had been torn asunder. Thus circumstanced, was it fitting that Parliament should show indifference to the important events passing before its eyes? If it consented merely to look on with apathy, notwithstanding what had been said on a former night by the noble Duke regarding the inexhaustible wealth and resources of this country, and her capability of meeting a new war should it arise, people would be found on the continent malicious enough to attribute our forbearance to other causes than indifference. With regard to our existing relations with Portugal, he would not fatigue the House by referring to the many great authorities who concurred with Lord Chatham, that it was essential to our interests to maintain a good understanding with that country: he would appeal only to that event which had been too much lost sight of in the course of debate—he meant the manner in which the Ministry of this country had wisely interfered, in order, for its own sake, to produce a separation between Portugal and the Brazils. To effect this object, not only had Sir C. Stuart been sent to Lisbon, but the Government of Great Britain had otherwise interposed, and had not allowed the inhabitants of Portugal and the Brazils to settle the question for themselves. When the separation was settled we became interested in the terms of that separation, and without meddling with the Constitution, we declared to Portugal that we had a strong interest in the accomplishment of the arrangement; and indirectly and directly too we encouraged those who through all history, from generation to generation, had been known as the British party in Portugal, to declare for the Queen and for that species of government which Don Pedro had annexed as the condition of his abdication. It was because Great Britain attached value to that Constitution that she became a party to the arrangements at Vienna, by which Don Miguel was relieved from the just sentence under which he was then suffering, on condition of giving it his support. It was also to be recollected that these steps were taken in accordance with those who had filled the highest situations of the State in Portugal, and he was not to be told that because there was nothing technically and absolutely binding, there existed no moral obligations towards the people. Those who had zealously acted in accordance with the views of Great Britain, ought not to be cut adrift merely because we were not bound by the specific letter, of a Treaty. He was not disposed to enter into the general affairs of Portugal; but as to the particular transaction at Terceira he must make a few observations, because he agreed with his noble friend (Lord Goderich), that the honour and character of the country were implicated. In the first place he must declare that the conduct of Great Britain was not conformable to any recognized law of nations; and when the noble Secretary of State made a solitary quotation from a solitary author upon the point, he did not seem aware that not a single word of it applied to an attack upon the subjects of a friendly power upon the open seas, on their way to one of the possessions of that friendly power. If Don Miguel had been the very reverse of what proved to be his real character—if he had been faithful instead of treacherous, and mild instead of cruel—and if this country had been anxious, on account of his many virtues, to show him all acts of friendship, he should have contended that Great Britain would not have been justified in thus pursuing his interests across the Atlantic.—He had the acknowledgement of the noble Duke himself on this point. The noble Duke had well and strongly said in that House, that when application was made to Government for a guarantee for the ships in which the Portuguese troops were going to cross the Atlantic, the answer was, that no such guarantee could be given, for that his Majesty was not king of the Atlantic. Why, then, his Majesty not being king of the Atlantic, did his ships of war attack those loyal Portuguese troops, proceeding to the spot to which their sovereign had ordered them to proceed; proceeding to a spot in which uninterrupted loyalty had prevailed? No civil war, nor any appearance of civil war, had occurred in Terceira. Of that fact he had the best possible information. He held in his hand a letter from a distinguished general officer in that island, who declared that during the whole time that he had been there the Government of the Queen had been universally acknowledged in Terceira. Yet that was the place which it was pretended by his Majesty's Government the loyal Portuguese troops from this country were proceeding to attack! Their lordships would also recollect, that in the last Session the noble Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated, as a kind of counterpoise to what had been said on the other side of the House, that the people of Terceira were disloyal, and intended to form themselves into a republic, and that with that view they had prepared a jacobinical coin. He (the Marquis of Lansdowne) had since seen a specimen of this coin; and so far was it from being jacobinical, that it bore the superscription of Queen Maria on one side, and the usual legend of Portugal on the other. The noble Secretary, therefore, was not justified in attributing to any disloyal feeling at Terceira the interference of his Majesty's Government; an interference from which the French Government, though much less bound both by feelings of honour and considerations of interest, had abstained. There could not be a doubt that under the existing circumstances of Europe, the interest of Portugal ought to be dearer to this country than ever. The noble Secretary of State did not appear to have adverted to the different situation in which we were placed with respect to the Continent by the events of the last two years. In that period we had seen the whole power of Turkey, "our ancient Ally," reduced. If we calculated on creating any counterbalance to our loss of influence on the Continent by that occurrence, it could only be by creating an independent power in Greece. In the mean time the interests of Portugal ought to be considered as identified with our own. We had permitted France to obtain a preponderating influence in Spain. If it were our interest —as no one could doubt that it was— to exclude the other continental powers from the Peninsula it was more than ever our interest to maintain our ascendancy in Portugal. That ascendancy must depend on the feelings of gratitude and confidence entertained in that part of the Peninsula by those who had looked, who still looked, and who, he hoped, ever would look, to England for friendly co-operation and assistance. He trusted, therefore, that if by any "untoward event," by any inevitable misfortune, the consequences of which might, he hoped, still be averted—that if, from causes which were no longer in our power of control, although they had once been so, we were to be brought to a step humiliating to our own Sovereign and injurious to Portugal, and be compelled to acknowledge a prince who had shown himself faithless to the one, and a curse to the other, we should at least escape from the utter and disgraceful sacrifice of our honour by stipulating for the security of the lives and property of these unfortunate individuals who had been induced by a succession of appearances on our part, to embark their fortunes in a cause which had, unhappily, proved unsuccessful; and who in adhering to that cause, conceived that they were adhering to their British connexion. He would vote for his noble friend's Motion, because it would enable the House to become possessed of the circumstances which had driven the country into the painful situation in which it was placed.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he felt himself bound to say a few words in answer to what had fallen from the noble Mover for the papers, and the noble Lords who had followed him in the debate, particularly in relation to the transaction at Terceira. The noble Mover had said, that we were bound to the maintenance of the Constitution in Portugal on account of the part we had taken in its establishment, and the interest we had manifested in its success. It was hardly necessary for him to add a word in proof of the contrary fact, after the observations of his noble friend (the Foreign Secretary), and of the noble Marquis who had just addressed the House. He could assure their Lordships that if there was one point on which Mr. Canning was more anxiously earnest than another, it was in enforcing the opinion that England would not, and had no right, to interfere in upholding the Constitution in Portugal. If there was any subject on which that right hon. Gentleman took more pains than another, and the mass of correspondence on the subject was almost incredible, it was to impress the Powers of Europe with the conviction that the Constitution of Portugal was not the offspring of English influence, and that Sir Charles Stuart's agency in its being brought to Europe was solely in his capacity of Minister to the King of Portugal, and not as Ambassador from the King of England. Mr. Canning repeatedly urged the Powers of Europe to remain tranquil, and to aid the establishment of the Constitution by the countenance extended by their several Ambassadors at Lisbon, on the assurance that England would not at all interfere in its maintenance, and that it did not, as he had said, originate with the British Government. If, therefore, Mr. Canning were to be believed, we had no right to interfere in the matter; and as a consequence no steps to the enforcement of the Constitution should be taken.—But then it was said, by the noble Marquis (Lansdowne) and the noble Viscount (Melbourne) on the second bench, though you are not pledged to guarantee the Constitution, yet you are bound to protect it by the part taken by your Ambassador in the earlier stages of its existence. The question then was, in what capacity was Sir Charles

Stuart's name mixed up in the matter? It was not that of Ambassador from the King of England. Sir Charles Stuart went to the Emperor of Brazil as mediator of peace between his Brazilian Majesty, and his father, the King John of Portugal; being thus at the same time Ambassador to the former, and Minister Plenipotentiary to King John. The treaty of peace was signed and ratified, showing that Sir Charles was not, as had been stated, Ambassador from the King of Portugal to the King of Portugal, but to the Emperor of Brazil, to whom he at the same time acted the part of mediator. Dates would show, moreover, even if Mr. Canning's words were not sufficiently in the negative, that it would have been actually impossible for him to be the originator of the Portuguese constitution. King John of Portugal died on the 10th of March; the event of his death was known in this country on the 26th of that month; the intelligence reached Brazil on the 23rd of April; and on the 10th of May (the matter was concluded on the 6th of May so far as Sir Charles Stuart was concerned) the Constitution was promulgated by Don Pedro. Before the intelligence of King John's death had reached Brazil the Emperor had solicited Sir Charles Stuart's advice on the Constitution, and on his abdication of the Crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter; but Sir Charles very prudently abstained from giving any advice, and Don Pedro himself completed the act of abdication and the Charter of the Constitution. This act of abdication, it should be borne in mind, originated entirely with Don Pedro, for it was the object of Don John to secure the succession in his favour; and though the clause of abdication was introduced when the treaty was about to be ratified, King John addressed him afterwards, "My son and successor to the Crown of Portugal." After this he believed an application was made here by the Marquis Palmella, to have the succession of Don Pedro to the Crown of Portugal ratified by the British Government, so completely was the whole transaction not the result of British interference. Don Pedro, as their Lordships knew, had the Constitution so framed as to render it impossible to hold the two governments, so he resigned one in favour of his daughter. He mentioned these facts in order to show that dates alone would prove that we had no hand in the framing of the Constitution which Don Pedro granted to Portugal. It was true that the tenor of Mr. Canning's letters of the 12th and 16th of July expressed a certain qualified approbation of the Constitution; but Mr. Canning did no more than express his approval of its principles, telling the Portuguese to make their own unbiased selection, and whatever that should be, the British Government would acknowledge it, with a view to the happiness and security of the Portuguese people. He recommended to them the Constitution of Don Pedro, but he went no further, and never pledged himself or the country to its support. He further took pains, he repeated, to convince the Powers of Europe that the Constitution was not his nor the British Government's measure, but was the free act of the Brazilian Emperor.

The noble Duke proceeded next to contend that Don Miguel's regency was by no means owing to British influence at Vienna. The fact was, he said, that Don Miguel's being appointed had nothing to do with the transactions at Vienna. Don Miguel was first commanded by his brother to go to the Court of Rio Janeiro, but he refused. After that, and without at all consulting us on the subject—he (the Duke of Wellington) was not then in office, but could find no traces of any consultation, and believed there were not any—the Emperor of the Brazils appointed Miguel his Regent. It was true there was a conference between the ambassadors at Vienna on the appointment, and at this conference the British ambassador attended, but solely to induce Don Miguel to observe the terms of the Treaty under which he was appointed Regent, by shewing him that it had received the sanction of the British Government. It also was thought that his visiting England on his way to his regency would ensure his adherence to the oath he had taken, and conduce to preserve alive amicable relations between this country and Portugal. He said, then, that it was not owing to the transactions at Vienna, but to those at Brazil that Don Miguel was appointed Regent. We were no more than the depositories of his promise, that he would faithfully execute the Treaty under which he had been appointed Regent, and so far as he has violated that promise he had offered an indignity to his Majesty. But we had no claim on him whatsoever beyond this promise from any thing that took place at Vienna. There were circumstances certainly which arose out of the Treaty of Vienna; but these had nothing to do with Don Miguel's appointment; and for this simple reason—that Don Pedro had no Ambassador at all at that Court. It was true, we took upon ourselves to request of Don Pedro the execution of the act of abdication; but though many months have elapsed since we made that request, the abdication has not arrived in Portugal, not even at this day. Much had been said about our abandoning what is called the British party in Portugal. Now, if any man had a right to say, that he was better acquainted than any other with the state of that country, it was himself, and he could confidently say, that he knew of no English party in Portugal. He certainly knew good Portuguese, and he knew of others who joined the French at the time of the invasion of Portugal by France, but a distinct English party never came within his knowledge. He believed, indeed, that the whole Portuguese nation, with some individual exceptions,—chiefly among those who had returned after the peace of 1814,—were anxious to preserve the alliance of this country, being sensible of the benefits which it conferred on them. It was a mistake—a gross mistake—one, indeed, which it was cruel to encourage—to assert that the force sent out in 1826 was sent out to enforce the Constitution. It had a very different object; and he defied noble Lords to infer, from the speeches that had been made by Ministers at the time in either House of Parliament, any design from that armament which had such an object. The noble Earl (Carnarvon) blamed the Government because the army was allowed to remain in Portugal after the necessity which occasioned the sending of it thither had ceased to exist—namely, after the cessation of foreign hostility. True, the army was allowed to remain in Portugal, but he believed that those who gave permission that the army should remain there did what was right and acted from the best motives. They were entreated to leave the army in Portugal by the head of the Government of that country. This request was made to Government about the beginning of September, when the army had received directions to withdraw. Don Miguel was expected to proceed to Portugal in December, and it would have been unfair, unkind, and opposed to that spirit of conciliation which he hoped would always exist between this country and her allies, not to have consented to leave the army in Portugal till that period. The vessels which escorted Don Miguel to Portugal were destined to bring the army back to England, and in point of fact the army did embark in those ships. Don Miguel requested of our Ambassador that the army might remain some time longer; but the Ambassador refused, and the whole of the army was embarked, with the exception of a small body of troops which the Ambassador detained till he received further instructions from his Government. The noble Earl had stated that the British army ought to have prevented those acts of which he complained that Don Miguel had been guilty at the very earliest period after his arrival in Portugal. The officer commanding the army had been repeatedly directed not only by the Government which sent out the troops, but by the Government which succeeded it, to keep himself clear of all interference in the internal concerns of Portugal. Indeed, the only case in which he was instructed to interfere was in defence of the royal family, not excluding Don Miguel himself, because when those instructions were given, Don Miguel was not suspected. The noble Viscount (Melbourne) had said that our Ambassador ought to have been recalled. He (the Duke of Wellington), however, felt the highest satisfaction in acknowledging the great services which our Ambassador rendered to his country and to Europe on that occasion, by preserving unanimity in all the diplomatic corps, from the commencement to the latest moment of these proceedings. It should be borne in recollection, that the first acts of Don Miguel were not of so flagrant a character as those which he committed afterwards. If the right hon. Gentleman who represented his Majesty at Lisbon had withdrawn in consequence of Don Miguel's first acts, would his example have been followed by the Ambassadors from Austria and France, or the other principal Courts of Europe? Would not his secession have created division in the councils of the different Sovereigns with respect to this important question? and should we not have been involved in greater difficulties than we were placed in at the present moment? In his opinion great merit was due to the right hon. Gentleman for having waited and proceeded gradually, step by step, carrying with him throughout the proceedings the opinions and acts of his diplomatic colleagues, and thus giving to the united councils of Europe, headed by himself as the representative of this country, that unanimity and vigour which those councils ought always to exhibit. He must do the Ambassador the justice to say, that though he took those steps himself, his noble friend, the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his noble friend whom he saw just now on the opposite bench (Earl Dudley), gave him directions from time to time in nearly exact conformity with the measures which he had taken, and on the same principle upon which he had acted. He now came to consider the case of Terceira. Before he did so, however, he begged to remind their Lordships of the situation in which this country stood after our army and Ambassador had been withdrawn from Portugal. We still remained, with our Consul-General at Lisbon.—we still remained bound by treaties with Portugal,—we still remained in the enjoyment of all our commercial relations. In this situation we were necessarily bound to observe the strictest neutrality,—first of all, with respect to the civil war which was going on at the moment of the departure of our army; and next, with respect to the contest which might be expected to ensue between Don Miguel and Don Pedro. In adopting this course his Majesty's Government followed the practice which had been observed by this country for many years preceding. He did not mean to say that our treaties with Portugal would not justify us in interfering to any extent in respect of any matters regarding the internal concerns of that country and the family of Braganza; but for above one hundred and twenty years, and more particularly of late years, we had entirely avoided mixing ourselves up with any of the internal affairs of that kingdom. Since 1820 repeated applications had been made to this country to interfere in the internal affairs of Portugal. An application had been made to this country by King John, which, under the terms of our treaties with Portugal it was extremely difficult to resist, for assistance to enable him to get the better of the rebellion existing in the Brazils; and headed by his then son and heir. Another application was made by the republicans, who at one time had possession of Lisbon, and endeavoured to establish a republic in Portugal. This party wanted us to guarantee the constitution and prevent foreign attack. We, however, had kept all these applications at a distance, and resisted them. He therefore could say, that in conformity with the practice of this country, particularly of late years, since 1820 and 1821, we were bound to avoid all interference in the internal concerns of Portugal. With respect to the disputes between King Pedro and Don Miguel, we had distinctly stated that between two branches of the house of Braganza we could not interfere. It was under these circumstances that a body of men were sent to this country who very soon after their arrival were organized at Plymouth on the footing of troops. The first communication which he received on the subject of these troops was from the Marquis Barbacena, who proposed that they should be sent to Terceira under the convoy of his Majesty's fleet. His noble friend opposite (Viscount Goderich) said that in his answer to the Marquis Barbacena's communication, he had misrepresented the object of his application. He was not aware that he had done so. He begged to call the attention of their Lordships to this circumstance, that throughout the correspondence he had never made use of the word Terceira. He considered the Azores as a whole, and that particular fact was a complete answer to most of the observations of his noble friend and the noble Marquis. He had considered the Azores as a whole, and he must say he should not have performed his duty towards this country, which was in the situation of a neutral, if he had allowed a body of troops to assemble here, and be taken to the Azores, in order to carry on war against the Sovereign *de facto* of those Azores. He would have had nothing to say to troops going to the Azores from France, or the Netherlands, or any other place except this country; but he could not permit them to sail from here without being guilty of a breach of neutrality. His noble friend stated, that in a subsequent part of the correspondence his noble friend the Secretary for Foreign affairs had considered the Azores as part of Africa, whilst he (the Duke of Wellington) considered it as part of Europe. He could assure his noble friend, that when he was speaking of the Azores, he never considered whether they were part of Africa or of Europe. His object was, to prevent a breach of neutrality, and it mattered not to him whether the Azores were situated in Africa or in Europe. His noble friend, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had been supposed to have given permission to the troops to proceed to the Azores, because he considered the Azores to be part of Africa. Whoever read the correspondences would be convinced that that was not the fact. In his (the Duke of Wellington's) letter, he exposed the indecent subterfuge which was attempted to be practised on his noble friend, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, by representing that the persons who were desirous of proceeding to Terceira were unarmed men. He showed that they had arms with them. His noble friend opposite contended that the Government had committed a breach of the law of nations, by preventing those persons from landing at Terceira. He did not intend to argue the question with reference to the law of nations, about which much difference of opinion prevailed. He would, however, mention, that according to the best opinion he could obtain in this country, that act was not a breach of the law of nations. His noble friend said, that the Government ought to have given notice to the captain and seamen of the vessel, that they would not be allowed to proceed to Terceira. The captain and seamen were not exactly ignorant of the determination of Government on that point. They took out bills for Brazil; but they had not sufficient provisions and water on board to last during a third of the voyage to Brazil. Could it be pretended that they did not know what they were about,—that they did not know where they were going? He admitted, however, that this was no excuse for the Government. But what happened? As soon as they appeared off the Azores, they received notice. One of the captains of his Majesty's ships told them that they must not go in. What was their conduct? Did they say that they would not go in? No. They continued their course, notwithstanding the notice they had received on the spot, until they were obliged to turn about by a superior force. Was not a notice at sea as good as a notice in port? If not, the Government certainly was to blame; but he believed the majority of their Lordships would be of opinion one notice was just as good as another. It was clear that notice was given before a shot was fired, and that, notwithstanding the notice, the parties to whom it was given persisted in their course. He must say, that Government proceeded with the utmost caution throughout the whole course of these transactions. The Government entreated that the men might be removed from Plymouth. In a conversation which he had with some individuals who possessed influence over them, at which his right hon. friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was present, he entreated them to disperse the men, and not have them all collected at Plymouth. A list was made out of the number of men to be received in different towns. This list was made out according to a statement which Government received of their numbers. Government promised to give every assistance in its power in order to make their dispersed situation as convenient as possible. But dispersion did not suit the object which these individuals had in view. It was subsequently avowed that they were kept at Plymouth for the purpose of inspiring the Portuguese Government with terror. It was impossible for us to permit that state of things to exist. At the very moment when discussions were going on here with respect to the Portuguese troops at Plymouth, Government received intelligence from different parts of Europe that other bodies of troops were collecting at Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bremen, and even in Flanders. At that moment, also, an officer was sent to Plymouth, who gave out a general order, in which he formally took command of the dépôt at Plymouth. What was the meaning of this? Did dépôt mean troops or private individuals? No doubt could be entertained that a body of troops was intended to be designated. When he looked back at these transactions, he was really astonished that he had had the coolness to bear with the conduct of the Marquis Barbacena. He was perfectly aware that it was in the power of Government to have dispersed the body of troops at Plymouth in a legal manner; but he begged to tell their Lordships that he could not have adopted that course without exciting more noise, objection, and opposition, than had been occasioned by the measures actually adopted to show that this country was determined to preserve neutrality. He would put a case to their Lordships. Supposing Don Miguel had sent here to say that a body of troops were collected at Plymouth in order to invade his dominions, he would like to know what he must have done under those circumstances. Was he to say "It is no such thing—there are no troops at Plymouth?" Or was he to say "True, the troops are here, but I will not disperse them, or prevent them from invading your dominions?" Were we to go to war to protect those persons who were doing that which was derogatory from his honour? He really must say that his noble friend opposite had not considered either the difficulties of the case, or the difficulties of the position in which the Government was placed. He was sorry to say, that since that time those persons, by means of subterfuge and passing from one country to another, had succeeded in arriving at Terceira. He hoped that this country would feel no inconvenience from their occupation of the Azores. He must tell their Lordships that if the other Governments of Europe had done their duty in the way in which we had performed ours, Europe would have had a better chance of a permanent peace resulting from recent transactions between Portugal and Brazil, than it possessed at the present moment. Not that our Government entertained an apprehension of war; but he must say, that the state of things at Terceira was not that which ought to have been and would have been, if the other powers of Europe had done their duty as the Government of this country had done. He had made their Lordships acquainted with his objections to the production of the papers called for by the Motion. The question stood at the present moment in precisely the same state in which it stood when it last came under their Lordships' consideration, and he hoped their Lordships would not insist upon the production of the papers until Ministers should advise his Majesty to lay them before Parliament.

Viscount *Melbourne* said, he still retained his opinion that this country ought to have taken more energetic measures in support of those individuals who had advocated the constitution in Portugal, and that opinion was strengthened by the declaration of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that he would not look with favour upon any arrangement which did not include an amnesty for those individuals. In consequence of the course which Government had pursued, we had lost the friendship, not only of the English party in Portugal, but of the whole country. He thought he had made out a special ground for the production of information, and therefore he would take the sense of the House upon his Motion.

Their Lordships divided,—Content 21; Not Content 52;—Majority 31.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, February 18.

MINUTES.] Mr. BROUGHAM took the oaths and his seat as Member for Knaresborough.—Mr. STANLEY brought in a Bill to amend the Laws respecting the leasing powers of Bishops and Ecclesiastical Corporations in Ireland.—Mr. R. GRANT gave notice that on Monday next he would submit to the House a Motion for removing the Civil Disabilities of the Jews.

BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS.] Mr. *Protheroe* in presenting a Petition from the ladies and female inhabitants of Worcester, praying that effectual stop should be put to the burning of Hindoo Widows. He begged leave to ask, for the satisfaction of those who had intrusted him with this Petition, and of other persons who took an interest in the subject, whether the report which had gone abroad, that the Indian Government intended to abolish the practice of burning Hindoo widows, was correct?

Mr. *G. Bankes* said, he would be happy to give the hon. Gentleman and his friends every satisfaction in his power. He had, a few nights ago, laid a paper on the Table relative to this subject; and a Report relative to it would also be speedily laid before the House. The statement in the newspapers respecting an order of the Governor-general forbidding the practice was not confirmed by any official document that had come home. But there was great reason to believe, from the information of individuals, to whom the sentiments of the people of India were known, that a considerable change had taken place in their feelings; and that, at no great distance of time, the practice would be abolished. But no step should be taken that would offend the religious prejudices of the natives. Nothing would be done by the Government in haste; but they most seriously wished that the object of the Petitioners might be carried into effect.

SUB-LETTING ACT IN IRELAND.] Mr. *O'Connell* in presenting a Petition from several parishes in Dublin against the Sub-letting Act, said, that the population of Ireland was not a demoralized population. On the contrary, it was the most moral population in Europe. He instanced the last Commission for the City and County of Dublin, when only eleven persons were tried for felony, and the last Quarter Session for the County of Dublin, when not one person was so tried.

LABOURERS' WAGES.—TRUCK SYSTEM.] Sir *J. Wrottesley*, in rising to present a Petition from a number of workmen employed at Bilston, in Staffordshire, against the practice of paying Labourers' Wages by goods, begged pardon of the House for the formal manner in which he was about to bring it forward. But the subject to which it related bore so strongly on the poor, that he felt himself bound to ask permission of the House to state it fully, and he trusted that Gentlemen would listen for a few moments to the observations he intended to make. The practice to which the Petition referred was one to which his own observation had been directed; but, in speaking of it, he would not confine himself to facts which came within his own knowledge; he would quote the principal points contained in the Petition which he had the honour to offer to the House. The Petitioners stated that the town of Bilston was connected with very large collieries and iron-works, for which very great rents were paid. They said, that a numerous body of men were employed there, who were chiefly paid in goods by their masters. They next stated, that if a workman sought for redress, he was immediately discharged. They complained that the masters resorted to various expedients to evade the law: they delayed to settle with the men sometimes for six weeks; and when the latter, in want of sustenance, applied to the masters, they supplied them with goods, thirty per cent above the market price. Other masters, they alleged, paid the workmen in money in one counting-house, with which they were obliged to purchase goods, the property of their employers, in another. They state, that as many months elapsed before the masters paid the bills which the workmen were compelled to run up with the shopkeeper, the latter forced the poor workmen to pay exorbitant prices. Under these circumstances, they called on the House to amend the law, in order to put an end to this ruinous practice. He begged leave to state, in confirmation of what the Petitioners said, that he was convinced that every allegation made by them was perfectly true, and that the picture was not exaggerated, but extenuated. Previously to 1826 this practice prevailed to a certain extent. At that time, however, the payment of wages in goods was the exception, and the payment of wages in money was the rule; but now, he was sorry to say, the case was altered—the payment of wages in goods was the rule, and the payment of wages in money was the exception. It was not in his power to state the exact cause of this; but no person could deny that it was contemporaneous with the alteration of the currency. That was a subject, he believed, not very popular, because it was treated in a manner which prevented people from understanding it. In his opinion, it ought to be divided into four different parts—first, the Bank restriction; second, the standard of value; third, the alteration of 1826; and fourth, the influence of the Bank of England on the currency of the country. He was one of those who never complained of the necessity of returning to cash payments in 1819. He believed it was indispensable, and therefore he never raised a word of objection against it. He was of opinion that the standard of value was proper, though it might appear high at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce of gold. But, though high, it was already settled, and he believed that any attempt to go back from that standard would be attended with far greater difficulties than would arise from continuing it. But he admitted that the time might come, the awful time, when the country might be obliged to make an alteration in that particular. He only contemplated that time when the nation should be so exhausted and so poor, that it would be compelled to compound with its creditors. That time, he was happy to say, was not yet come, and he hoped it was very far distant. But, the alteration of 1826 rested on entirely different grounds from that of 1819; and, in his mind, they could not allow the validity of those reasons on which the withdrawal of the 1*l.* notes was founded, while they suffered the existence of small bank-notes both in Ireland and Scotland. With respect to the small notes, the mischief occasioned by them was rather to be found in the abuse of the system than in the practice itself; and what system, he would ask, was not liable to abuse? But how had Government proceeded? They trusted the bankers at present with the issue of *5l.*, *10l.*, or *100l.* notes, and yet they would not trust them with the power of issuing *1l.* notes. With respect to the bankers, a statement had been made which ought to have considerable weight in discussing this subject. It was proved that seventy bankers, who had stopped payment in 1826, yielded, on an average, a dividend of 17*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. Then why were they reproached as having acted dishonestly. It had been stated, both in that' House and in the House of Lords, that the business of this country had become too extensive for the Bank of England. It was said that the structure was too weighty for the basis on which it was placed. He knew that country bankers were prevented, at the present moment, from issuing paper in consequence of want of confidence in the Bank of England. Then, he said, abolish that monopoly, and form two more companies, with charters, and a limited responsibility. There never was more capital in the country than at present. Let it then be appropriated to our own use—do not let it go to foreign countries to increase the trade and industry of those who are now our rivals. He might be asked, what had this to do with the payment of labourers in goods? He would answer, that it had much to do with that subject. From the neighbourhood of the place whence that petition came, at least 1,000,000*l.* of paper currency had been abstracted in the last two years; and they could not afford to replace that circulating medium by introducing 1,000,000*l.* of gold. The consequence was, that they had been obliged to resort to barter. This was not confined to the large manufacturers of iron; for, such was the state of the currency in that country, that few persons would buy goods until they saw some means of paying for them without money. It appeared to him that they must repeal the measure of 1826, which would be the most efficient remedy for the distress so prevalent at present. He thought that the best termination which could be put to the disputes between the masters and the men would be to enable the labourer to choose his own master. He did not despond, bad as was the state of the country, and few persons had better opportunities of ascertaining its situation than he had. If this system of barter were continued, the terms should be obligatory on the parties. Something like a fixed rule should be established between the master and the man; because, if the former stipulated to pay in goods, and the price and quality of the article were not defined, there would be no means of judging what was the nature of the contract between the parties. His hon. friend and colleague had given notice of his intention to introduce a Bill on this subject. He should have his best assistance; but he was not blind to the difficulties which stood in the way; and he trusted that Parliament would not sanction any measure of this nature without great caution.

On the Motion that it do lie on the Table,

Mr. *Herries* remarked, that as he and some of his right hon. friends had lately had some communication on the subject with those who were personally interested in it, he felt that it would not be right to allow the petition to be laid on the Table without making a few observations. He would, however, entirely disconnect the question to which the petition referred from the subject of the currency, with which the hon. Baronet had endeavoured, very ingeniously, but not quite satisfactorily, to connect it. In his opinion, the object which the Petitioners had in view would be better promoted by discussing the matter without reference to any other topic than the grievance complained of. Of the difficulties which would attend the removal of that grievance without an interference between the employers and the persons employed; of the difficulties which would attend the application of an adequate remedy without the danger of injuriously increasing on the manufacturer and the capitalist the price of labour —of these considerations, which were of such vital importance, it would not be proper for him, on that occasion, to attempt to enter; the more especially as the hon. Member for Staffordshire had given notice that it was his intention, at a very early period, to move for leave to bring in a Bill, by which it was hoped that the evils now complained of might be remedied. Under these circumstances it would be worse than idle to anticipate the discussions to which the introduction of that measure would naturally give rise. But, as the subject had been mentioned elsewhere, he would merely observe that his Majesty's Government had expressed to those who were deeply interested in the subject their perfect disposition to inquire into it, without, however, pledging themselves to the adoption of any ulterior measure. He would not go into the other question which the hon. Baronet had so unsatisfactorily connected with the present. His reason was, that the currency was a question which ought to be discussed not incidentally, but on a due notice given. The state of the currency, however, had no connection with the grievance complained of in the petition. That grievance had been complained of, and measures adopted for its removal at periods when no question existed as to the state of the currency. It had been complained of even so far back as in the reign of Edward 4th. It had been the subject of several Acts in the latter part of the reign of George 3rd; and it had been complained of in that year of supposed prosperity, 1825.

Mr. *R. Gordon* protested against the inference attempted to be established by the right hon. Gentleman, that the question of Barter had nothing to do with the currency. He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman, and others of his Majesty's Ministers, were so ignorant of the true state of the country, as to suppose that the system of Truck was to be considered apart from the question of the currency.

Mr. *Littleton* doubted the policy or expediency of connecting the subject of the petition with the currency. It was his intention to bring the question before the House on Thursday, when he should move for leave to bring in a Bill to render more effectual the laws for the payment of wages in money.

Mr. *Benett* contended, that the system of Truck was immediately connected with the currency. As matters stood at present, no manufacturer could continue to carry on business without obtaining a double profit, first as a manufacturer, and next as a huxter. He sincerely hoped that the hon. Member for Staffordshire might find it possible to carry his meritorious measure into effect.

Mr. *Benson* trusted, that the measure relative to the payment of wages in money would receive due consideration from Government and the House.

Sir *R. Wilson* said, the hon. Member for Staffordshire would be a public benefactor if he could put an end to the system of Truck, which was similar to the practice prevalent in South America under the title of *repartimiento.*

Sir *John Wrottesley* said, he found it quite impossible to disconnect the subject of the Petition from that of the Currency.

LAW REFORMS.] Mr. Secretary *Peel* rose to make the Motion of which he had given notice respecting the Reform of the Courts of Law. Before he proceeded, he begged that so much of the Royal Speech at the opening of the Session as related to the measures for the improvements of the Courts of Law might be now read.

The Clerk of the House then read as follows:—"His Majesty commands us to acquaint you that his attention has been of late earnestly directed to various important considerations connected with improvements in the general Administration of the Law. His Majesty has directed that measures shall be submitted for your deliberation of which some are calculated, in the opinion of his Majesty, to facilitate and expedite the course of Justice in different parts of the United Kingdom; and others appear to be necessary preliminaries to a revision of the practice and proceedings of the Superior Courts. We are commanded to assure you that his Majesty feels confident that you will give your best attention and assistance to subjects of such deep and lasting concern to the well-being of his people." The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to say, that in moving, pursuant to notice, for leave to bring in a Bill for ascertaining the Fees and Emoluments of Officers in the Courts of Common Law, he thought it might be convenient and advantageous to the House that, at an early period of the Session, he should avail himself of an opportunity of presenting to it a general outline of the measures connected with the improvements in the Administration of the Law referred to in his Majesty's gracious Speech from the Throne at the commencement of the present Session. He was quite aware that each of these measures would require a separate and deliberate consideration, but still he considered it of importance, that previously to entering upon the separate consideration of each of them, the House should be in possession of the views and objects of his Majesty's Government in a connected form, for the purpose of enabling it to form a judgment with respect to the general scope and tendency of the proposed measures. He was convinced that his Majesty's confidence in the House, (which he had graciously expressed in his Speech from the Throne), and his reliance upon the disposition of the House to lend every attention and assistance in the progress of these measures, had not been misplaced, and would not be disappointed. He was himself confident, whatever shades of difference might exist in the opinions entertained by Members of that House upon political questions, however different their views as to the precise extent of the distress mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, and which was unfortunately more or less prevalent throughout the country—whatever difference might exist on the subject of our foreign or domestic policy, he was confident, however, the attention of the House might be occasionally occupied with these considerations, that hon. Members would not be so exclusively engaged in them as to allow such matters to withdraw their attention from the perhaps less interesting and animating discussion of legal improvements, which were, however, far from being of slight consequence to the permanent welfare of the country. He alluded to the intended measures for the improvement of the general Administration of Justice. He felt confident that Members would indulge him and favour him with their attention while he stated the general outline of these measures. He had no doubt that they would make allowances for his want of professional education and professional experience, a circumstance that might render some of his explanations less intelligible than they would otherwise be upon such a subject. He was also satisfied that the House would take into account the necessary occupation of his time in other matters, which the peculiar duties of his office rendered still more pressing than the present subject, (important as it was) and that they would overlook any errors or oversights which he might commit. The technical details of the subject he left to the discussion of others who were better qualified than he was, by their habits and education, to deal with them; but he considered it to be a part of his duty to present to the House, in a popular form, the great and general principles of the improvements to be proposed, so as to render them intelligible to others who, like himself, did not possess the advantage of professional knowledge and experience. The House was aware that, some short time since, his Majesty, in compliance with an Address of the House, had appointed two Commissions of Inquiry—the one for the purpose of inquiring into the practice and proceedings of the superior Courts of Common Law—the other to inquire into the state of the law relative to real property. He must give credit to the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite for a great share in the appointment of those commissions which he had suggested in the able, learned, and comprehensive speech delivered by him in the Session before last, upon the subject of Legal Reforms. Though there was a qualification of the proposal with which that speech concluded in the course subsequently taken, it was apparent that the object of the speech was the appointment of Commissions of inquiry into the state of the law, with a view to its improvement. The House was aware that reports had been made by each of those Commissions, which in each case did the highest credit to the views of the Gentlemen who composed them, and to the mode in which they proceeded to fulfil their duties and accomplish the intentions for which they had been appointed. With respect to the report of the Common Law Commissioners, it embraced several matters of the highest importance to the due administration of Justice and to the despatch of business in the Superior Courts of Common Law, and the increased activity of those Courts. The second report of the Common Law Commissioners would be presented to his Majesty in a few days. It was a report embracing objects of much higher consideration and importance than the first. From the communications he had had with the Commissioners of Inquiry into the practice of the Common Law he could inform the House, that the second report, which he trusted shortly to have it in his power to lay before the House, would embrace—First, the expediency of investing the Superior Courts with new powers of a summary and equitable kind, calculated to economise time and money in legal proceedings, and prevent the too frequent resort to the aid of Courts of Equity. The second point adverted to by the Commissioners was a subject of great importance—it referred to the verification of written documents before trial. The third recommendation related to compulsory arbitration in matters of accounts. The fourth to an abridgment and simplification of the obsolete and useless forms of pleading. There were also other matters introduced in the forthcoming report, which were of scarcely less importance to the due administration of the law, but he had mentioned these, deeming them of the highest consequence. The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Law of Real Property had also made one report, and he trusted he should be able to announce at an early period the production of another in continuation of their labours upon that important subject. With respect to both Commissions, every Member, who had turned his attention to the subject, would freely and readily admit the great importance of our being enabled to consider the whole question of legal reform simultaneously and in a systematic manner. We ought not to attempt partial reforms, but endeavour to effect a general improvement in the practice and administration of the law. The whole subject of the law, the subjects of inquiry before each Commission, were so intimately connected and interwoven together, that until we were in possession of the entire views of the Commissioners in relation to them, it would be desirable to postpone partial reforms in the law, and wait till we had the whole question fairly before us. Perhaps there were parts of the system, which, under circumstances of peculiar urgency, we might venture to touch; but, generally speaking, the whole was so interwoven, the several branches of inquiry were so closely connected, and the inconvenience of partial legislation was so great, that he fully concurred with the Commissioners in deprecating the adoption of partial and isolated measures, and in waiting till we could deal with the whole subject at once. He must advert to another Commission that had been recently appointed, not in consequence of an Address to the Crown, but directly on behalf of his Majesty; it was instituted for the purpose of inquiry into the present state of our Ecclesiastical Law, with a view to revising the proceedings had in suits in the Ecclesiastical Courts from the commencement of a suit till its close. So much for what he might call the preliminary proceedings that had been adopted for the furtherance of legal reform. He purposed, at a future period, to present to the Legislature the views and opinions of the Commissioners—the results of the inquiries of those intelligent, disinterested, and dispassionate men, on the subject of the Superior Courts—of the Laws of Real Property—and of the practice and proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The immediate object of the Bill which he was then about to ask leave to introduce was, to facilitate the future promotion of legal improvement—to lay the ground-work of reform in the practice and proceedings of our Courts. Its principle would be to regulate the appropriation of fees now received by individuals holding patent offices for life, or a specific term of years. His experience of legal reforms had satisfied him that the existence of patent offices formed one of the greatest obstacles to improvements in the law. It therefore became absolutely necessary to look at the whole question, and devise a measure by means of which the establishment of vested interests in Courts of Justice should be brought to an end. In almost every attempt to introduce partial reforms in the law, we were met by vested interests, which impeded our operations. The usual course in such cases was to provide the means of compensation for the holders of patent offices; having enacted the abolition of their fees, we ascertained their value, and gave the parties a claim on the consolidated fund for their amount. But it frequently happened that the effect of taking away the fees of one officer in a Court was directly and materially to increase the fees receivable by another officer; and when, at a subsequent period, we came to deal with the interests of the second officer, a claim was raised for compensation, not only to the amount of the original value of the office, but to the extent of the increased profits which he had derived in consequence of the previous reform. He feared that this had been the case more particularly in Ireland, in consequence of the adoption of partial measures of reform. The public had thus been exposed to considerable inconvenience and great pecuniary loss. He was therefore for looking all at once at the whole question of vested interests, with a view to provide a mode by which, without any act of individual injustice, officers should in future hold all legal situations of a subordinate nature in dependence upon those by whom they were appointed, so as to enable Parliament to proceed to legal reforms and alterations, without giving to individuals who might be affected by them a claim to compensation. The immediate object of the Bill he meant to introduce would be to provide, in the first instance, that no officer who should be appointed after an early day, to be named, should have any claim to compensation, on the ground of proceedings in Parliament to alter or amend the practice in Courts of Justice. As for existing vested interests, he proposed to provide for them in the following manner. He proposed, that Commissioners (say those already appointed, in order to save expense) should be empowered to institute inquiries to enable them to ascertain what had been the amount of fees received in a given number of years by the several patent officers in Courts of Justice, and by those possessed of vested interests in legal offices, either for life or a term of years. He would confine the inquiry to the amount of legal fees (without committing himself to matters of detail) which had been received for the last ten years, believing that to be the fairest period upon which to take an average: for if we took a shorter period—say one of seven years—the increase which took place in some species of fees in 1825, in consequence of changes then made, would swell the average beyond what it ought to be. Having ascertained the amount of legal fees accruing to the holders of patent offices within the last ten years, he proposed, in future, to have all such fees received on the public account, and that those individuals having a vested interest in the offices from which they arose should be paid respectively according to the average of their receipts for ten years. When we came to the consideration of alterations in the practice and proceedings of our law Courts, we might see whether the amount of fees now receivable might not be materially reduced in several branches of those proceedings. Still it would be open to Parliament to decide whether it would be expedient, in consideration of the fees now paid, to provide a fund sufficient for the compensation of persons who possessed vested interests in offices—that would be a subject for after consideration. At present he merely proposed that the fees in question should be received on the public account, and that they should constitute a fund for the payment of the officers in the manner suggested. He saw no reason for imagining that such a fund would not be sufficient to discharge the claims of these individuals, estimated upon an average of ten years. In 1828 the number of causes tried in the Superior Courts considerably exceeded the average of the preceding five years, from 1823 to 1827, both inclusive; so that there was a probability of an increase rather than a decrease of fees. The question of fees once set at rest, Parliament would be at liberty to deal with every question of legal reform in future according to its own merits, without being influenced by other considerations. He had brought in a Bill to facilitate the recovery of Small Debts, by improving the mode of process in County Courts and reducing the charges upon legal proceedings for the recovery of such debts. That was a measure which he considered one of very great importance; but it became necessary to investigate the situation of certain officers, whose interests would have been injured by the operation of the Bill, and he was afraid to provide a compensation for these parties, lest, by so doing, he should increase the profits of others, and so throw an impediment in the way of future reforms by affording such individuals grounds for claiming additional compensation upon another occasion. Among the measures which it appeared to him possible to adopt, without waiting for the period of full and final reform, was one which at a former period had excited much attention in the House, and in those parts of the country to be immediately affected by it—he alluded to the proposed abolition of the separate and local jurisdiction in Wales, and the assimilation of the jurisprudence of that country with the legal practice and proceedings of the English Courts. He was satisfied that those Gentlemen who felt most desirous of upholding the independence and dignity of Wales would enter upon this consideration calmly and dispassionately, for the purpose of discovering whether the time had not arrived when, for the accomplishment of the great object of assimilating the legal jurisdiction of the two countries, and for the interest of Wales as well as England, the English system might safely be introduced into Wales. There were four separate and independent jurisdictions in Wales, and eight Judges to administer justice, who enjoyed judicial offices, which might be held in conjunction with a seat in that House, and who were further enabled to practise as barristers in this country. It was also the custom that the Welsh Judges should be attached permanently to one circuit, instead of varying the places of administering justice, as in England. He was aware that at present there was only one Welsh Judge who occupied a seat in Parliament, and he was also aware that it would be impossible to name any one who possessed more honourable or independent feelings than that Gentleman, but at the same time he thought, generally speaking, that it would tend greatly to the maintenance of the dignity of the judicial station, if our salutary, wise, and prudent distinctions between the political and judicial character were adopted with respect to the Welsh Judges. It would also be a great improvement in the jurisdiction of Wales to prevent the same Judge from going permanently and invariably the same small circuit. He had the highest degree of confidence in the honour and integrity of the Welsh Judges, but it was impossible for any gentleman to avoid forming local and personal connexions when he was in the habit of going the same circuit for several years: sure he was that such local and personal connexions would not be allowed by these gentlemen to act on their conduct or character unfavourably to the due administration of justice, but the House might depend upon it, that it was not enough that the administration of justice should be merely impartial—it was important to prevent the existence of any impression to the contrary—it was important to establish a conviction in the public mind that no personal motives could by possibility influence a Judge in the discharge of his duty. He therefore thought that it would be of the greatest advantage to Wales, and to the general administration of justice throughout the country, that the judicial institutions of Wales should be placed upon the same footing as those of England [*hear.*] Heretofore there was a question whether the legal proceedings of Wales were not more economical in some respects than ours. Doubts had been entertained on the subject; and it was said that there existed in Wales a form of action more economical than existed in this country. If there were, we could have no difficulty in adopting it [*hear*], provided the change seemed advantageous. If there were any process, by which, following the example of Wales, we could expedite and cheapen justice, there could not be a fitter consideration than that relative to its adoption—we need not deprive Wales of any advantages which she enjoyed at present, at the same time that we conferred additional benefits upon her. The whole object of the Law Commissioners was to curtail every merely formal proceeding, every practice which was obsolete, antiquated and purely technical, and not necessary to the right administration of justice. The extension of similar advantages to Wales would hardly be objected to. There was another point to which he wished to refer: on account of the present augmented state of business in the Courts of Common Law, it was his decided opinion (adopted upon considerations wholly apart from the situation of Wales), that it was necessary to add to the number of Judges in the Superior Courts, with a view to prevent the continuance of the present arrear of business. The Commissioners proposed not to add to the number of Judges who sat together in *banco* in each Court, the present number of four appearing to afford great advantages over every other number that could be adopted; because, in a court where the majority was to decide, there could be no better majority than that of three to one. They had also considered the inconvenience which would result from multiplying the number of the Judges in the same tribunal, and it was not their wish to make the number of Judges five. In proposing, therefore, to add one Judge, they did not intend to add to the number sitting in *banco*, but to make him sit as a Judge by himself, who should preside over the trial of such matters as might be committed to one Judge. But if, on grounds apart from the administration of justice in Wales, an addition was made to the Judges, the House would be in a condition to consider whether, when a part of the Judges were unoccupied, the eight Welsh Judges should be retained. To retain both would be to entail a great expense upon the country, on the supposition that the increased number of Judges could perform the Welsh business. These two considerations, therefore, must be combined. If it could be shown that the Judges could perform the Welsh business, then, no doubt, considerations of economy were in favour of such an arrangement. The salaries of the eight Welsh Judges were 9,800*l.* Looking towards the assialterations as would be intelligible to those who had not had a professional education. The time would of course come at which all the proposed measures must be discussed separately and in detail. He trusted he had said enough to show that the Government had considered these subjects solely with a view of making the administration of justice equal, impartial, expeditious, and as little expensive as possible. [*hear*] Whatever might be our attachment to the free institutions of the country, sure he was, that there was no part of those institutions more intimately connected with the comfort and happiness of Englishmen than that which enabled individuals to protect the rights which belonged to them, and to obtain redress for the infliction of wrongs. The earnest desire of the Government was to secure comfort and happiness to individuals, and prosperity to the country; and when they approached the administration of justice in the country, with the view of amending it, he thought they could not give greater evidence of the sincerity of that desire, than by making justice as cheap and as expeditious as possible. He had now only to move "for leave to bring in a Bill for regulating the Payment of Fees to Officers in the Superior Courts of Common Law."

Mr. *Brougham* expressed his satisfaction at what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, and agreed that the present was not the fit opportunity for discussing in detail the matters to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded. He thought it right that the proceedings should commence by such a Motion as the right hon. Gentleman had just made, because the evil of fees was at the root. In many instances, the cutting down of the emoluments of larger offices had been attended by this consequence, namely, throwing inordinate increase into the emoluments of lower offices. In this way, some of the very reforms, which had had reduction for their object had in reality produced increased salaries. With respect to the other parts of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, if he should have occasion to differ from him on a future occasion, it would only be, because he thought the right hon. Gentleman did not go far enough. As to the Welsh jurisdiction, when the time was come it must be put an end to. To the abolition of it there were two objections—the first was, that there would be an increase of expense; the second was that there were some peculiar advantages in the system. Now, to the first the answer was ready. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to reduce the salaries of the Puisne Judges by 500*l.* a year. This reduction, there being nine Puisne Judges, would amount to 4,500*l.* Add to this the salaries of the Welsh Judges, namely 9,800*l.*, and they would have ultimately a saving of 14,300*l.* a year, exclusive of what would be saved in the salaries of clerks, prothonotaries, and so forth. He thought therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman had completely met this objection. The other objection was answered without difficulty. If there were, which he must be allowed to doubt, any peculiar advantages attaching to the Welsh system, there could be no reason why Wales should have the monopoly of them. Let them be extended to the whole country, and Wales would have no reason to complain. Thus much, if such advantages did really appertain to the Welsh system; if there existed no such advantages, there was an end of the question; and in either case, therefore the second objection fell to the ground. But there was one light in which it was very important that this question should be viewed. If they abolished the eight Welsh Judges, and substituted for them two or three Puisne Judges, see the vast difference in point of patronage. Did the Government receive equal patronage for that with which they parted? Was the appointment of two or three Puisne Judges equal to the giving away eight places to persons who might be, and some of whom were, Members of Parliament, but who, above all, might be chosen for qualities other than those which fitted men for the bench? In the appointment of the Judges of Westminster-hall, he had never had any fear of the Ministry; no, not even those Ministers upon whom he had looked with the most deeply-rooted distrust; because he did not believe that any Minister would dare to face in Parliament the representatives of a watchful people, after having jobbed in the appointment of Judges. He would not, however, say so much of the appointment of Welsh Judges, for to such appointments the eyes of the country were not directed in the same way, and Welsh Judges, therefore, might be ill-selected, and improperly chosen. He thought, therefore, that this patronage was dangerous in the extreme.

In Westminster-hall, the men who were Judges must be such as the community and the profession pronounced to be fit for the office; but a Welsh Judge might be a man of whom neither the profession nor the community knew any thing, and who might be indebted for his promotion to family connexions, or to something else rather than the qualities which fitted men for the bench. This, then, he repeated, was a dangerous though a valuable patronage. Moreover, it tended more or less to diminish the independence of the bar. Men there were in Westminster-hall who, in the hope or expectation of a Welsh judgeship, were led, not to the expression of opinions which they did not hold, but to the suppression of opinions which they did hold. For the purity, therefore, of the administration of justice, for the sake of the independence of that class of men out of which the Judges must come, and for political reasons of no small importance, he could not help regarding this subject as one of the highest concern. The next point of the right hon. Gentleman's speech was that which related to Scotland. He could not help thanking the right hon. Gentleman for the reductions he proposed, though, in his opinion, they might be carried further. When the comparatively small bar of Scotland was compared with that of England, and when the amount of the legal business of the two countries was contrasted, was it not strange that Scotland should have twenty, and England only twelve Judges? The necessary consequence of such a system was, that the salary of a Judge in Scotland was less than an advocate in extensive practice could afford to take. If the House were of the same opinion, the obvious course would be to reduce the number of Judges, and to make the salary of those that remained such as would induce persons of skill and reputation to take upon them the judicial office. He thought, that by the reduction proposed, and the consequent saving to the country, the right hon. Gentleman had made out a very strong case for the increase of the Judges' salaries. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that every possible means should be taken to uphold the trial by jury in Scotland. For this purpose, nothing could be of greater importance than to consider the constitution of the Courts. He meant to impute nothing to the Judges, nor, indeed, to any one else, when he said that they had come but slowly in to the institution of trial by jury in Scotland. From this fact, however, it became the more necessary to support the system with a firm and steady hand. If trial by jury had nothing else to recommend it, but the expense it saved by shortening the proceedings, it would still be of the utmost importance to the people. While he was on this subject, he could not help expressing a hope, that one great impediment to the extension of trial by jury in Scotland would be taken into consideration. Every body knew that the rules of evidence acted upon in Jury Courts were at variance with the practice of Scotch Advocates. Hitherto, the evil resulting from the circumstance had not been felt in the Jury Court in Scotland, and for this reason, namely, that in the Chief Commissioner were united the Scotch Advocate and the English Barrister. The nomination of Judges was restricted to the Scotch bar, but his hon. and learned friend to whom he had alluded happened to be a Scotch Advocate as well as an English Barrister. His hon. and learned friend, therefore, carried with him the necessary qualification, and to this he added his own experience in the Jury Courts of this country. Should the office of his learned friend, however, by resignation, or some other cause, become vacant, in that case they must have, as Judge, a Scotch Advocate who might never have witnessed a trial by jury in his life, except now and then during the few years that trial by jury had existed in that country. Surely this was not a desirable occurrence. He could not help thinking that nothing would go farther toward extending trial by jury in Scotland than the assistance of some English Barristers, who, thoroughly versed in the rules of evidence, and in the practice of our Jury Courts, would open their minds to the manners, the habits, and the usages of the people of Scotland. In a word, he thought it would be extremely advantageous to remove the restriction which now confined the nomination of Judges to the Scotch bar. In the Scotch Court of Exchequer that restriction did not exist; but although all the Judges of that Court might have been English, it had happened that since the Union, there had never been more than one of them appointed from the bar of this country, the others had been taken from the Scotch bar. Now since the Government had voluntarily restricted their power of appointment to one, though they might have appointed four from the English bar, he could not but think it would give rise to no complaint, while he was quite sure it would be attended with great benefit to Scotland, if one of the Judges of the Jury Courts were always taken from the English bar. As to the projected changes in Westminster-hall, the House could not, as the right hon. Gentleman had very justly observed, enter upon the discussion of them at that time. He might, however, generally state, once for all, his views on that subject. The right hon. Gentleman greatly deceived himself if he expected that by adding one Judge to each of the Courts in Westminster-hall, by throwing open all the Courts—by destroying the monopoly of barristers in the one, and of attornies in the other—by allowing all kinds of business to originate indifferently in all the three Courts—nay, even if the right hon. Gentleman could make the bar in each Court, the attornies in each Court, and the Judges in each Court of equal ability, which was of course impossible, but even if the right hon. Gentleman could do all this in addition to what he proposed to do, the right hon. Gentleman would still greatly deceive himself if he supposed that, without some compulsion, he could equalize the business of the Courts; and for this plain reason—the Court of King's Bench was in possession of the business; it was the favourite Court; the suitors would betake themselves to that Court, and because they did so, the Court contained the best practitioners, while, for the same reason, it usually had the best Judges.—He did not mean to say that the difference between the business of the Courts would continue, under the new arrangements, so great as it was at present; but he contended that the business would not be any thing like equalized if the suitors were left to themselves. The House probably was not aware of the increase which had taken place in the business of the Court of King's Bench. Notwithstanding the difficulty of getting through the business which, for some time past, had been brought before that Court, notwithstanding the pressure of the arrears of business both in *banco* and at *nisi prius*, the business of the Court had increased to the amount of between seven and eight thousand causes in the last year. Now see what had happened in the other Courts. The Court of Exchequer, in which God knew there never were any arrears, in which there was so little business that one would have supposed it was impossible there could be less; so little, that it was a common joke in Westminster hall to say of the Barons of the Exchequer, that "they were no sooner down than they were up," for they often sat at ten o'clock and rose at a quarter past ten, and if it happened that they ever sat from ten to twelve, it was reckoned a very long sitting—in this Court, in such a Court, far from there having been any increase of business, there had actually been a falling-off, while in the King's Bench the causes had increased to the number of seven or eight thousand. If, therefore, the Courts should be made as equal as possible, still, unless there was some compulsion on the suitors, it would be utterly impossible to equalize the business of the Courts. The more he examined the subject the more he was led to believe that the thing would be impracticable, unless they resorted to compulsion. To be sure, it would be useless to make the attempt unless men of acknowledged talents and learning were found to preside in the other Courts; and indeed it would be cruel to force a suitor into a Court in the Judges presiding over which he had no confidence; for the suitors in the Courts at Westminster were not like those on a circuit, where they must take the going Judge. In Westminster-hall, however, if a suitor were compelled to go into a particular Court, he ought to have the Judges so distinguished for legal knowledge and talents as that it might be to him almost a matter of indifference into which Court he went; but again he would say, that unless some measures of compulsion were used, he did not see how the business of the Courts could be equalized. These were the points which suggested themselves to his mind at that moment; but of course he reserved to himself the power of objecting in future to any parts of the measures to be introduced, when they should come in detail before the House. As far as the right hon. Gentleman went, he most cordially concurred with him; but he would reserve to himself the power of protesting against any part of his course, if he should not think that he went far enough.

Mr. *Ferguson* gave also his concurrence to most of the arrangements referred to in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite; but he did not rise so much to state that concurrence, as to express his surprise that the right hon. Gentleman had not said one word about any reform in one Court, as important as any of those mentioned—or he should rather say the most important of all—he meant the Court of Privy Council. He had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman, in the progress of that salutary reform which he was about to introduce into our Superior Courts, would have brought under the consideration of the House some plan for improving the constitution of the Court of the Privy Council, which, though one of the most important, was, in his opinion, one of the most imperfect in the country. He would admit that it was usually presided over by a Judge of great talents, the Master of the Rolls taking his seat there on important occasions, and other Judges of eminence occasionally presiding, but then it was only when the business of his own Court did not interfere. The duty was in fact looked upon as a secondary office. It was, he presumed, unnecessary for him to point out to the House the importance of having fit persons to preside over a Court of which the decisions involved the property of millions of the subjects of this country residing in the colonies and in the East Indies. The Judge who generally presided in that Court, was, as he had stated, a man of eminent legal talents, but he was assisted, sometimes, by a Lord of the Admiralty, sometimes by a Paymaster of the Forces, sometimes by the Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests, or some other individual under Government—all of them highly respectable in their several situations, but not, from education or habit the best qualified to sit as Judges in a Court where cases of such vast importance came for final adjudication. He did earnestly invite the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to this Court, and he hoped, that as that right hon. Gentleman's exertions had already been productive of such beneficial results to the judicial administration of the country, as would entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the public, he would add to the motives of that gratitude by directing his mind to a Court in which reform was so greatly to be desired. As he had taken the liberty to offer himself to the notice of the House on this point, he would, while he was on his legs, venture to add a few words on that part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement, in which, personally, he was most interested,—he meant that which related to the proposed reform in the Courts of Scotland. He could state from his own knowledge, and could prove it by documents, that there were no Judges of any Court in the United Kingdom who were more constantly, more usefully, or more meritoriously engaged in the discharge of their judicial functions, than those who presided in the Court of Session in Scotland. He did not think that any reduction in the number of Judges in that Court should take place. In the remark made by his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) as to the necessity of promoting the extension of trial by jury in civil causes in Scotland, he entirely concurred. He knew that prejudices existed against it among many of the practitioners in that Court, but he also knew that that mode was the most effectual for coming at the truth in cases of disputed facts, and that altogether it was the most free from faults. He would not go to the other points to which the right hon. Gentleman referred, but in passing would say a word as to the Consistorial Courts. No course was, in his opinion, more objectionable than that of having only one Judge in such a Court. There ought to be several. He would therefore venture to suggest that the Consistorial Court should be abolished altogether, and the business of it transferred to the Court of Session, rather than it should be continued with the presidency of only one Judge. He could state, on the authority of a venerable Judge, Lord Stowell, that never was the judicial power of any Court administered with greater ability or more sound discretion than by the Consistorial Court of Scotland. He also concurred with his honourable and learned friend, the Member for Knaresborough (Mr. Brougham), in thinking that it would be the wisest policy to place an English barrister at the head of the Court which should have to try civil causes by jury. In no other way could the country derive so much benefit from the establishment of trial by jury in civil causes. Of the great importance of the services rendered by the venerable Judge at the head of that Court, no one who had an opportunity of knowing the Court could doubt; and he also admitted that if the country should be deprived of his invaluable services, it would be extremely difficult to supply his place. The appointment of an English barrister in the Court who had to try jury cases would have the effect of keeping the other Judges steady in the attainment of those important advantages which might be expected from an extension of the civil trial by jury in that country, and this had been already proved by the experience of what had been effected there by the appointment of an English Judge. When he spoke in what he considered as duly deserved terms of praise of the Judges of the Court of Session, he could not say the same as to the process of that Court. The written pleadings which had been regulated with a view to save the time of the Judges, and to shorten the proceedings, had not had that effect. The written pleadings were now longer than usual, and the proceedings in Court were not shortened by the law restricting them. Looking at the whole of what the right hon. Gentleman proposed, he thanked him for the great attention he had bestowed upon this important subject; and when each separate measure came before the House, he should be ready to give it his most serious consideration. With respect to the alterations in the Welsh Courts, he for one should wish to see a fusion, as much as possible, of English and Welsh judicial administration, but he hoped that in the changes to be made attention would be paid, as far as possible, to the feelings of the people in that part of the kingdom. He fully concurred with the right hon. Gentleman and with his hon. and learned friend, that no Judge ought to have a seat in that House. He would extend that principle to others holding judicial situations, as well as to the Welsh Judges, for example, to the Master of the Rolls, and to the Masters in Chancery. No Judge who had to decide in important questions, involving the property of others, ought, in his opinion, to have a seat in that House.

Mr. *Hume* begged to express the satisfaction he felt at the proposed changes, as far as they went; and as they had now been submitted to the consideration of the House, the sooner they were effected the better. He hoped, however, that in making them the country would not be put to any unnecessary expense. In making those changes, he did hope that the House would consider whether the number of Judges in the Court of Session in Scotland was not much greater than was required. The Scotch Judges had not one half the business to perform which was done by the Judges in this country; for instance, the Barons of the Exchequer had not ten causes to try in a year. That was a sufficient reason for reducing the number of Judges in that Court, and in his opinion, the business now done by the four Judges might be effectually performed by one. The business of the Court of Session was not of that heavy nature to require fifteen Judges, and he thought that about half that number would be sufficient. They had, it was well known, not much to do, and they sat only for five months in the year; meeting at ten in the morning, and not sitting later than three. He would say, then, let those which were unnecessary be reduced, and let the reductions save the country the expense of the increase proposed to be made in the salaries of those that remained. The right hon. Gentleman talked of prospective advantage and ultimate saving. He (Mr. Hume) had often heard of those kind of savings, but he had never seen any of them realized. He would suggest, therefore, that a course should be adopted which would bring those savings about at once. While on this subject, he would observe, that in a few days he would make a Motion, to which he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not object, for a return of the number of hours which the Judges in the Courts of Scotland sat in Court during the year.

Mr. *Ferguson*, in explanation, said that he had not expressed a wish that things should remain as they were in the Scotch Courts. He gave the right hon. Gentleman credit for what he proposed, but he was not a defender of the state of things as they now existed in those Courts.

The *Attorney-General* trusted, that a the several subjects were not now before the House in detail, it would not be expected that he should then enter into a minute examination of those matters which hereafter would come fully before them. His right hon. friend (Mr. Peel) had only proposed to give the House a general view of the course to be hereafter pursued, and he trusted the House would feel that he was more entitled to credit for the extent to which his explanation had gone, than to blame for any omission of more minute detail of every part. He fully concurred with his right hon. friend in the remark that they owed much of those judicial reforms to the very able exposition given on a former occasion by his hon. and learned friend, the Member for Knaresborough, to whose suggestions, in the progress of those measures, he should be disposed to pay that attention to which, from his extensive acquaintance with the subject, they were entitled; but he owned he could not concur with him in that which he threw out respecting the compulsory introduction of business into particular Courts—for he saw what appeared to him to be such strong objections to that course, that he could not resort to it, except in case of the last necessity. He had had some experience in the Court of King's Bench; and he must say, that though there was now an arrear of business in it, yet it was conducted with so much dispatch, that sometimes cases were disposed of in one term the actions in which had commenced in the preceding, which was as quick as the forms of law would permit. He would not go further into the subjects before the House, as more fit opportunities for discussing them would occur when each was brought separately forward. He would content himself with giving notice, that on an early day he should move for leave to bring in a Bill for assimilating the Administration of Justice in England and Wales. He was anxious to name a day on which he might hope to have the assistance of his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) for he should be unwilling to bring it on in his absence, and he hoped that this day week might be convenient to him.

Mr. *O'Connell* never heard anything that gave him more satisfaction than the clear and distinct statement of the right hon. Gentleman; and instead of being surprised that he could not go more minutely into the technicalities of the subject, it was matter of astonishment that he had been able to compress so much in so short a statement. There was healing in what he said. It was a clear admission of the necessity for improvement—of the fact, that the Government are not hostile to a change—that it did not even oppose the *vis inertiæ* of a silent resistance, but that it wished for a reform of notorious and long felt abuses. He only regretted that when the Court of Admiralty was mentioned, something had not been said of another Court of Admiralty besides that in Scotland. No doubt it was not forgotten, although it had not been alluded to. He only meant at that moment to hint at the question of blending the jurisdiction of the Admiralty with the Consistorial Court, and giving an equitable jurisdiction to the Courts of Common Law, with the hope that was held out that there would be a complete amalgamation of all the Courts; so that justice could be obtained by one simple and intelligible mode of proceeding, instead of a party being compelled to resort to several different modes of recovering his right. If a Judge were fit for one Court, he must be fit for all. As a proof, he might refer to the late Attorney General, who might have been Chief Justice of the King's Bench, but who was actually Chancellor—a fact which proved him to be fit for either Court. He did not wish to leave the Chancery as it now was. Its process was as cumbrous as possible; and if it were now to be created *ab initio*, there was no one who would venture to recommend such a vicious course of proceeding as it exhibited, and which was rather a nuisance than a benefit to the country. He asserted that there ought to be but one simple mode of proceeding for all people in the recovery of their rights. The next thing he should wish to see was the establishment of local tribunals throughout the country. Why a man in Cornwall or Cumberland was to be compelled, in order to obtain a debt there, to send up to London for a bit of parchment, and what magic there was in such a process, he knew not, and he should, therefore, wish to see the evil abolished. There were to be Courts for the recovery of Small Debts in every county. Why not Courts for the recovery of Large Debts? If the Judge were fit to decide on one, he was equally fit to decide on the other. Surely he should not be told in that House that the business of the rich and wealthy required a different Judge from the business of the weak and poor. He did not look to London for the establishment in one focus of a number of Courts, with great Lawyers and rich Judges—but he looked for the establishment of a number of tribunals that would dispense justice in the different counties in the kingdom to their various inhabitants. The third matter which he wished to notice was the subject of Special Pleading. He was most happy to hear that the technical system of pleading was to be abolished; and that its forms were to be reduced to something like common sense. Such forms were an outrage to those who could penetrate their meaning, while they were utterly unintelligible to the mass of mankind. The right hon. Gentleman himself had afforded a proof of their difficulty and unintelligibility, by having been himself unable to go into the minute details of technical knowledge. Why should there be anything in the laws with which that right hon. Gentleman was unable to make himself fully acquainted? Was it not disgraceful to the laws that a Gentleman of his talents and industry should be ignorant of a very material part of them? If it were thus, why not abolish the witchcraft of these forms, and make the law, which was to govern all, intelligible to all? Was it not disgraceful to a country like England that decisions should take place in her Courts upon the forms of the pleadings as contradistinguished from the merits of the case? [*hear, hear.*] He trusted he should live to see the day when a Judge would be ashamed to say he decided a case on forms, on those forms which a Counsel or an Attorney might mistake, but which could not affect the right or equity of the claim set up by the party himself. A great deal had been said on the subject of Fees. They ought to be abolished. There should be no turnpike tolls on the road to Justice. Under the present system, a man who was not able to pay the fees of the officers of Justice was deprived of Justice, for he could not go into the Courts to claim it, so that it was only given to those who could well afford to pay for its purchase. The first great reform in the law ought to be to make law cheap. The Judges and the officers ought to be paid by the public, and a man who wished to assert his right in a Court of Justice ought not to be stopped on his entrance there with a demand of fees, which, if he could not satisfy, would prevent him from recovering his right. The hon. Member near him had complained of there being only one Judge in a Court. He (Mr. O'Connell) thought that was quite enough; and he had the authority of England in his favour, since not only was there but one Judge in the Court of Chancery, in the Vice Chancellor's Court, and in the Court of the Master of the Rolls; but we had recently deprived the Chief Baron of the company of his learned brothers, and had made him a solitary Judge in an Equity Court of his own. There were few who recollected well what the Courts were, that would not say one Judge was sufficient in each, and that the other three only delayed the party, God knew how long, before he could get his case decided. He threw out these ideas as preparatory to what he recommended the right hon. Gentleman to bring forward as a thing necessary above all others—he meant the formation of a Code for England. All other countries had Codes, and why should England be behind them in the simplicity of her laws? The principle of Codification was good. Many persons, no doubt, would object to a Code as not sufficiently comprehensive; but what the right hon. Gentleman opposite was now doing, and what he had done, in consolidating the principles of two hundred and seventy-two Statutes into eight, was Codification, and he ought to proceed until he had established a complete Code. It might be said that the cases likely to arise for legal adjudication in this country would be too numerous and too complicated to be comprehended in any one Code; but we had at present a law for almost every case that could arise, and where such a law did not exist, the matter was left to the discretion of the Judge, which was the worst of all law, because it must be an *ex post facto* law.

Mr. *Peel*, in reply, said, that he had avoided going into any detail as to the construction of the Scotch Courts, but referring to what fell from the hon. Member for Aberdeen, he should have no objection to such returns as those for which he intended to move, but he feared that the returns of the number of hours which the Scotch Judges sat in the Court of Session would not go far to establish the hon. Member's case—that the number could be reduced to half. Their attendance in Court would not show the amount of the business they had to perform. Great part of the business of the Scotch Courts was done in writings; and besides the hours of attendance, the hon. Member should know how much of the time of the Judges was occupied out of Court in examining those written documents. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the Scotch Courts had much business in law and in equity, and that many matters connected with elections were brought before them. If, therefore, the hon. Member wished to see the whole extent of the business of the Scotch Judges, he should alter the form of the returns for which he had expressed his intention to move. He would say a word on what fell from the hon. Member for Clare, and he must say that he was glad to hear the tone of temperance and moderation with which he had adverted to this important subject. The hon. Member had acquired fame and popularity by his conduct elsewhere, but he could assure him that he might acquire greater fame and greater popularity by giving his efficient aid to reform the state of the law of the country. With respect to the hon. and learned Member's suggestion about special pleading, he must observe that he was not prepared to go so far. This, however, was a subject into which he would not enter, as it was one with which he was not sufficiently acquainted. However, much information on that point would be derived from the report of the Commission on the Common Law Courts. The suggestion of the hon. Member as to Codification, was one in which he could not go with him. It was, no doubt, very popular, but the hon. and learned Gentleman should consider what had been the result where it had been adopted. Let him only see what had been the extent of the comments on the Code Napoleon. In short, the more concise any legal Code was made, the more its interpretation was left to the discretion of the Judge. Now he had often heard it objected to English judicial administration, that too much was left to the discretion of Judges, but the more we allowed general rules of law to form our Code, the more we must necessarily leave to the discretion of Judges, and thus the adoption of a Code would be open to one of the hon. and learned Member's strongest objections—that of an *ex post facto* law for a new case in the discretionary interpretation of the Judge. There was a medium to be observed between the system, too much in practice in former times, of making a specific act for each case as it arose, which produced that mass of legislation that we were now endeavouring to consolidate, and that of making a Code which would be too concise to embrace more than general principles.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, the right hon. Gentleman had misunderstood what he said about a Code. He was not for making now a new Code of laws for the country. We had already the materials in English law for an excellent Code, and the comments of the Judges would form so many philosophic experiments by which the fitness of certain parts of it might be decided. The Code Napoleon was good as far as it went, but its fault was that it did not go far enough. It was not sufficiently comprehensive to embrace many subjects which it ought to have included.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.] The Marquis of *Blandford* spoke to the following effect.—I rise, Sir, to answer the call made on me last Session; and following the course suggested for my adoption by my right hon. opponent, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, I rise to offer for the consideration of this House, "a practical detailed measure:" and first, Sir, I must preface the observations I shall have occasion to address to you, by calling to the recollection of this House the course pursued by me upon the occasion I have referred to. I then, Sir, considered it my duty to divide the House upon the Question whether Parliament would or would not be pleased by a formal resolution to recognise the existence and venality of the close and decayed boroughs, for that really was the whole of the question which I thought it advisable to submit to the House, under the very singular opposition I met with from the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department. The venality of these boroughs is as sure as their existence, and both are equally notorious; but there is a wide difference between the notoriety of such offences, and a Parliamentary recognition of their existence. Mere notoriety begets defiance of public opinion and a fearless habit of offending. But if Parliament, by a formal vote, had put its brand mark upon these transactions—if by some general resolution it had stigmatized them as crimes against the law of Parliament and the Constitution of the country, a good foundation would then have been laid for the reform of what had been declared to be wrong and true, for the prevention of what had been denounced as illegal. But it did not seem good to the majority of this House to hurt the sensibilities of the Boroughmonger, by calling his trade by its proper name, or to injure his interests by saying, that his gains were condemned by Parliament and the country. The people, however, will speak out, though Parliament may chuse to keep silence, and may try to impose silence upon others. The voice of the country is not to be stifled by a vote of this House—it will attempt in vain to smother truth—

not all the finesse of all the political intriguers, nor all the power of all the political despots, will be able to stem or turn aside the current which is now setting in, full and strong, against the present system of chaffering for seats in this House. It is in vain to attempt to deck these transactions in all sorts of gaudy colours, and to call them happy methods of introducing to public notice modest merit and latent talent, and virtue, and patriotism, and I know not what besides. It is in vain to reckon up the Whigs and the Tories of note, and of no note, who have contrived to bring themselves, and their independence, into Parliament, by these back-gates and bye-ways. The thing retains the same character of corruption, whether it generates the venal Statesman, or the useful Member of Parliament; the splendid fly that soars in this House upon the wings of eloquence, or the grub that feeds upon the vitals of the country—Corruption is the father of them all. Neither will all the speeches of all the approvers of such a system be able to make corruption incorrupt, or convert the Borough business into a blessing, or legalize the wholesale trade of selling seats. As matters now stand, the fury of the law may be said to mistake its objects—it passes over the daring outrages upon the Constitution, in order to fall with redoubled violence upon the petty assaults, and petty larcenies, committed against the rights and liberties of the subject, and the purity of elections. The storm of Parliamentary enactments has fallen upon the small tradesmen, and retail dealers in the bribery line—

"Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura Columbas."

Many a wordy statute pours its thunders upon the head of the starveling who sells his vote, and dines upon his degradation; but our Code contains no store of wrath, no pains, nor penalties, nor censures, for the great and extensive ready-money trade in returns to Parliament. Seats, two or ten at a time, may be bought and sold, and all concerned will continue, all, "all honourable men"—and they will find in this House not merely apologists but panegyrists—they may be even extolled for true patriots—and the ready-money method of getting a seat is extolled too, and is called patriotic, and expedient, and constitutional, and just as it ought to be. But, Sir, I cannot concur in such sentiments; such panegyric and such philosophy are alike adverse to my views and convictions—and happily for the country, and all its great interests, his Majesty's Ministers do not appear to participate in these opinions—I certainly have never heard them take that line of defence, or rather empty declamation, and most impotent delusion. They have never set foot upon that slippery and hollow ground—so that, in spite of the negative by which the right hon. Gentleman opposed my resolution last Session, I shall continue to think that Government may be disposed to treat the question of Reform, not in the spirit of party politicians or borough traders, but upon the principles of truth and reason. Agreeably, therefore, Sir, to the terms of my notice, and in conformity with what I would fain hope I might find to be the disposition of the Government, I will endeavour to make the question one of principle, and not of party. I will refer it altogether to the decision of the Law and Constitution. I will make them the criteria of what is right and wrong—true and false—sincere and corrupt,—in respect of our Parliamentary Returns.

Now, Sir, without going into any abstract question about the right of popular representation, without touching the historical controversies upon that point, without investigating the origin of Parliaments or Parliamentary Councils, it may (and, as I think, safely) be laid down that national Councils, of some sort and denomination, are coeval with our existence as a nation. Normans—Saxons—Britons—all had them. These are facts capable of being established by recorded evidence, not truths deducible by arguing from natural principles and probabilities. We find the vestiges of popular representation, the elements of a Parliament, in all parts and periods of our history. To trace the steps by which this primitive right was moulded into its present shape and size—to shew by what collision of contending interest it has been compressed and restrained from without—by what elasticity from within it has often struggled for expansion—to cast up the number of all the political conflicts in which the question has been involved, though interesting, are unnecessary speculations. The inquiries we have to deal with are, whether the people are, or are not, at this time represented according to the manifest purpose and design of the Laws and Constitution of the country—or whether by the lapse and vicissitudes of time great changes have taken place in the state of our Parliamentary Representation, or rather in its very principles and efficiency; and whether any thing can be found in the altered state of our political relations, foreign or domestic, to prevent a return to the original practice, and the fundamental principles of the Constitution. As to the question then, whether the people are, or are not, represented in a manner conformable with the principles and purposes of the Constitution: notwithstanding the ingenuity of a Paley, or the eloquence of a Canning, I assert that they are not so represented—it is contrary to those principles, that decayed and desolate places should return Members to this House—it is contrary to those principles that seats in this House should be bought and sold. And first, as to the fixedness of the returns of Representatives from towns and boroughs, the same number from the same places, let what will be their state, and condition, as to the density, or thinness, or nothingness of their population—their wealth or their poverty—their commercial or agricultural strength or weakness. Now here, Sir, we find at once a wide departure from the principle that gave birth to the returns of citizens and burgesses. Without wishing to re-invest the Crown with its old discretion of issuing its summons to this or that town or borough, according to some real or supposed superiority which it possessed over others, I cannot but observe that the variableness perceived in the issue of the King's writs, and the returns made upon them, suggest this important conclusion—that in those ancient days, which some may be disposed to call days of political ignorance, civic or municipal prosperity seems mainly to have determined the fitness of the city or borough for the elective franchise. I am aware that there are some outstanding questions upon this point; and that it has been contended that the King in early times was wont to summon none but the royal boroughs—none but his own tenants on burgage tenure, to come to his Councils, and settle their rates of contribution to his wants: but this will not account for the nature, number, and diversity of the early returns; and I think it is clear, from the history of the places themselves, that much depended upon their prosperity. When towns and boroughs were seen to thrive, the King's favour was also seen to follow their good fortune; and when their gold was seen to glitter, the Crown discovered the means of satisfying its necessities, and found abundant reasons for calling upon them to send their citizens and burgesses to Parliament: for whether it was the King, or the King's officer, who selected the cities or boroughs, it makes no difference to my argument; it was their wealth and prosperity which determined the choice—their ability to defray the expenses of their citizens and burgesses during their attendance in Parliament—their rank as trading towns—their right to be represented, by reason of their commercial weight and greatness—in short, Sir, whatever might be the motive, public or private, which determined the royal choice, it was the consequence of the town, under some relation or another—I mean its political consequence—which pointed it out as a proper subject for these Parliamentary honours. If, then, this changeableness in the issue of writs of summons be admitted, as it must be, for it is an historical fact, it will not only throw light upon the present unintelligible returns from places of no consideration; but further, it will suggest the fitness of recurring to primitive principles, and of transferring elective franchises from old fossways and crumbling castles, from the solitude of the plain and the ploughed field, to the busy haunts of men—to the industrious, and the intelligent, and the independent, among the sons of agriculture and commerce. But besides this departure from the ancient principles and practice of Parliamentary Representation, there is another which has taken place, and which may be said to have arisen out of it. When boroughs became the sepulchres of departed greatness and prosperity, retaining nothing of their former condition but their name, and their soil, and their custom of returning one or two Members to Parliament, they became the property of the rich and the powerful; and instead of being dependent, as they originally were, upon the pleasure of the Crown for their writs of summons, they became dependent upon the pleasure of their purchasers, for the returns to those writs—and their writs of summons and charters of incorporation (like other paper and parchment securities,) became marketable commodities, conveying to the buyer the certainty of honours, and the contingency of profits in this House—this also is a manifest departure from constitutional principles and practice. When towns and boroughs were first called upon to send representatives to Parliament, it was not intended to decorate these places, in their decay and downfall, with immortal honours, or to make their lifeless bodies fetch high prices, like subjects for dissection—it was not the design to invest the silence and desolation of ruined streets, and market places, with the everlasting right of sending a couple of Members to the National Council. It was never meant to help on the speculations of craft, or the gains of avarice, or the projects of ambition, by making seats and franchises, articles to be bought by the best bidder.

But, Sir, these departures from ancient principles, these violations of ancient practice, have not only taken place in the manner of making returns from these close and decayed boroughs (in which returns nothing can now be discovered like "*fraunche et due election*," according to the ancient statute—nothing like the principle in the ancient writ, "*quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur;*" but there are still more remarkable violations and departures in respect of the qualifications of the Burgesses returned. By the ancient laws and practice thy were to be "resident in-dwellers, and freemen of the borough or city they represented, and no others"—"*Nuls autres in nulle manière.*" It is true that these laws were repealed—it is true also that to the repealing Act we may fairly ascribe much of the mischief that now exists. Boroughs are now supplied with representatives from every other description of persons, except residents and in-dwellers, or persons locally connected with those boroughs. We may look through the whole series of Cornish returns, and scarcely find a Cornish name in a list of their burgesses: we cannot even say "*stat nominis umbra;*" name as well as thing are both gone—the close and decayed boroughs of Cornwall have passed into the hands of strangers to the county. The interest of the Stannaries are sometimes confided to speculators in the mines of Mexico and Peru. Paper is seen to triumph over the influence and interest of its tin. By the mere operation of paper and parchment, Cornish seats have been transferred like shares in a Joint Stock Company, at the market price, to some great capitalist of London. And Sir, there is another principle, a principle well developed in a Writ of 47th Edward 3rd, which it is most important to attend to, and apply. It is there laid down as a necessary qualification, that Borough Representatives should have a suitable knowlege of local interests: the Writ in question required the Sheriff to return "*de quolibet Burgo duos Burgenses qui in navigio et exercitio mercandisarum notitiam habeant meliorem;*" and the Writ concludes with an injunction that none are to be returned who want this necessary local or rather municipal information. The knowledge which was required in the Burgesses was a plain practical knowledge for every day's use; it was not a superfine knowledge of political economy; that sort of science which has filled the country with bankrupts and bookmakers, which produces thick octavos, and thin purses, and makes men very rich in fine phrases, and very poor in pocket. This was not the kind of knowledge which King Edward required for his Burgesses. They were to be knowing men "*in exercitio mercandisarum,*" in a good sound tradesman-like information, such as was bottomed upon common sense and common experience—not upon theory and hair-splitting, and the follies of a fanciful philosophy. The result, then, of all these references to Parliamentary antiquities is, that Borough Elections ought to be as free as those of Counties—that the Members returned ought to have some original connexion with the places they represent. They ought to have also local knowledge, a plain practical knowledge of the trade, and trading interests, of their constituents. But to all this it may, perhaps, be replied that the system is ancient, that the practice has passed into usage, and become an established custom, and that it is not safe to disturb what time has sanctioned and settled. To all this, however, the words of Lord Bacon will supply the shortest, and readiest refutation. "Time (says he) is a great innovator," meaning that time itself, and what is called the march of events, produce such changes in the circumstances, relations, and affinities of old institutions, as to make them different in fact and effect, though they may continue the same in name; they may even become so different, as to require adjustments and adaptations to the vicissitudes of time, in order to secure their original utility; and that great man has followed up his remark by such pertinent illustrations of it, that I cannot forbear citing them in support of my own views upon this question: neither will they be thought the worse for being ingrafted upon some of the old *adagia* of our laws. "*Leges*," (says he) "*novis legibus non recreatæ acescunt*"—laws not refreshed by new laws wax sour—"*qui mala non permutat in bonis non perseverat*"—without change of ill, a man cannot continue the good—to take away abuses supplanteth not good orders, but establisheth them—"*Morosa moris retentio res turbulenta est æque ac novitas*"—a contentious retaining of custom is a turbulent thing, as much so as innovation—a good husbandman is ever pruning in his vineyard, or his fields, not unseasonably, not unskilfully, but lightly; he findeth ever somewhat to do." And so, Sir, it is with respect to the subject of Parliamentary Reform; and I assert, upon this high authority, that to defend as a thing that is praiseworthy, or to recommend as a thing that is expedient, the present ownership in seats and suffrages, and writs of summons to Parliament, because it is ancient, is a sort of revolutionary doctrine; it is to hold the language and opinions of revolutionary men; it is to think, and talk, and act contrary to the principles of our representation, and the analogies of our law, and the spirit of our Constitution, and the judgment of our best writers. The theorist who sets about the defence of venal and proprietary boroughs, may, perhaps, be able to cite many ancient and modern appointments by ladies, as well as gentlemen—for, if I rightly recollect the words of the Record, Dame Dorothy Packington, in the 14th of Elizabeth, sent two Burgesses to Parliament from her town of Aylesbury; and notified, under her hand and seal, that they were her Representatives; and that whatever they did was to be considered as her act and deed. In spite, however, of this high authority, and all other ancient precedents, it will not be possible to make these crooked transactions strait: it will not be possible to correct their deformities, or to cleanse their foulness, or to legalize their unlawfulness. They are, and ever must remain foul spots upon our drapery—dark and dirty places upon the apparel of this House. Neither are they to be washed out by rhetorical ablutions; by descanting upon the beauty which results from the intermixture of imperfections, and the harmony which arises from discord, and the practical advantage of departing from the letter of the law, and of doing a little evil that good may come. All this, and a great deal more may be said, and admired, by the lovers of dexterous declamation; but if ten times more were to be said, and ten times better, it could not have the effect of altering the essential character of these transactions; for these questions still recur, Is it agreeable to the Constitution of the Commons' House of Parliament, that there should be any thing like settled succession in the course and order of sitting in this House? that there should be any thing like purchase in the mode of getting into it? that there should be any thing like an heir loom—any thing like an heritable, or a marketable, or a testamentary property, or interest attached to these benches?—a sort of property or interest which a man may call his own if he buys it, or is born to it. Such things as these, Sir, are too monstrous to admit, I will not say of decoration, but defence; and when we find able men, politicians, or philosophers trying their best tactics to save these things from attack and overthrow, one cannot help lamenting their waste of fine words, and fine wit—their misuse of the florid in style, and the subtle in argument, and the sarcastic in reply. I might, Sir, proceed to point out other changes produced by time. Changes have taken place in respect of the qualifications both of the electors and the elected; and changes in the mode of discharging these great public trusts of representation; and changes in men's opinions of them, and in the way in which they are now considered, and spoken of, and sought for. Instead of being called hardships and burthens, from which poor towns prayed to be relieved, they have become lucrative deputations, beneficiary appointments, from which poor towns contrive to derive a profit instead of the Sheriff being obliged to secure the appearance of his citizen or burgess by manucaptor, and even by the seizure of their goods and chattels, he is sure to find plenty of candidates for a vacant seat, and no lack of cost or contrivance to obtain it. Instead of receiving wages—(Knights 4*s*., Citizens and Burgesses 2*s*. a day)—many honourable Gentlemen would be glad to hold their seats at no higher cost, than the daily payment of ten times the higher sum. But though time has changed the face of all things, both in and out of Parliament; though it has changed all the great interests of the country, and all the relations of public and parliamentary life; and the whole moral, as well as political economy of the nation—it has produced no change in the real objects and purposes of parliamentary representation. It has not in any way affected the reasons which made the Commons of England demand and obtain an adequate appearance by proxy in the great Council of the nation. It has not weakened, nor obscured, any one of the plain and simple propositions contained in the writs of summons to the Sheriffs of the realm. What was good law and good policy upon the issue of the first writ for Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, five hundred and sixty-five years ago, continues to be so still; and there is not a better way of arriving at the Reform which is so much desired, than by reverting to ancient principles, to the manifest designs of our forefathers, to the records of their prudence, as well as of their prowess; and I believe that surer, safer, and readier guidance will be found in the light of their wisdom and the brightness of their example, than in the dreams of the enthusiasts, or in the doctrines of the philosophy of the present day; and I am convinced that it will be found that the best sort of Reform will be the restoration of what time has impaired, the cleansing of what corruption has polluted, the rectifying of what craft has twisted aside from its proper use and real design.—Nothing, Sir, it appears to me now, remains but that I should simply and as shortly as I may be able, state the outlines of the Bill which I hold in my hand, and which in its principal provisions I have endeavoured to construct upon ancient principles—principles which have appeared to me best fitted for amending and repairing the Constitution of this House—"*Sum ex iis qui antiquos mirantur.*"—Now, then, Sir, I propose by this Bill, which is to restore to the Commons of England their rightful share in the Legislature, to place upon record, by way of recitals, the fundamental principles of representation, as I find them in the books, when both the theory and the practice were in the state of their greatest purity; that the clear meaning of this Bill may never be misunderstood. I find from the time of Henry 3rd, and throughout the subsequent reigns of the three first Edwards (a period at which Sir Matthew Hale, and other text writers, declare the law of England to have reached the highest degree of perfection), that there can be no doubt that the Citizens and Burgesses returned to Parliament, by virtue of the King's writ to the Sheriffs of the different counties, were elected and chosen by the inhabitant-householders of the large and populous towns, paying scot and lot; and so it was declared by a Committee of the House of Commons of which Lord Coke (the great oracle of the law of England) and the learned Mr. Seldon, were both Members; for during the reigns above alluded to, and down to that of Edward IV. the practice of granting royal Charters had not been introduced—the first grant being in the seventeenth year of that reign, by which Charter the right of sending one Burgess to Parliament was granted to the Borough of Wenlock.—I propose, then, by the First enactment of this Bill, that a Committee of twenty-one Members of this House (to be chosen by ballot), shall be appointed within ten days after the passing of this Act, and hereafter within the first ten days after the commencement of each Session, with full power to ascertain the exact state of every city, borough, and port in the United Kingdom.—Secondly, That as soon as the said Committee shall have ascertained the fact that any city, borough, or port, had fallen into decay, and ceased to be such populous and wealthy place, as was originally intended to send a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, or that the franchise granted to any city, or borough, ought to be considered as forfeited by mis-user or non-user, that it shall be the duty of the Committee to report such facts to the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and that such report shall be deemed and taken to be that which, during the purity of the representation, would have taken place, and actually did take place in many instances; namely, the petition of such city or borough to be relieved of the burthen of sending Members to Parliament. Thirdly, That upon receiving such Report, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to announce in the Gazette that such city or borough has ceased to send Members to Parliament, or that the franchise thereof has been forfeited for mis-user.—Fourthly, The Committee are directed to begin their investigation and reports with the burgage tenure boroughs, because these are known in their present state to afford a direct proprietary interest. — Fifthly, That as soon as such announcement shall be made in the Gazette, the Committee shall select such populous unrepresented, or inadequately represented, towns or places, with the hundreds, districts, or parishes surrounding the same, as the Committee shall think proper, in order to fill up the seats rendered vacant as above; and it is provided that the right of voting in such towns or places so selected, shall be according to the oldest qualifications known to the law, and the practice of the country; namely, in all the inhabitant householders paying scot and lot—or in other words assessed to any tax, parochial or parliamentary; and the Committee are directed to report such selection to the Secretary of State, who is to cause the same to be published in the Gazette, and to send copies thereof to the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the returning officers of such towns and places; and such report is to be deemed, and taken to be, the enfranchisement of such towns or places to send Members to Parliament.—Sixthly, As the object of this Bill is to restore the representation to its ancient purity, I propose, among other excellent old laws now either repealed or become obsolete, to restore the principle and practice of paying Members the wages of attendance, according to the value of money at the present day, which I consider should be 2*l.* a day for citizens and burgesses, and 4*l.* for Knights, or Members for counties. No part of our representative system is better established, and it remains the law to this day. If this principle had been strictly adhered to, as it ought to have been, few of the abuses that we now have to complain of could have existed—for, as fast as towns fell into decay they would have been relieved of the burthen of sending Members to Parliament, and other larger and more wealthy and populous towns would have been enfranchised. — Seventhly, I propose, after all populous towns and places shall be represented, that the vacant seats which may remain should be filled first by a representation of those counties in Scotland now subject to alternate representation only, and then by adding one or two Members to such other counties in the United Kingdom as the Committee may think stand most in need of such addition; and it is provided, that before the Committee shall add to the County Representation, they are to increase the number of the electors of all those cities and boroughs (now open, and not justifying a Report upon the grounds stated in this Bill), by adding thereto such Hundreds and Parishes round the same as the Committee may think proper, in order that the electors so augmented may be fully able to bear the burthen of paying the wages of attendance.—Eighthly, In order to ensure to any householder assessed to any tax the right of voting, I propose to enact that any such person, who may not be included in any of the places to be enfranchised, may vote at the enfranchised town or place nearest to his residence, provided he agrees to be assessed for payment of the wages, &c. With respect to Scotland, I feel that after the Petitions for Reform from Edinburgh, and almost every borough in Scotland, now before the House, it would be most unjust towards the people of that part of the United Kingdom, and also most unwise and impolitic, to leave the representation in Scotland in the state in which it is: and, therefore, I mean by the foregoing enactments, that its representation shall be reformed and placed upon the same footing as that of England. —Ninthly, Having gone through the enactments as applicable exclusively to cities, boroughs, towns, and ports in the United Kingdom, I propose, as was proposed by Mr. Pitt, in respect of counties, that the right of voting shall be extended to copyholders, and certain leaseholders, not only because the greatest authorities in the law of England, with Lord Coke at their head, have laid it down that copyholders have an estate equal to freeholders, but because these copyhold lands and beneficial leaseholds, as they exist at this day, were tenures utterly unknown when the right of voting was limited to freeholds; and above all, because their copyhold and leasehold lands bear the same proportion of taxes, parochial and parliamentary, as is borne by freeholds. Freeholds also that happen to be situated in any town that is a county by itself, ought not for that reason to be taxed and unrepresented. I therefore propose, that the owners of such property shall be entitled to vote for the county at large. Then, again, with respect to Scotland:—it is a fact well known to the gentlemen from that part of the kingdom, that voters for counties are manufactured by a sort of trick: that is, by separating what is called the superiority from the property; and thus voters have been created that have not a foot of property in the county. Is this representation of the landed interest? I propose, therefore, to put an end to all such fictitious means of creating votes; and as a large mass of landed property is now held by what are called *feu-rights*, that is, beneficial leases for lives, or long terms of years, and subject to a full share of taxation, I propose that this property, like the copyholds in England, shall be represented. — Tenthly, I propose that all persons now in possession of a right of voting for counties in Scotland, arising merely from superiority without property, shall be entitled to vote for the city or borough that shall be nearest to their places of residence, provided they agree to be assessed for the wages of their representatives.—By the Eleventh enactment of this bill, I propose to enact that no person, now having the right to vote for any city or borough, shall again exercise such right unless he be resident within the same; but that all such non-residents shall be entitled to vote for the city or borough nearest to his place of residence: it being the object of these enactments, that no person shall be disfranchised.—As I consider it necessary that regulations should be adopted, to prevent the enormous expense that often takes place at elections, I propose by the Twelfth enactment, that it shall be the duty of the Committee to make such regulations as they think proper for this purpose; and also to render the act of voting as little inconvenient as possible to the electors.—I find our system of representation greatly altered for the worse by some modern Acts of Parliament: these I propose, by the Thirteenth enactment of this Bill, to repeal. In the first place, it is notorious that the only reasons given for passing the Septennial Bill have long since ceased to exist. Therefore I propose to repeal that Bill, namely, the 7th of George 1st. In the next place, I do not find, from the time of Henry 3rd, down to the 9th year of the reign of Queen Anne, that there was any law that made it necessary for citizens and burgesses to be possessed of landed estates of the annual value of 300*l.* or any other sum, in order to be qualified to sit in this House; while I find, that from the most ancient times, namely, by the 1st of Henry 5th, c. 1. it was wisely enacted, "that such citizens and burgesses of cities and boroughs be chosen men, resident, dwelling, and free in the same cities and boroughs, and no other in any wise." I therefore propose to repeal this modern Act of Queen Anne, as it relates to the qualification of citizens and burgesses to sit in Parliament.—By the Fourteenth enactment of this Bill, I propose to repeal a still more modern, and a still more monstrous violation of our old law, namely, the 14th George 3rd, c. 58, which was the first act that was made to repeal the wise enactments of the 1st of Henry 5th, requiring that the elected should be chosen from among the resident inhabitants of each place. But as some boroughs have the right by Charter to choose from among themselves, or others, I propose that the Committee by their Report shall confirm such right either to these boroughs, or to such towns as they may select in their place; and I propose to enact that any inhabitant of any town being elected, shall satisfy the 1st of Henry 3rd, as to being free of that place, for the purpose of serving in Parliament. I find by the Act of the 12th and 13th of William 3rd, "for the better securing the rights and liberties of the people," after solemnly declaring that "the laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof," it is enacted, "that no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons." Now, I hold these wise laws of our ancestors to be the land-marks of the Constitution; and therefore, I propose that the 6th of Queen Anne, c. 7, which, by allowing placemen to vacate their seats and be re-elected, has entirely defeated the wise provisions of the 12th and 13th William 3rd, be repealed; and I propose to declare that the Act of King William was intended to apply to all offices and places of profit under the King, that then existed, or should thereafter exist.—Lastly, Sir, I consider it expedient to repeal, not only such acts as have been passed for upholding what Bishop Burnett and the great Lord Chatham called "the rotten parts of the Constitution," but also such as touch the eligibility of Members to serve in Parliament, if the same shall have been made in a particular case, and from personal motives towards any individual; and particularly when the rights and interests of a large and learned body of men have been thereby improperly affected. Now, I consider the Act that was passed against Mr. Horne Tooke in 1801 in this light, and as the late Lord Thurlow, whose authority I presume may be quoted in this House, pronounced this Act to be uncalled-for, unjust, levelled at a single individual, and infamous, from having an *ex post facto* operation against Mr. Tooke, and all who had then taken holy orders, several of whom had actually sat in this House; and as Mr. Tooke himself did, in reference to this Act, leave a most severe satire behind him upon this House (which, I think, ought to be wiped away,) by thanking his old friend, the then Prime Minister, for his great lenity and kindness in only proposing such a Bill (which Mr. Tooke accepted as the highest compliment that could be paid to the end of his political life) because, if the Minister had proposed a Bill to have had Mr. Tooke taken out of this House, and hanged in the lobby, the same majority would have been equally ready and willing to have passed it. Therefore, for the honour of Parliament, as well as in gratitude to the memory of this learned, uncorrupted, sincere, and dauntless Reformer, in whose steps I am now presuming to tread, I propose, by the Fifteenth enactment of this Bill, that this Act shall be taken off the Record of the Statute-book, and cancelled, or otherwise defaced, to the end that no such Act shall be visible in after ages, and that it shall be wholly repealed.—There is still one other principal enactment more, and that arises from the present and alarming state of the country. I believe this measure to be absolutely necessary to our safety, and I would wish to see the provisions of this Act executed in the most deliberate and considerate manner: but I cannot shut my eyes to the imminent peril of our situation, and to the fact, that it might become of the last importance for the country to have the benefit of the provisions of this Act before it could be possible for the nation to receive it from the Reform Committee. I consider it, therefore, proper to have an enactment to the following effect:—"That if this Parliament shall be dissolved before the Reform Committee shall have reported upon the Cities and Boroughs as it is required to do, so that the country shall not be in possession of the benefits contemplated by this Act, then and in that case no writ for the election of Members to serve in Parliament shall be sent to those places that have so fallen into decay as to be unable to bear the burthen of paying the wages of attendance according to the provisions of this Act, and where there is notoriously a direct proprietary interest or domination in returning the Members of this House, and such places shall be enumerated in the Bill; and I propose to enact, "that writs in place thereof shall be sent to the Sheriffs of such Counties for the returns of citizens and burgesses of such large, populous, and unrepresented or inadequately represented towns, as his Majesty, with the advice of the Privy Council shall think proper: and that the returns of Members to serve in Parliament from all such towns, as well as from all other Cities and Boroughs to which the King's writ is sent, shall be made by the votes of a majority of the inhabitant householders, assessed to any tax parochial or parliamentary, and consenting to be assessed to the wages of attendance: and that all the provisions of this Act shall be in full force and virtue, the same as if the Reform Committee had made the reports which are hereby directed to be made." Then there are enactments to secure the regular attendance of the Committee—to exclude from the operation of the Bill the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin—and that each Member of the Committee shall take the oath I will now read:—"I do solemnly promise and swear that, laying aside all private interest or motives, I will to the best of my judgment, faithfully execute all the provisions of the Act under which I have been appointed a Member of the Reform Committee, according to the plain and obvious meaning of the said Act, as set forth in the preamble and enactments of the same; and if it shall appear to me that any improvement can be made in the said Act for the better fulfilling the clear intentions of the Legislature as therein expressed,—I will not fail to propose that such improvement shall be reported to the House of Commons, or to vote for it if proposed by others, and that in a matter of such importance as restoring to the House of Commons the perfect confidence of the nation, and securing for ever the rights and liberties of the people, I will consider it my duty to be regular and punctual in my attendance on the said Committee, sickness, or any other unavoidable cause alone preventing such attendance." Finally, Sir, as respects the question of Compensation, I do not propose any compensation to the proprietors of boroughs, because I maintain that it never was intended by the law that it should be possible for any body to qualify any thing like a proprietary interest in the representation of the people, and that all such interests are obtained either by means positively and strictly forbidden by the law, or in consequence of a manifest perversion of its spirit and real meaning. On this point it was well observed by the late hon. Member for Durham, in 1821, that "it would not be depriving them of any thing they ought to have—it would be depriving them only of the corrupt and unconstitutional practicability of selling seats in Parliament, or bartering them for places, pensions, sinecures, and other appointments in the gift of the Minister." I will not, therefore, at the present day, be the proposer of any compensation to the traffickers of seats in Parliament. I am aware, Sir, that Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Wyvill, and many honest Reformers of that day, did adopt the principle of compensation; and I have heard that when it was proposed to Mr. Pitt on the part of certain proprietors of boroughs to accept the honours of the peerage in full compensation, he spurned at the idea; and that he returned precisely the same answer which I have heard the present Minister returned, when a dukedom and other stipendiary compensation were required for services in Parliament. "The dukedom is out of the question, but the other terms of place and stipend shall be complied with, whenever the vacancy happens." Now, Mr. Pitt has been reproached, and I think very justly, for making so many of these proprietors of boroughs Peers of Parliament, and allowing them to keep their boroughs into the bargain. An actor in this scene (Mr. Horne Tooke) has recorded his opinion, in explaining the philosophy of the preposition "along" "Thanks to Pitt, it is along of him that we not only keep our boroughs, but get Peerages into the bargain." "Curses on Pitt, it is along of him, that the free Constitution of this country is destroyed." "I suppose that Lord Lonsdale, Lord Elliott, and the father of Lady Bath, would not mean to impute any fault to the Minister in the former of these sentences, though the people of England do certainly impute an inexpiable crime and treachery to him in the latter." Not only, then, have the greater part of these proprietors been thus already compensated in advance; but among whom have the millions of debt, under which this nation is now sinking, been distributed for the most part, but among these proprietors, their relations, friends, dependents, and tools? Still, though I will not be the proposer of compensation, if there were any danger of this Bill being lost for want of giving compensation, in the case of certain burgage tenure Boroughs where no Peerage had been obtained, I would think it better, much as I disapprove of the principle, to give compensation, than to allow this measure to be delayed for a single year; because I know that millions and millions would thereby be saved to the country; and because I would buy off an unjust claim, rather than be subject to the delay and danger of a long and expensive litigation. But, Sir, when I find from a petition presented to this House in 1793, that it was offered to be proved at our bar, that a majority of the House of Commons are returned by less than two hundred individuals, how can the nation afford any thing like compensation for the command of a majority of the House of Commons? The thing is beyond all price; it must be granted as a matter of grace from within these walls; or by the Holy God it will come, as the great Lord Chatham predicted; (and, in truth it seems advancing with rapid strides) with vengeance from without. Now, Sir, I will not trespass much longer upon the attention of the House; but before I conclude, I am desirous of noticing two arguments which have been urged against Reform; both of which I think it not improbable may be used against me this evening. I am aware, Sir, that it has been asked in this House by a late splendid orator, and with somewhat of triumph, by reason of the silence that followed the question, "If it be meant to carry back the Constitution to former times, name your period." The question, I must confess, always appeared to me sophistical. I am for renovating the Constitution in the important particulars I have referred to. I am for repairing the breaches which time has made in its walls.; and for conducting these repairs, and restorations upon ancient principles -- and am I to be told that my plan is absurd, or my proposal unreasonable, because I cannot mention the *Anno Domini* when those principles were all found co-existing and co-operating at the same time? Those principles were developed by degrees, and from time to time; and I confess I see no absurdity in saying that some of these ancient principles of the Constitution are to be sought for in Magna Charta. Some in the Act *De tallagio non concedendo;* some in the Statutes for regulating the frequent holding of Parliament; some in the Statutes for fining Sheriffs for mal-practices; some in the Statutes for fixing the qualification of Burgesses; some in those for securing frank and fair elections; and some in the Petition and Bill of Rights. All these principles I call ancient principles, and a return to them would be a return to ancient principles, although those principles do not bear the date of the same year. To tell me that I shall not have the benefit of this range of inquiry, but that I must confine myself and my observations to a particular year, is to play the dictator in argument, and to impose grievous conditions, indeed, upon the inquirer after truth. I wish to restore the Constitution to its proper form and energies, and to do it upon ancient principles—not the principles of this or that particular year of our Parliamentary history, but as they may be found diffusively, some in Magna Charta, some in this, some in that Writ of Summons; some in this, some in that Act of Parliament; but still forming a large aggregate of good Constitutional authorities for amending and repairing the Constitution of this House. The other argument which has been used against this measure, and to which I will very briefly advert is this; and strange to say it is one, which wears the mantle of Whig authority. It has been insisted that "No Reform can ever be peaceably carried otherwise than by a friendly Administration, and that all plans which will not bear the test of this condition, are either delusions or instruments of Revolution." Now, Sir, as I have before said, I really am disposed to hope that the present men in power may be inclined to look with no unfriendly eye upon such a measure. It must be evident to them that if an Administration will not peaceably concur in plans of Reform, and the system of abuse shall reach its *acmé*, a convulsion must occur. Disorganization cannot be avoided, if they shall continue pertinaciously hostile to political amelioration, and shall refuse to yield to the public urgency. Be these matters, however as they may, I can safely affirm, that nothing is further from my intention than to render my measure obnoxious to the charge of being an instrument of delusion, whatever other character it may attract. And now, Sir, as I strongly feel this public urgency, and as I am convinced that no one will be found at this time of day hardy enough to contend that the necessity of Reform is either the mere vapour of a dream, or the shadow of a shade, or empty whim and fanciful nothing, I do most confidently anticipate the proximate accomplishment of this great, this just, this wise, this Constitutional measure. Sir, I am aware that by adopting the course pursued by the hon. Member for Durham in 1821, by simply moving that this House will resolve itself into a Committee upon the state of the Representation, and then in that Committee proposing Resolutions embodying the principle of my Bill, I might possibly catch many votes, as there must doubtless be many hon. Members favourable to some extent of Reform, who will be unwilling to go the length I propose to carry the House. But, Sir, I should at this time of day deem such a manœuvre unworthy of the grand object I propose. I am for going straight forward at once to a clear and definite object. I am strongly upheld by precedent upon the main principle of my Bill; namely, the extension of the right of voting to all taxed householders; and the other provisions and repeals contained in it, appear to me so just and becoming, that no arguments will avail to warp my intentions, or induce me to cut down my Bill, to suit the views or interests of any party. I now move for leave to bring in a Bill to restore the Constitutional influence of the Commons in the Parliament of England.

Mr. *Hume* seconded the Motion.

Mr. *Pendarvis* said, he was willing to bear his testimony to the necessity of Reform, in evidence of which he would state that the county of Cornwall was by no means benefitted by the number of Members that it returned to serve in Parliament. Until the noble Mover had communicated them to the House, he had not been aware of the provisions of his Bill, nor was he prepared to go all the lengths of that measure. On the contrary, he was disposed to express his entire approbation of the resolutions proposed in 1809 by the hon. Member for Westminster, which would have given a right of voting to all who were in a condition to pay taxes.

Mr. *Benett* professed his admiration of the noble Marquis's speech generally, although he could not promise him his unconditional support. In the present calamitous state of the country, it was, in his opinion, an object of the first importance, to administer relief to the people, and most sincerely sorry was he to see that no disposition to grant that relief had been manifested by the Government. When he looked to the two past Sessions, with a grateful recollection of the important measures which they had passed, to the great benefit of the country, he had hoped that the present Session also would have been similarly distinguished. But he now saw that Parliamentary Reform must precede every suggestion for public advantage, and on that account he would support the Motion of the noble Marquis. People who were but lukewarm in the cause, or at heart disinclined to it, were accustomed to lay hold on the details of a proposed measure, and stop it *in limine*, under pretence of disliking such provisions. A similar advantage he trusted would not be taken on the present occasion. It was only fair that they should permit the Bill to be introduced in the first instance, and then they might mould or oppose it as should hereafter be deemed expedient. Corruption had in these latter times advanced very rapidly, and it was now but too well known that the present Parliament did not enjoy the confidence of the people. The existing Government was an honest and well-meaning Government, he acknowledged, but no honest Government could be said to derive strength from the support of a Parliament which was not trusted. With respect to the conduct of the noble Marquis, he thought he deserved the highest credit for integrity and disinterestedness. It was not probable that he would long sit as a Member of that House, and in removing elsewhere, the success of his measure would operate to his prejudice, and he therefore advocated a Reform which must hereafter tend to the curtailment of his own power. Such a Reform, as far as he could judge, was at no period more necessary than now.

Sir *Robert Wilson* said, that he had much doubted the noble Marquis's sincerity last Session, when he first introduced a Motion upon the subject, as it did not appear to him that he had really put on the armour of a Reformer. He then thought that the noble Marquis had ostensibly avowed himself a champion of Reform for the purpose of attaining better vantage ground to attack Ministers for having carried another measure which he conscientiously opposed. He had at present however, no longer any doubt of his perfect sincerity, and felt confident that if it were in his power to-morrow he would execute all that he had proposed. In short, he believed in the reformation of the noble Mover. The principle of the measure he should always support, as he was sent thither by his constituents for that purpose. If Reform had been long since accomplished he was convinced that many of the burthens under which the people suffered would have been withdrawn ere now, and many obnoxious laws would have been effaced. Some of the latter, indeed, had been repealed, owing to the liberality and wisdom of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He was sorry not to see the Attorney General in his place, as he had wished to have made some allusion to the law of libel, which that right hon. Gentleman had been pledged, under the administration of Mr. Canning, to reform. This was assuredly one of those laws which ought to have been repealed, inflicting, as it did, transportation on a second conviction. If the Parliament had been reformed, we should not have heard of men being dispossessed of their property by a borough proprietor, because they had presumed to exercise their rights as free men. We should not then have heard of British citizens being treated on the footing of goods and chattels. The Members of that House were daily disputing as to whether the present distress was to be considered partial or general, but that question would have soon been set at rest if every Member were personally acquainted with the circumstances of his constituents, and able to declare them. He would advocate and support a fair and free representation, and he was not authorized by his constituents to go further. It occurred to him that the measure proposed was partially objectionable, as it gave somewhat too despotic a power to the Committee, who were permitted to denote, *ad libitum*, what boroughs were fit for representation, and what not so. For his part, he was most agreeably surprised at the suggestion that Members should have wages, and certainly could not bring himself to resist what was so pleasantly recommended. [*laughter*] On the whole, he was favourable to the introduction of the Bill, and hoped that it would meet with a successful reception.

Lord *Nugent* expressed his willingness to vote with the noble Marquis, as the defects in the representation were so numerous that he had long acknowledged the general necessity for Reform. His sentiments on this point he had already taken too many opportunities of expressing to require his doing so on the present occasion. Although he consented so far to support the Bill, he avowed himself to be comparatively ignorant of its details.

Mr. *Hobhouse* was anxious to hear what the opponents of the Motion could say to it, as hitherto they had heard nothing but arguments in its favour. He could feel no nicety in declaring that he had always voted for Reform, and always would vote for Reform, and all the measures that had the least resemblance to that under their consideration; and for this plain reason, viz. that he conceived the present system the worst possible system of representation that ever existed in a free Government. He would not take up the time of the House in urging the reasons for this opinion, but he would say that every day convinced him more and more of the truth of this position. We had the forms of freedom with all the disadvantages of the most corrupt system of representation that was ever devised. He would vote for the Motion, because he was satisfied that the Bill could not possibly make us worse than we were, because the Parliament was not collected with the consent of the people but with their complete disassent; because it was not assembled by their will, but against their conviction; and because the Members were not assembled to do the business of the people, but their own. He could not understand why some reformers should oppose the Motion, for it could not do otherwise than good. He did not understand the Bill, but he understood that it was the object of the noble Lord to reform the House, and that was enough for him. He was anxious to vote for this measure, because the House had of late been fixing its attention on particular cases; and when it could fix its fangs on a special case of corruption, to use the language of a noble Lord, they thought by sacrificing a rotten borough that they should satisfy the people. They were mistaken. The evil was not in one or two boroughs, it was in themselves. *Si quæris monumentum, circumspice.* Unhappily, however, they were rather disposed to look any where for the evil but in themselves. He was sorry that they should so waste their time, for they deluded nobody but themselves. The hon. Member for Clare said the other evening in speaking of a corrupt borough, that he would kill the wolf, but he (Mr. Hobhouse) quarrelled with the metaphor, as well as with the fact. While they were hunting this one poor wolf, they were allowing the choicest of their flock to be devoured; their homestead was invaded—it was in the possession of the enemy, and they satisfied themselves by hunting to death some one poor mangy feeble animal. He had lately met with an old paper, purporting to be a plan for a Reform of Parliament, supposed to be proposed for the Parliament of Charles the First's reign. It was found about eighty years ago among some old Parliamentary Papers—probably some of the Members had met with it as well as himself, but as it was pleasant he would just quote the heads of it. It was called 'a Scheme for the better governing the Nation,' and it pretended to have been submitted to the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. In the first place it recommended the total abolition of the House of Peers, as a body that was expensive, inconvenient, and unnecessary. Next to come to the House of Commons: In order to obviate the confusion of frequent elections by large bodies of men, and in order to put an end to bribery, it proposed that the Protector should have the nomination of all the Members, who were to be in all five hundred, and were to be the representatives of all the cities and counties of Great Britain. The Peers might be Members of this body, if the Protector pleased. The Members were not to purchase their seats for different counties, as was customary; that practice was to be repealed, and they were to pay down 1,000*l.* a-piece, which was to go to the Treasury. They were for this 1,000*l.* to receive 350*l.* a-year, paid out of the Treasury; and this sum was not to be paid if they absented themselves without leave, or voted against the Protector. Each time they voted against him they were to be fined 5*l.* for the first vote, 10*l.* for the second, and so on. They were to pay a sum also for every speech they made against the Protector. He would not enter into further details; but the conclusion of the scheme was, that the nation by it would be saved a great expense, and useless bribery, corruption, and terrorism would be done away. The question was, whether the Reform proposed would content the nation or not; and it was foolish cajolery for them to suppose that the nation would be long contented without Reform. The scheme he had mentioned was proposed seventy or eighty years ago; but it appeared as applicable now as at that time. The best Reform that could be introduced would not change the class of individuals who would sit in that House. The Representatives of the people would still be taken from the principal gentry, the merchants, and the best portion of the lower and middling classes. But a Reform would send them there on a different principle, and with different motives; and, so assembled, they would act on different principles. He did not mean to deny that great talents—the highest talents of the nation—found their way into that House; it was there where the stake was to be played for; "and where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together"—but individuals of the greatest power and talents came there, not to advocate the national interests, which they did only occasionally; they came there to advocate their own or their patron's interest. They had always some sinister motives, tempting them to act for the disadvantage of the country. He would not further trouble the House than to express his determination to vote for every general measure of Parliamentary Reform.

Mr. *Twiss* said, he should not have troubled the House if it were not that the hon. Member opposite had expressed his desire to hear what the opponents of the measure could say against it. He thought the opponents of the measure were absolved from saying anything against it by the opposition the Motion of the noble Marquis had already met with on the other side of the House. All that had been said in favour of the Bill was the mere assertion—that the House did not represent the people. That assertion embraced too large a question to allow him then to go fully into it; but he would meet the assertion by another. That House was constitutionally supposed to represent the people, and he was sure that it would oppose the Motion of the noble Lord. The hon. Member for Westminster admitted that the change he recommended would still bring the same class of persons into the House, so that they were called on to make a great change, the result of which was to be a House of Commons nothing different from the present. This reminded him of a story told of Mr. Sheridan, who was a little nervous during his last illness, and being one day annoyed by the servant running against the plate warmer, and making a great noise, he swore at him; the fellow apologised by saying that he had broken nothing. "What!" said Sheridan, "do you make all that noise for nothing?" So the Gentlemen who supported this Bill would make all this noise and excite all this disturbance for nothing. All those who had followed the noble Lord, and understood his plan of Reform, found fault with it; those who did not understand it voted for it. His hon. friend who said that no change could be for the worse, was quite consistent in voting for it. Those who thought with his noble friend would vote for the Bill; but those who did not go all his lengths, and those who did understand the measure, would vote against it. Some honourable Members doubted the sincerity of the noble mover; and though he had no suspicions of that kind himself, he could not avoid supposing that his present Bill was intended as a mockery of the whole question of Reform—it was a snake in the grass. Between the satire of the noble Lord and the sarcasms of the hon. Member for Westminster, he thought the opponents of the measure had no occasion to come forward to oppose it; they might leave it to be defeated by its friends.

Sir *F. Burdett* observed, that the hon. Member who had just sat down, who had attempted to throw a ridicule upon the Motion of the noble Lord, had so utterly mistaken the purport of the paper read by his hon. colleague, that he seemed to think the paper an irony on the present state of the House. The hon. Gentleman had mistaken, and perverted, and misunderstood the argument of his hon. colleague, who had admitted, as he (Sir F. Burdett) admitted, that the House was composed of men of as enlightened understandings and as addicted to the English principle of freedom, as could be found collected together in any part of the world,—a compliment which he was willing to pay them. But his hon. friend (Mr. Hobhouse) had contended that they were returned to the House under an influence which rendered them incapable of exerting the noble faculties of their minds, and made them injurious instead of beneficial to the country they belonged to. His hon. friend contended that notwithstanding the admitted ability of the Members, they must, under existing circumstances, be thus influenced; but that under different circumstances the result would be not the same, but the very reverse, and that there would then be no conflict on their part with the public interests. If a person were returned against the law of England, against the Constitution of England, and against those most sacred privileges which were founded upon the acknowledged sovereignty of the people of England, where was the security of the people? It was a high breach of the Constitution and of the privileges of the Commons of England, that a Peer should interfere in the election of a Member of that House. That was the principle which stood recorded in the Journals of that House; and it was owing to a Petition lying on their Table, from a society of patriots calling themselves the Friends of the People, and of which society Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey were Members, which Petition a right hon. Gentleman, whose loss he deeply lamented (Mr. Tierney), was said to have drawn up on the part of the Friends of the People,—that paper, in the year 1793, declared, that one hundred and fifty Members of that House were returned, not only by the interference, but on the nomination of a very small number of Peers. The Petitioners offered to prove this fact at the bar of the House. The House was much the same in these days as at that time. He deeply regretted that that right hon. Gentleman did not now live to vote on this question, as he always did vote, and always stood forward with great ability, in defence of those fundamental rights of the people of England which he (Sir F. Burdett) advocated. With respect to the Motion before the House, he was bound to say, that he could not comprehend at once all its details; but he understood it to be a great measure of Reform, which the noble Marquis had supported by very considerable ability, and he understood that its object was to endeavour to restore to the people of England a share of the Constitution of the country, to which they had as good a right as a Peer had to his title, or the King to his seat upon the Throne. He regretted to see that the democratic branch of the Constitution did not retain its proper share of power, and every endeavour to restore the liberty of the people he would do all in his power to advance. The very denial of the House to disfranchise East Retford, was a refusal to adopt the plan of Lord Chatham, to infuse new blood into our crazy Constitution, to enable it to bear its infirmities. When it was considered that a great portion of the talent and understanding of the country was not permitted to find a vent for its opinions in that House,—when great abilities, and every thing enlightened in the empire were excluded by the present system of things,—and when the House absolutely threw away an opportunity to gain some credit with the people, by the disfranchisement of what was called in that House, a corrupt borough, but which he (Sir F. Burdett), did not consider more corrupt than many others, and when the House refused to admit representatives from the great town of Birmingham, and as a plaister to the sore, proposed to throw open the borough to the hundred of Bassetlaw, the people might naturally feel irritated at the House for refusing to grant any concession to their moderate, perhaps too moderate, wishes. He trusted that this Motion would unite the whole country with the people of Birmingham in demanding that fair and full Reform which the people of England were entitled to, and a redress of that worst of grievances, a corrupt representation of the people. He trusted that the noble Lord would persevere in his schemes of Reform, and that he (Sir F. Burdett), after thirty-five years of unremitted efforts, might see the object accomplished. Notwithstanding the length of his career in that undertaking, let the standard of Reform be again raised, and he would be as ardent as ever he was, and prepared to enlist under its banners, be they reared by whom they might. The only struggle really worth making, was for a Reform in Parliament. The only distinction in that House should be those Members who were in favour of Reform and those who were not—those for the people of England and those against them; that was the only true distinction, and every man would know where to take his place. After the termination of that calamitous reign, the reign of George 3rd.,—he called it calamitous in respect to its foreign policy, its encroachments upon the liberties of the people, and the burthens of taxation cast upon the country, which, in spite of the virtues of the man, made that a most calamitous reign for the country, what he would ask was the situation of the country? Plunged in distress and overwhelmed with debt. He had gone through the whole process under the present system of representation, and a most ruinous one it had been. Early in life he came into that House in order to defend the Constitution of England. He purchased his seat of a borough-monger. He purchased it of the Duke of Newcastle. He was no patron of his; he took his money, and by purchase he obtained a right to speak in the most public place in England. With his views, and with his love of the liberty of his country, he did not grudge the sacrifice he made for that commanding consideration. If he had abused the right he had purchased, and passed through corruption to the honours of the Peerage, he should not enjoy the satisfaction he then felt. But he felt it to be a greater honour to be one of the people of England, in whose hearts the love of liberty could never be deracinated, than to enjoy the highest title which it was in the power of the most profligate Minister to bestow. Having thus gone through the whole system of corruption, he could not help having a fellow-feeling for the electors of East Retford, who had had the good sense at least to sell themselves, not others. Having been detected, it was very well for the House to punish the offence; but who could say "I am free?" He then felt a great compunction towards the electors of East Retford; for their behaviour, so far from being a mischief, was really a mitigation of the system. It seemed as if the House were acting on the principles of ancient Sparta, where theft was no offence, but the detection was punished. It was the mal-adroitness, not the commission of the act, that was prohibited,—not the crime, but the want of address in committing it. The House was in the same predicament. The Members for rotten boroughs were nominated by Peers, and of course they could not oppose the opinions of their patrons. A man of honour could not sit in the House and vote against the opinion of the Peer who nominated him. By such a principle the people were excluded from the House of their Representatives, though they gave them power. True it was that some Gentlemen said "we represent the people of England at large" this was a fallacy which reconciled many consciences. Such was the mode in which elections were managed, that no person could stand for a county without being ruined, or at least run into difficulties. He (Sir F. Burdett) had gone through all this; he had stood for a county, though he would not have given two-pence for the representation of that county, his object having been to expose the abominable system and the oppressive tyranny of solitary confinement in England. To expose those abuses it was that he stood upon the hustings at Brentford, though he really would not have given two-pence for the representation of the county. He could have got returned for East Retford at a much cheaper rate, and have been a more independent man. He had also gone through the remedial operation, as it was called, of the Grenville Act; so that, he had sounded all the shoals and shallows of the system, and it was not wonderful that he should be a great advocate for an alteration. The plain question was this—ought the House to be an assembly of retainers of the Crown, or of representatives of the people of England? He would put it upon that issue. At the end of the American war there appeared a person whose eloquence and talents would have enabled him to restore the country, but who proved the remote cause of all our present distress. Mr. Pitt burst forth with an eloquence which dazzled the judgment, but there was another cause which conciliated more partisans than even his eloquence and his abilities. The strongest hold he had on the partiality of the people of England, was his advocacy of the principle he (Sir F. Burdett) was then advocating. It was Parliamenatry Reform which lifted Mr. Pitt to the cabinet and to political power. Mr. Pitt told the people, when the taxes were only 15,000,000*l.* a-year, that without a Reform in Parliament they might expect fresh wars, corruption of every kind, and an increase of the public burthens. He had afterwards fulfilled his own predictions. He (Sir F. Burdett) had experienced still more of the operation of the system than he had mentioned. He had been a convicted libeller. Yes a convicted libeller; and he should not scruple to venture again, when he conceived that the rights and liberties of the people demanded the risk. He did not forget, however, that by the new Law of Libel, a law which was a disgrace to the Statute-book, he might, by a second conviction, suffer the punishment of transportation. For aught he knew he might again be tried for libel; and if he were convicted, as convicted he most probably would be—for he knew not of what stuff juries must be composed, to return such verdicts as they had recently seen—he might be sent to pass the rest of his life at Botany Bay, or at any other foreign dependency of England, and if he quitted England it would be to him of little importance where he might end his then miserable life. That would not, however, deter him; nor would it, he trusted, deter any honest Englishman, from pursuing that course which was dictated by a sense of public duty. Though he was not willing to invite any man to court danger unnecessarily, nor to oppose himself single-handed to the united force of a powerful, and, perhaps, a vindictive Government, he would himself never quail before it, nor stand in awe of our atrocious Libel Act. Say it he must, be the consequences to himself what they might, that as the House was now constituted, our personal liberty, the liberty of the press, every liberty that we enjoyed, were enjoyed, one and all, as mere sufferance. What the right hon. Secretary might be inclined to do,—what his hon. and learned friend the Attorney General might be instigated by the Cabinet to do, he could not venture to predict. Of his hon. and learned friend he wished to speak with affection—even with gratitude—for he had been his able, and honest, and intrepid defender. He could not believe that his hon. and learned friend had instituted the late prosecutions of his own accord, he could not believe that he had followed them up, except with great compulsion; but be that and be all things as they might, he hoped that he should have the fortitude never to desert those principles of Constitutional liberty which he had set out in life by asserting, and which he was not reluctant to die in defending. He thought that no objection could be made in the present stage to the proposition of the noble Marquis. It was so usual to allow a Bill to be introduced into the House that he could not conceive it likely that any opposition would be made to the Motion for leave to introduce this Bill. He did not mean to say, that the measure met altogether with his approbation, for it did not go to the extent to which he himself should be inclined to push it. He had himself proposed two modes of Reform, one of which consisted in giving the right of suffrage to all persons who paid direct taxes in the shape of either church-rates or poor-rates. Let that mode be adopted, or any other mode, for infusing fresh spirit into the House, and he should be content. He understood that there was already on the order-book a Motion for giving the right of election to the great manufacturing towns of England which were at present unrepresented. He trusted if that Motion were carried, there would be another proposed for communicating the same right to the great manufacturing towns of Scotland, which were in a similar predicament. But the representation of all our large towns was so absurd in practice, and formed such an anomaly in our Constitution, that the whole system deserved to be revised. Some hon. Gentlemen had talked much that evening of assimilating the law of England and Ireland. Now, with regard to Ireland, it should be recollected that Ireland already enjoyed a reformed representation, and that Ireland as now represented—for she had got rid of the small boroughs—would form the model of an efficient Reform for England. It was not, however, his duty to go into that discussion at present: it was sufficient for him to feel now as strongly as ever he did, the imperative necessity of Reform. He hoped, —and from the information which he had recently received from different parts of the country, he believed,—that the people of England were at last beginning to bestir themselves, and to place sufficient confidence in their own power of exertion. He understood that petitions would be sent to the House so backed by ability and union,—such union as he had recently seen with pleasure exhibited at Birmingham,—and mixed up with so much caution and discretion, that it would be impossible for the House not to take this important question into its most serious consideration, with the honest intention of adopting such a Reform as was suited to the state of the country.

The *Attorney General* rose to address the House, but his commencing observations were inaudible, and during the whole of his Speech he was very indistinctly heard, owing to the emotion which he appeared to feel. After some remarks upon the Motion of the noble Marquis, he proceeded to say, that he had not risen so much for the sake of speaking upon it as for the sake of observing on the extraordinary conduct of his hon. friend opposite, who, in a debate which had no allusion to him (the Attorney General) personally, had thought proper to cast the weight of his heavy censure upon him. He thought that as there were two Motions already upon the order book, which would afford some regular opportunity for discussing his conduct, he might have expected that at least, in candour, his friends—from his enemies he could expect nothing but hostility — would have abstained from introducing such a discussion until he had received due notice of their intention. But as his hon. friend the Member for Westminster had introduced him to the notice of the House, he would commence by assuring his hon. friend that there was no act of his professional life on which he looked back with greater satisfaction than that in which he had had the distinguished honour of appearing as his defender. This he could at least say, that whether he had defended his hon. friend ably or not, he had done it honestly, zealously, and sincerely, for he felt at that time, and he felt now, that the prosecution which was instituted against his hon. friend was a prosecution which ought never to have been instituted at all. He would not shrink from stating his opinion upon that prosecution at all times and in all places; but if his hon. friend would look into the proceedings to which he had just alluded, and would impartially consider all that had been done or said in the course of them, he was persuaded that his hon. friend, for whom he felt the utmost regard and affection, would find that he had neither done nor said any thing inconsistent with the principles on which he had defended him. He could not accept the compliment which his honourable friend had wished to pay him, in supposing that the late prosecutions had been forced upon him by the compulsion of the Cabinet. Those prosecutions required to be looked upon not incidentally in the course of another debate, they were of sufficient importance to be considered by themselves: they formed part of a subject which deserved consideration as a whole, and as a whole they must be considered, in order to see the reasons on which the verdicts were founded. Those prosecutions—he said it without reserve—were approved of by him, for he thought them necessary to the well being of the community. Such was his humble judgment,—for he arrogated to himself no superiority of judgment over other men.—but as an honest man, he thought, after the completion of the great measure of last Session, which in spite of all the warmth with which it was opposed was now working most beneficially for the country, that he saw in a portion of the press a disposition to licentiousness and falsehood which rendered it necessary to keep it in some check. Unless his hon. friend meant that the liberty of the press should become the tyranny of the press, and that no man should assert his right of private judgment except under the peril of being attacked by the most wicked and virulent falsehood, both in his private and in his public capacity, he must admit that there were occasions upon which some castigation must be administered to the offences of the press. There was, in his opinion, no means of destroying the licentiousness of the press, except by showing that it contained in itself the destructiveness of its real liberty. As to the Libel Law, which the hon. Baronet had denounced with so much warmth and justice, he would only observe, that he had been in the ranks of those who had both spoken and voted against it, and that if an opportunity were given him, he would be ready to fall into the same ranks again. Let him, however, remind his hon. friend the Member for Westminster, if he had not entirely forgotten what had fallen from so humble an individual as himself, that one of the arguments which he had used against that Bill, and in which he had the concurrence of several of his learned friends whom he then saw in the House, was, that the licentiousness of the press might be corrected by the law as it then stood, and that it wanted no other correction. The House was, however, of a different opinion; and thinking some other corrective necessary, passed the Act in question. He was not ashamed to say in public—what all men were ready enough to say in private,—that no single individual could now resist the tyranny of the press; so that we were come to that condition so well described by the Roman historian, in which "*nec mala nec remedia pati possumus.*" In what he had said, he did not wish to offend any man. If he spoke with warmth—and it was perhaps impossible for an individual, assailed as he had been, to speak otherwise—he meant no disrespect either to his hon. friend the Member for Westminster, or to any other hon. Member who heard him. He could not, however, accept the insidious compliment which had been paid him, when it was said, that he had been instigated by the Cabinet to institute the recent prosecutions. He had already refused, and he must refuse again, to shelter himself under so mean-spirited a defence. In joining the present administration, it was distinctly understood that he was not to abandon any opinion and not to compromise any principle. He had joined it with the sincere approbation of his warmest political friends. In so doing he had nothing of which to repent; no reproach had been cast upon him, and he had the proud satisfaction of reflecting that he deserved none. He would not remain for a single hour in office with any administration which should presume to order him to perform the duties of his situation in any respect contrary to the dictates of his own conscience. He thought that the press of this country ought to enjoy full liberty, unshackled by any previous censure, but at the same time he thought that the press would not long enjoy that moral influence which it ought to possess, if every opinion or every falsehood which it promulgated were treated with indifference,—if its rhapsodies in praise of some men and its calumnies in depreciation of others, were both to be considered as idle words full of sound but meaning nothing. He wanted no new law, he repeated, for the correction of the errors of the press. He was satisfied with the Libel Law of Mr. Fox, which when first passed after a struggle continued for several years, was hailed as a great triumph by the friends of popular discussion. That law gave to the jury and took from the judge the power of determining what was and what was not a libel. He believed that there was not at present a judge upon the bench who would not leave it to the jury to determine whether any writing accused of being libellous were a libel or not. To the tribunal of a jury he had appealed in the recent prosecutions: they had found the publications which he had brought before them to be libels, and he would venture to say that if his hon. friend the Member for Westminster had been a Member of those juries, he should have had his concurrence in their verdicts.

Lord *John Russel* said, that he had known his hon. and learned friend (the Attorney General) for many years, and had never known him profess any opinions but such as were favourable to the cause of freedom. He should therefore wait to hear his explanation of his conduct in the recent prosecutions before he ventured to give any opinion upon it. He could not, however, refrain from remarking, that there had lately appeared in the newspapers words attributed—perhaps incorrectly—to his hon. and learned friend, which, if they were correct, he must say could not be looked upon without regret. It was only the other day that he read in the newspapers words said to have been used by his hon. and learned friend, which led him to suppose that his hon. and learned friend objected to the public's canvassing the opinions of judges and of juries. He hoped that his hon. and learned friend would be able to explain these words away at the proper time. The noble Lord then proceeded to state, that in voting with the noble Marquis upon the present occasion, he did so not upon the grounds upon which the noble Marquis had put it, but upon the grounds upon which he had not put it. He voted for it not because he thought that it was a question which ought to be referred to a Committee of twenty-one, but because he thought that it was a question which ought to be referred to a Committee of the whole House. The noble Lord ridiculed the idea that the House had acted unfairly to such boroughs as it had disfranchised for corrupt practices, inasmuch as it was notorious that practices equally corrupt prevailed in every part of the country. There was no ground for applying, as the noble Lord had done, the hacknied quotation,

> "Dat veniam corvis—vexat censura columbas."

The *columbæ*, who received 20*l.* for their votes, and then went and swore that they had received nothing, as was done at Grampound, could not be considered as very innocent doves. [*a laugh*]

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he was unwilling to give his vote unaccompanied by a few observations, lest he should be deemed to be acting disrespectfully to the noble Marquis who had brought the Motion forward. But as he disapproved both of the object which the noble Marquis had in view, and of the mode in which he sought to accomplish it, he should imitate the fairness of the noble Marquis himself by declaring that he should give his most decided opposition to this Bill, in its very first stage. He certainly did not expect to have had a general discussion that evening on the question of Reform, and he thought that the desultory speech of the hon. Member for Westminster was a sufficient proof that it was not convenient to have such a subject thus irregularly discussed. The Bill had a most extraordinary title, it professed to be a Bill not for preventing but for regulating abuses in the elections of Members to serve in Parliament. The House then was called on, not to put down but to regulate and preserve abuses by the noble Marquis's Bill. The speech made in support of it by the hon. Member for Westminster was particularly open to the objection that there was in it "*eloquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parvum*," [*a laugh*]; for though there was in it of declamation much, of argument there was less than he had ever heard in any former speech of the hon. Baronet. If he had stepped into the House accidentally, and without knowing the subject of the debate, he should have supposed the hon. Baronet to have been delivering an eloquent speech, not in favour of, but in opposition to a Reform in Parliament. The hon. Baronet admitted though the House was improperly constituted that it contained men of the greatest talent in the country—individuals, whose respectability in private life could not be questioned—Members, who, to use the hon. Baronet's own phrase, were addicted to all the qualities which were calculated to raise the character of the country, and who were equal to any others in any part of Europe. It was an important admission coming from the hon. Baronet that the present system of representation assembled men of eminence, talent, and private virtue, [Sir F. Burdett nodded assent] actuated by the purest views; [Sir F. Burdett, "No, no;"] and what rendered this admission the more extraordinary, was, that the hon. Baronet concluded it by contending that the mode in which these eminent, and able, and virtuous men were sent here, vitiated all their good qualities, and rendered them noxious and dangerous. When the hon. Baronet entered into a history of the Constitution of the House, his arguments were all in favour of the small boroughs. The hon. Baronet was one of those individuals who would go down to posterity as one of the most distinguished men of his day: and yet he had told them, "When I was first returned to this House, I was returned for a small borough, owing no obligation to the party who returned me;" and he had then proceeded to contrast his election with that small borough with his election for a populous county. He said, "I was a candidate for the representation of a large county. I carried my election at a large expense; and yet" he added, twice over, "for the honour of representing that county, I would not give two-pence." Under such circumstances, seeing that the hon. Baronet valued his election for a small borough more than he did his election for a populous county,—seeing that Mr. Pitt, whose talents the hon. Baronet admitted to have been sufficient to render him, if he had been properly disposed, the saviour of his country, had first entered Parliament for Appleby, and that many other eminent men had made their first Parliamentary *debut* in a similar manner,—seeing that Mr. Fox, when excluded from the representation of a large town, found refuge in a small borough,—he thought that the hon. Baronet and the House ought to weigh well the practical good effected by the existence of these small boroughs before they involved them all in one sweeping condemnation. As to the Motion of the noble Marquis, he was quite certain that the House would never agree to it. The noble Marquis moved that the House should devolve on a Committee of twenty-one Members chosen by ballot, the power of destroying all the boroughs which that Committee should suppose were incapacitated by corruption, or otherwise, from sending Members to Parliament. He would never be a party to that wholesale depreciation of the Elective franchise; and he would never give his assent even to the first stage of a Bill which conferred such power upon any Committee. A Committee so constituted might inflict great wrong and injustice. It might be a Ministerial, it might be an Opposition Committee—but be it what it might, he would never consent to allow any Committee to report to any Secretary of State, that a borough had forfeited its privilege, and to order him to give notice in the Gazette, that such a borough had forfeited its share in the representation. Next he objected to the noble Marquis's plan for paying Members of Parliament. They had that night been occupied in discussing the propriety of Reform; and yet the Bill which was to effect that reform contained a proposition, enabling them to appropriate to themselves 250,000*l.* annually—a very modest proposal, and one well calculated to recommend the House to public confidence. The noble Marquis was for allowing two guineas a-day to every borough, and four guineas a-day to every county, Member; thus showing that he estimated a county Member at double the value of a borough Member. Now taking three guineas as the average sum paid to each Member, supposing the House to sit six days in every week, and the Session to last for twenty-five weeks, the sum annually paid to six hundred and fifty-eight Members would amount to a little more than 250,000*l.* ["*Hear,*" *and laughter*] On these grounds, and thanking the noble Lord for the manly and straightforward manner in which he declined proposing the appointment of a Committee for the purpose of catching a few stray votes—thanking him for having openly declared his plan of Reform—he would state, with equal fairness and equal sincerity, that it was his intention to take the sense of the House on the Motion, and that he was opposed to bringing in the Bill.

Viscount *Howick* observed that, from the manner in which the benches of that House were filled, it was impossible to expect any great object for the benefit of the people would be carried. The hon. Baronet below him (Sir F. Burdett) had not been able, with all his great talents, his well-known perseverance, and his tried integrity, to prevent the passing of any one of those measures which had brought the country to its present state. Mr. Pitt, who commenced his career as a reformer, soon deserted the interests of the people. His great energies were first displayed in the strenuous support of those interests, but that he soon found was a losing game. He saw that the voice of the people in that House was weak and powerless, and that the voice of another class, which had been raised to influence, was all-powerful there; and to that class he attached himself. They now beheld before them a large portion of that party on whom Mr. Pitt relied, loudly clamouring for what was little less than national bankruptcy. [*hear*] Such was the state of the House, that it might be justly asserted that the people of England were not represented in Parliament. The consequence was, that a system of profligacy and extravagance had been pursued which had brought the nation to the verge of ruin; and those who caused it were now afraid to meet and encounter the distress. They came down to that House almost in despair, and to relieve themselves they called for the sacrifice of the national faith; they were anxious to defraud the national creditor of what was due to him under the most solemn pledges. [*hear*] He knew that this was not a very popular feeling on the subject, but he could not avoid stating his opinion boldly. To him it appeared that nothing could essentially serve the country but a perfect and complete reform of that House.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he certainly should not have risen at that late hour, had he not been pointedly alluded to by his hon. friend, the Member for Westminster (Mr. Hobhouse). On a former occasion he did most cheerfully join in hunting down the mangy wolf, and now he would as readily join in the pursuit of the remaining portion of the flock.—[This allusion of the hon. and learned Gentleman was to the conclusion of a speech of his own in the discussion some days before, on a Motion respecting the Borough of East Retford.] If they had scotched one wolf, they certainly ought not to let the others escape. As for the Committee of twenty-one, he was as little disposed to support it as the right hon. Secretary. He was decidedly of opinion that no authority short of the Legislature itself should possess the power of disfranchising Boroughs or Cities—but these details were matters of secondary importance—he looked to the principle of the measure; it was a Bill to secure the popular representation of the people, and beyond that it was a Bill to exclude placemen and pensioners from Parliament; as such he would support it, though he confessed that the plan for paying the Representatives of the people did not meet his approbation. He neither wished for wages from the people, nor for salaries from the crown. But when the right hon. Secretary talked of the wages as so likely to alienate the confidence of the people, he should have remembered that seventy-eight Members of that House received 180,000*l.* of the public money. No doubt all these were right hon. men, and conscientious men; and yet, when any of them gave a conscientious vote, they felt heavy consequences.; witness the fate of the hon. and gallant Member for Sligo. Whether a Groom of the Bedchamber, or holding a higher or a lower office, the moment he presumed to give a conscientious vote, that moment the hand of the King himself struck his name out from amongst the household. Within a short space he was in and out of office; he voted for his conscience and against his interest, and immediately thereupon a new writ is moved for the place represented by his successor in office, who, no doubt, was also a conscientious man; but let him beware how he yielded to the dictates of his conscience. If he dared to oppose the Minister he must resign office instantly. As a representative of the people, he must denounce—his sense of duty called upon him to denounce—any man who, for his services in that House, took money either from the Crown or from any other quarter; but though opposed to the principle of payment, he would call upon the House, in the name of the country, to accede to the great principle of popular representation. It was a matter of the most complete notoriety, that two hundred and forty-three Members of that House were nominated by Peers, one hundred and fifty-nine by Commoners, and that twenty-two sat for Treasury boroughs; thus there were four hundred and twenty-four with seats in that House, who were anything but the Representatives of the people;—One hundred and thirty-four were all who really represented the people. This statement he made from information obtained so far back as the year 1793; humble and insignificant an individual as he was in himself, he would challenge any man to meet him on that ground, and he would pledge himself to prove the accuracy of his statement. Since the period to which he referred there had been an accession to the House of one hundred Members, and certainly that circumstance did not tend to augment the proportion of representatives of the people. Among the Irish Members he could find only twenty-one who were popularly elected, or rather, he should say, who were not nominated by individuals. Now the question which the House would decide by its vote that night was, whether or not that state of the representation was constitutional or otherwise. He would say, that all who paid taxes directly or indirectly were entitled to a vote in the election of the Representatives who were to dispose of those taxes. As a radical reformer he would always maintain that principle. He would, as a reformer, appeal in support of it to the great principle of democratic liberty which made England the great and productive country which she had been for centuries. France and Spain were broader and not less fertile, but it was the great spirit of democracy which made the land of smaller dimensions overtop those which possessed the blessings of nature and all physical advantages, without the moral benefit of free institutions—yes, he would repeat, it was that democratic spirit which had imparted to her all of national glory that she ever possessed. He would not refer to ancient States—those would be mere schoolboy recollections; but he would ask, what gave to Venice eight hundred years of glory abroad and happiness at home, but the same democratic spirit? What but the same spirit gave four hundred years of freedom to the wild mountains of Switzerland, and enabled her sons by their irresistible valour to bear down the iron chivalry of Europe? What gave the States of Northern America, the prosperity, the wealth, and the solid glory which were raising them to an elevated station amongst the nations of the earth? what but the spirit of democratic freedom! That spirit then he would invoke for the resuscitation of England, for giving security to the Throne, and placing the national prosperity upon a permanent basis. What was the result of the present system? They had 800,000,000*l.* of debt—and then to meet that, they had a pleasant speech from the right hon. Secretary, and a stale jest from the hon. Member for Wootton Basset (Mr. Twiss) towards whom he meant no personal disrespect; that was all the public would have in the newspapers to-morrow. Of the great principles of Reform, he had that night heard nothing which could induce him to alter his views. He never could be brought to believe that two hundred individuals were better judges of the interests of the people than the people themselves. He hoped that as the French Budget had been rejected, so would the

Supplies be refused by that House till the prospect of a liberal system were held out. Every day he lived he was the more and more convinced that nothing could be more debasing than the present system of Representation. When he saw Gentlemen otherwise of the highest honour, from the mere contact and association corrupted to the purposes of an oligarchical tyranny, he could not bring himself to speak of the system but with abhorrence and disgust. He raised his voice on behalf of the people; he called upon the House, which had shorn the talons of the Monarchy, to use its power to cut short the fell fangs of the oligarchical faction which lorded it over the land. Let the House but do that, and it would have little difficulty in giving to the Constitution its pristine and genuine form.

Mr. *Brougham* commenced by declaring, that he considered the conduct of the hon. Members for Aylesbury, Cornwall, and Wiltshire to be unfair, they having stated that, although they approved of certain portions of the noble Marquis's Resolution, and would vote for his having leave to bring in his Bill, yet that they did so with the intention of opposing it at some future stage of its progress through that House. He also considered that this project of suffering the measure to exist for one moment, that they might strangle it in the next, was senseless and ridiculous. He would pursue a different course. It was not because he disapproved of some points in that Resolution that he was to pronounce a sweeping condemnation of it, for there were others which met with his most decided approbation; and if he looked upon the question with no other view but that one, he should feel himself bound to give the noble Marquis his vote. He differed certainly from the noble Marquis in the first part of his project, as far as any one man possibly could differ from another. He also disagreed with him as to the policy of wages or payment for Members; yet, when he looked to other parts of that Bill, if he did not falsify all his just professions—if he did not run counter to all his former votes, he could not refuse to give the noble Marquis the opportunity of bringing in his Bill, and so afford him the chance of having its provisions carried into effect. Amongst the desirable objects of this Bill, he found that all copyholders were to have a right to vote—that the expense of elections were to be diminished, by permitting votes to be taken at places immediately in the neighbourhood of the voters—that the Scotch cities and counties were to be placed upon the footing of those of England—a great Reform applied to that portion of our representative system which was completely without defence. In England they talked of a virtual representation—they held up one point, namely, the representation of counties, as a defence for the more exceptionable part; but in Scotland there was no such pretence. In all Scotland there was no trace, no sign, no vestige of free Representation; the cities and counties there were worse than the most rotten boroughs of England, for they had there the complicated and peculiar evil of an election within an election, wherein both were bad. Of all the impure species of return, that by the votes of non-resident freemen was the worst; and all must agree that, if there be a safe Reform—a Reform which should unite all voices, it would be that of cutting off non-resident voters. [*hear, hear*] There were also other parts of the measure deserving of his warmest praise, and which ought to ensure the vote — he would not say of a majority, but of a very large minority, of the House in its favour. His own opinion was, that the Motion would have been better and more acceptably produced under the form of a general Resolution than under that of a specific plan. He begged, therefore, to suggest to the noble Marquis, some alteration to this effect. Such an Amendment would be equally direct for its object, and not incompatible with the noble Marquis's design, because it would lead to a specific measure. For these reasons he thought it would be better, and less dangerous to the great question of Parliamentary Reform, if the noble Marquis would permit him to substitute for his Motion, a general Resolution, to the effect that this House is of opinion that a Reform in the Representation of the Country is expedient. He proposed this, not for the foolish purpose of catching a few votes. For who could suppose that it signified one straw whether the question were lost by ten votes more, or by ten votes less. If any man were so stupid, so senseless, so grossly ignorant of the resources of that great question, as to fancy it could be influenced by the paltry difference of a few votes, he should hold his opinion as of less worth than even this difference between the ten votes more or the ten votes less. [*cheers*] But he felt that the Motion of the noble Marquis was encompassed with many difficulties, which he was anxious to remove. The measure was harnessed with details disagreeable to many persons, who might fear to vote for it, lest by so doing they might appear to sanction those obnoxious details. Thus the noble Marquis had placed those Gentlemen in this predicament—either they must vote for the Bill, and so leave it in doubt whether they did or did not approve of all the details, or else they were subjected to the still more painful alternative of voting against the measure, and so laying themselves open to the suspicion of having relaxed in their zeal for a cause which they had for so long a time professed to advocate. He, therefore, most respectfully begged to offer his humble efforts in substituting a general Amendment for the special Motion. Before sitting down, he wished to allude to some expressions which had fallen from the hon. Member for Wootton Basset (Mr. Twiss). He had heard with infinite indignation that hon. Gentleman charge the noble Marquis who introduced the question (as, he thought in a very zealous and able manner), with having made an ironical Speech in favour of the proposition—and also charge the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. Hobhouse) with having supported the motion in a tone of more stern irony than that adopted by the noble Marquis. The hon. Member had, with very questionable taste, alluded to the noble Mover, and the appellation of the snake in the grass which he had applied to the Bill of the noble Marquis was unwarranted by the frank and honourable manner in which the noble Mover had avowed his conversion. If his hon. and learned friend would bring forward, with such distinguished talent as the noble Lord had displayed that night, Motions for the good of his country, or, when others brought them forward, if he would support them with one half the ability and sincerity of his hon. friend the Member for Westminster, he would hail, with pleasure, his acquisition to the patriot list of that House.

Mr. *H. Twiss* said, he had not the remotest idea of imputing to the noble Marquis any such feeling as the hon. and learned Gentleman adverted to, and therefore he did not deserve the unjust, erroneous, and he would say, unbecoming remarks that were made of him.

Mr. *Brougham* certainly did hear the hon. and learned Member speak of two sorts of irony—the one more ludicrous, the other more stern. As to his observation being unbecoming, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman should thank him for giving him an opportunity of explaining a point, with respect to which, but for that explanation, it would appear that the whole House would have been totally and entirely mistaken.

Mr. *Stanley* said, he felt it to be his duty, being called on to give his vote one way or another, to declare, that he would vote against the Bill. He could not support a Bill now, which he knew he must oppose hereafter.

Colonel *Davies* said, that the Amendment was general, and the hon. Gentleman might vote for that.

Mr. *Maberly*, though a Reformer, could not support the Motion. He hoped the hon. and learned Member for Knaresborough would move his Amendment, which he would support. If he did not, he would leave the House without voting.

Lord *Althorp* declared, that he would vote for the Motion of his noble relation, if it were pressed to a division; but, agreeing with his hon. and learned friend, he thought the best course would be to adopt the Amendment. He therefore moved, " That all the words after the word ' that' be omitted, in order to insert the following :—" It is the opinion of this House that a Reform in the Representation of the people is necessary."

The House then divided on the Question " That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," when the numbers were — For retaining the words 160; For omitting them to make room for the Amendment 57; Majority 113. The original Motion was then negatived.

List of the Majority and also of the Minority.

MAJORITY.

Atkins, Alderman
Ashurst, W. H.
Apsley, Lord
Alexander, J.
Arbuthnot, rt. hon. C.
Arbuthnot, hn. Col. H.
Astley, Sir J. D. Bart.
Ashley, Hon. W.
A'Court, Capt. E. H.
Ashley, Lord
Acland, Sir T.
Bankes, H.

Bankes, W.
Bankes, G.
Batley, H.
Buxton, T. F.
Burrell, W.
Benson, R.
Byron, T.
Barclay, C.
Barclay, D.
Bright, H.
Baring, B.
Boyle, hon. J.
Campbell, J.
Campbell, A.
Cust, hon. E.
Castlereagh, Lord
Carrington, Sir E.
Clive, hon. R.
Cooper, B.
Cartwright, W. R.
Clerk, Sir G.
Courtenay, rt. hon. F. P.
Cockburn, Sir G.
Calvert, J.
Calcraft, rt. hon. J.
Craddock, Col.
Callaghan, G.
Capel, J.
Corry, hon. H.
Corry, Lord
Colborne, R.
Corbett, P.
Darlington, Lord
Downie, R.
Doherty, J.
Dottin, A. R.
Downes, Lord
Daly, J.
Denison, J. E.
Dundas, R.
East, Sir E. H. Bart.
Eliot, Lord
Estcourt, T.
Estcourt, T. H.
Egerton, W.
Ewart, W.
Freemantle, Sir T.
Foster, L.
Fergusson, C.
Gower, Lord F. L.
Graham, Marquis
Graham, Sir J.
Grant, rt. hon. C.
Grant, rt. hon. R.
Greene, T. G.
Hill, Sir R.
Hill, Lord A.
Holmes, W.
Hay, A.
Hope, W. H.
Hope, hon. Sir A.
Herries, rt. hon. C.
Heathcote, Sir W.
Holmesdale, Lord
Hastings, Sir C.
Irving, J.
Jones, J.
Knatchbull, Sir E.
King, Hon. R.
Kekewich, S. T.
Knox, hon. T.
Lygon, hon. H. B.
Loch, J.
Littleton, E. L
Labouchere, H.
Langston, J. H.
Lushington, Col.
Martin, Sir B.
Mountcharles, Lord
Meynell, Captain
Moore, G.
Morgan, Sir C.
Marryat, J.
Manners, Lord C.
Morgan, Captain
Macleod, J. N.
Murray, Sir G.
Milbank, M.
Maitland, Hon. A.
Morland, Sir S. B. Bt.
Mildmay, P.
Malcolm, N.
Norton, G. C.
North, J. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Owen, Sir J. Bart.
Owen, H. O.
O'Bryen, W.
Palmer, R.
Perceval, S.
Petit, L. H.
Peel, rt. hon. R.
Peel, W.
Peel, J.
Peach, N. W.
Peachy, General
Powlett, Lord W. J. F.
Palk, Sir L. V., Bart.
Palmerston, Lord
Roberts, W. A.
Rose, Capt. G. P.
Ross, C.
Rice, T.
Strathaven, Lord
Somerset, Lord R. E.
Somerset, Lord G.
Scott, Sir W.
Smith, R. V.
Spence, G.
Spottiswoode, A.
Scarlett, Sir J.
Scott, H. F.
Sandon, Lord
Sidney, P. C.
Sanderson, R.
Sefton, Lord
Surrey, Lord
Stewart, Sir M. S.
Slaney, R. A.
Stanley, Hon. E.
Thynne, Lord J.
Trench, Colonel
Twiss, H.
Townshend, hon. J.
Thompson, L.
Valletort, Lord
Vyvyan, Sir R.
Van Homrigh, P.
Vernon, G. G. V.
Villiers, T. H.
Walrond, B.
Wallace, T.
Wood, Colonel
Wynn, rt. hon. C. W.
Warrender, right hon. Sir G.
Walpole, Colonel
Ward, W.
Wigram, W.
Wall, B.
Whitmore, W. W.

TELLERS.

Dawson, G. R.
Planta, J.

MINORITY.

Althorp, Lord
Benett, J.
Bernal, R.
Birch, J.
Blake, Sir F.
Brougham, H.
Butler, C.
Burdett, Sir F.
Calvert, N.
Cholmeley, M. J.
Clive, E. B.
Denison, W. J.
Davies, Colonel
Davenport, E.
Dawson, A.
Ebrington, Lord
Easthope, J.
Fergusson, Sir R.
Fortescue, hon. G.
Gordon, R.
Hobhouse, J. C.
Howick, Lord
Ingilby, Sir W.
Jephson, C. O.
Lambert, J. S.
Marjoribanks, S.
Marshall, J.
Marshall, W.
Martin, J.
Monck, J. B.
Nugent, Lord
O'Connell, D.
Palmer, F.
Pendarvis, E. W.
Poyntz, S.
Protheroe, E.
Ramsbottom, J.
Robarts, A. W.
Robinson, Sir G.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, J.
Saville, L.
Smith, W.
Sykes, D.
Taylor, M. A.
Thomson, P.
Warburton, H.
Webbe, Colonel
Wilson, Sir R.
Wells, J.
Whitbread, H.
Whitbread, S.
Western, C.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wood, Ald.
Wood, J.
Wyvill, M.

TELLERS.

Blandford, Marquis of
Joseph Hume

The following is a Copy of the Bill as proposed by the noble Marquis :—

A BILL

To restore the Constitutional Influence of the Commons in the Parliament of England, and to secure for ever the Purity of Representation, and the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in the Commons House of Parliament.

WHEREAS it has been declared and admitted from time immemorial, as well as by ancient statutes, "that the Commons of England were ever a part of the Parliament:"

And whereas it is one of the most ancient and undoubted prerogatives of the Crown, with the advice of the Privy Council, to summons, by writ issued out of Chancery, Sheriffs of the different counties to return Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses to serve in Parliament for such counties, and the cities and boroughs within the same:

And whereas the purpose and object of conferring on the Crown this high and transcendant prerogative, was to insure, by the return of such

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, Feb. 19.

MINUTES.] The Speaker informed the House that he had received a letter from the Hanaper Office, in Dublin, enclosing a petition from Mr. Massy Dawson, which complained of the undue return of Mr. P. Grady for the County of Limerick.

Sir James Graham gave notice, that on Monday next he would move, as an Amendment to the Orders of the Day, a Resolution to consider the manner in which the office of Treasurer of the Navy had been filled up.

Mr. E. Davenport rose to correct an erroneous impression that had got abroad, relative to his motives for postponing his Motion concerning the State of the Country, which stood for Tuesday next. He would have brought his Motion forward on Wednesday, 3rd March; but as another Motion stood for that day, he should postpone it to Friday, the 5th, when he should move a Call of the House.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.] Mr. *Littleton* rose, to present a petition involving a Question of the Privileges of that House. The petition was from a well-known Attorney of great respectability at Birmingham, Mr. Thomas Eyre Lee; of whose professional employment the conduct of private business through the House of Commons was a branch. Mr. Lee stated, that having, in the month of November last, given notice in the newspapers of his intention to apply for a certain Bill in the next Session, he received a letter, dated Great George-street, and signed William Robert Sydney, informing him that the writer had entered into partnership with Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, as Parliamentary Agents; and that his practice and experience for several years gave him facilities in conducting Parliamentary business, which would be found very advantageous to his clients, independently of the alliance which he had formed with Mr. Harvey. The letter was franked by Mr. Harvey, and came under what appeared to be the common seal of the firm. The petitioner disclaimed all private or personal motives, but prayed that the House would take into its serious consideration whether the practice here disclosed, of Members possessing an interest in Bills which were in progress through that House, was not one which ought to be disallowed.

Knights, a representation in Parliament of the landholders or landed interest of the kingdom, and by the return of such Citizens and Burgesses a representation of the trade, and of all other interests within the realm:

And whereas it has ever been considered a noble privilege which entitles the subject to a share in the Government and Legislature of the country, and such as he ought not to be denuded of by accidental or unforeseen circumstances, nor by craft and design:

And whereas when the right of voting was annexed to some tenement, house, or spot of ground where a house had stood, it was never contemplated that any number of these burgage-tenure estates should be purchased by one person in order to be conveyed to so many of his friends or dependants, and that thereby each should have a right to vote, and that so a command of the return of Members to serve in Parliament, and a proprietary interest therein, should be obtained:

And whereas in consequence of the departure from the spirit and meaning of the law, the election of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, is often attended with canvassing, solicitations, and even bribes, on the part of the candidate, and with scenes of drunkenness and corruption on the part of the electors, disgraceful to both parties, and highly detrimental to the community at large; and in other cases such elections are entirely under the command of a single individual, and such individual is, in many instances, a Peer of Parliament, and thus the returns of many Citizens and Burgesses to serve in the House of Commons have become the subject of sale and barter for money, whereby any foreign prince or potentate may, by the mere power of money, and in some instances actually has, purchased for his friends or agents, seats in the House of Commons of England:

And whereas all such things and doings are in direct contradiction to the spirit and meaning of the law, a disgrace and scandal to Parliament, subversive of the rights and liberties of the people, and of the just prerogative and interest of the Crown, rendering it impossible for the King to conduct the government of the country without being dependent on a system of corruption and intrigue, highly detrimental to the safety, honour, and welfare of this kingdom; and whereas the continuance of such abuses would be treason against the people and little short of treason against the King:

And whereas it is highly expedient and necessary that all such abuses should be reformed, and the Commons of England restored to their due and undoubted share in the Legislature, and also that the reformation of such long existing abuses should be brought about with all due care, and in the most rational, just, and considerate manner;

The petition was then brought up. On the Motion that it be read,

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, he thanked the hon. Member for Staffordshire for the candid manner in which he had yesterday evening communicated to him his intention of presenting this petition. Whatever other sentiments the House might entertain respecting the letter in question, they could not consider it defective in candour and openness. As to the petition, until he heard on the authority of the House itself that professional persons engaged in that branch of the profession to which he devoted himself were to be interdicted from pursuing the most respectable part of it, if they happened to be Members of the House of Commons, he should not believe that such was the law. He admitted frankly and at once that the statement in the letter, as it respected himself, was true. If it were declared to be contrary to the law of Parliament, no one would bow more readily than himself to that decision. But the question was one of much greater importance than as it affected him individually. The consideration of it ought to be co-existent with the consideration of a very broad species of reform. Whatever principle on the subject the House might think proper to recognise, no one would more cordially concur in the recognition than himself. If it should be determined that no person being a Member of a Committee of that House should have the remotest shade of interest in the business under the consideration of that Committee, in such a determination he would heartily coincide; and he was persuaded, that it would be very satisfactory to the country thus to show that no Member of a Committee could be exposed to any temptation, direct or indirect, to swerve from the line of his public duty. He apprehended, however, that no hon. Member was prepared to contend that the Committees of that House were so constituted; and he was glad the petition came when nothing had yet been done in private Committees, and, therefore, early enough to admit of the establishment of the principle which he had described; for he would defy any one to say of him that he had taken a part in any Committee, in the business before which he had the tithe of a farthing of interest. Could every Member of a Committee say as much? Men in his branch of the profession had frequently had seats in that House, continuing their practice. The late Mr. Smith, Solicitor for the

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And whereas for the accomplishment of the great ends and important objects of this Act, it is expedient that a Committee of the House of Commons be forthwith appointed in the manner, and with the powers, hereinafter mentioned:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same,

That immediately after the passing of this Act, and in every subsequent Session within ten days after the assembling of Parliament for the despatch of business, a Committee shall be appointed by ballot or lot in the usual manner, consisting of twenty-one Members of the Commons' House of Parliament, with full power to do all things required by this Act, and the said Committee shall be called the Reform Committee, and shall retain its power till the prorogation of the Parliament in which it shall have been appointed:

That it shall be the duty of this Committee, in the first place, to order by any letter or paper writing signed by their Chairman, the Sheriffs of the different Counties, or the Returning Officer of every City and Borough in the United Kingdom, to report to the said Committee the number of Electors for the choosing of Members to sit in the House of Commons for the said City or Borough, distinguishing the number of resident Electors from the number of non-resident Electors, and stating the nature of the rights of voting in such City or Borough; and if necessary the said Committee shall call the said Officer before them, together with all books or papers in his possession relating to the same, and in like manner shall call before them and examine upon oath the said Officers and any other person or persons having, or claiming to have, any interest in the Election of the said Members, or any knowledge concerning the same.

And whereas, certain Corporations or Corporate Bodies do possess the right of franchise by Charter, and do by virtue of the King's Writ, return Members to serve in the Commons' House of Parliament; and whereas such Corporations or Corporate Bodies were, at the time of granting such Charters and Rights of Enfranchisement, composed of the most respectable persons resident in the towns or places to which such Corporations or Corporate Bodies belong, and the members of such Corporations or Corporate Bodies were for the most part chosen or elected into office by the Inhabitants of such towns or places, out of the most discreet and respectable of the townsmen or inhabitants of such towns or places: And whereas, by the lapse of time and from other causes, many of such towns and places have fallen into decay, and abuses have taken place in the mode of election of such

Treasury, was a Member of that House. Mr. Jones, formerly Solicitor to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, was a Member of that House. Would any one say that they had no right to pursue their general practice? If so, the same might be said of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. The profits of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, as compared with the profits of a member of his branch of the profession, were exceedingly great. Having been paid for drawing a bill, they nevertheless felt no hesitation in afterwards coming down to the House, and deliberating and dividing upon it. If it should be established as a principle that no Member of that House could be a Member of a Committee on a matter in which he had the remotest interest, that principle the public and the House would perfectly understand. He, for one, should rejoice to see it established, that when a Member entered a Committee room, he should swear that he had no interest, direct or indirect, in the matter under the consideration of that Committee. He wished the House to understand, however, that the petition which had been presented by the hon. Member for Staffordshire was not, in fact, the petition of Mr. Eyre Lee, but the petition of the officers of that House; for the course which Mr. Sydney was pursuing was unfavourable to their enormous emoluments. He had a right to complain of the enormous expense attending the soliciting of Bills in Parliament. Economy was much talked of, but what he wanted to see was practical economy; and he thought that professional man deserved well of his country who endeavoured to diminish the expense in question. What was the object of the letter of which the petition complained? To inform solicitors that they need not have Parliamentary agents, who would put them to an expense of 500*l*. 600*l*., and 700*l*., and as he had known in some cases 1,000*l*.; but that the business would be transacted at the same rate as ordinary law proceedings. Thus, to propose a saving of time and money was, in his opinion, highly laudable, and he would not shrink from his part of the responsibility attached to the proposition. At the same time, he was quite ready to submit to the opinion of the House if they determined that no Member of that House should have any connection or interest of that nature, and if they applied the principle in all cases rigidly, sternly, and satisfactorily. But he was sure the House

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Corporations or Corporate Bodies, so that in some cases they have been, and now are elected from persons not resident in or connected with the towns or places to which the said Corporations or Corporate Bodies belong; and in other cases they are elected by each other, that is to say, by the Corporation or Corporate Body itself, the inhabitants or citizens of such towns or places having no voice or influence in such elections:

And whereas, it is an undoubted and established principle that all Charters of Franchise may be forfeited by mis-user or non-user:

And whereas it never was contemplated by the law that any City or Borough that had fallen into decay, and was unable to bear the burthen of sending Members to the House of Commons, and of paying them the wages of their attendance, should by any art, decree, or contrivance, fall into the power of a few persons or of a single individual to cause the return of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, and therefore no method is pointed out by the law of putting an end to such abuse, except upon the petition of the said City or Borough, to be relieved of the burthen of sending Members to Parliament:

And whereas the first Writs *de expensis militum*, &c. are coeval with the King's first Writs of summons to elect and send Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses to Parliament:

And whereas the exact amount of such wages have been fixed by Act of Parliament, and ought to be paid according to the difference and in the value of money at the present day:

And whereas from the most ancient times such qualifications have been required on the part of those who are to elect the said Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, as should secure, as far as human wisdom could secure, the independent exercise of such important rights, and therefore the right of voting for Citizens and Burgesses, where there was no charter or custom to the contrary, was limited to all Householders within the same, paying scot and lot,

Be it therefore further enacted, that as soon as the said Committee shall have ascertained the fact that any city or borough shall have fallen into decay, and ceased to be such populous and wealthy place, as, according to this Act was originally intended to bear the burthen of sending a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, or that such city or borough shall by any means have fallen into a state that the return of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, is become a proprietary interest, or is absolutely in the power and at the command of any one individual, or of a few individuals, whether sole or corporate, or that such return at the last election was obtained by means of money given to the electors, or that the electors of such city or borough are would not apply to any individual a restriction, however wholesome it might be considered, from which the Members at large were exempt. To whatever decision, however, the House might come upon the subject, he should cheerfully submit. [*hear, hear*].

Mr. *Littleton* gave great credit to the hon. Gentleman for the candour and frankness with which he had expressed himself. He had not determined whether to move the reference of the Petition to a Select Committee, or to the Committee of Privileges. At present he would merely move that the Petition be printed.

Mr. *Harvey* observed, that he had omitted to mention that before he had taken the step which he had adopted, he had taken the advice of a very eminent pleader, who was a Member of a Committee of which he was also a Member. That Gentleman had reminded him of the instance of Sir James Graham. The Committee on which they were sitting was a Gas-Light Committee; the hon. Member, when he (Mr. Harvey) asked him if he thought there would be any objection to the step which he contemplated, on the ground that a Member ought not to have an interest in any Parliamentary proceeding, bade him look round them, and he would see that there were several Members who had shares to a large amount in the undertaking to which the Bill under consideration related. For himself, he had never attempted to obtain any undue influence in Committees of that House; and his Parliamentary conduct had been, and would continue to be, as independent as that of any man in the House. He believed that even the hon. Member for Staffordshire himself had a considerable interest in a Canal, the Bill respecting which was in a Committee to which that hon. Member belonged. For himself he repeated, that he never had had an interest of that kind to the amount of six-and-eight pence. [*a laugh*].

Mr. *Littleton* said, that the hon. Member was mistaken in supposing that he had any interest in the Coventry Canal. In other Canal Bills, however, he had certainly had an interest.

The Petition was then ordered to be printed.

COMMUTATION OF SENTENCES.] Mr. *Stanley* begged to call the attention of

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so reduced in point of wealth and number, that they could not, and ought not, to bear the burthen of sending a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, and to pay the wages of attendance according to the value of money at the present day, or that any corporation of any city or borough to which a Charter has been granted to send a Member or Members to serve in Parliament have not been elected by the Burgesses at large, but elected by themselves or in any other manner, whereby the city or borough is deprived of the power of electing a Member or Members to serve in Parliament: in all or any of such cases, it shall be the duty of the Chairman of the said Committee to report such fact to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and such report shall be deemed and taken to be the petition of the city or borough to which it relates, to be relieved of the burthen of sending a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, or where there has been a franchise by Charter to such city or borough, granted by the Crown or by Parliament, such report shall be deemed and taken to be a forfeiture of such franchise upon the ground of misuser, and it shall be the duty of such Secretary of State to announce in the Gazette that under and by virtue of this Act, such city or borough has ceased to send a Member or Members to serve in Parliament.

And it shall be the duty of the said Committee to begin making such reports as are herein before-mentioned in respect of those boroughs where the right of voting depends upon estates held by burgage tenure, and then in respect of those cities or boroughs where there are the fewest number of electors, and to proceed in such order throughout the whole of the cities and boroughs in the United Kingdom that send a Member or Members to serve in Parliament.

And as soon as it shall be declared in the Gazette that any city or cities, borough or boroughs, or any cinque port or other town that now sends a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, has ceased to send a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, it shall be the duty of the said Committee to select, and report to the said Secretary of State, that they have selected such populous, unrepresented, or inadequately represented town or place, including such hundreds, districts, or parishes surrounding such town or place as the said Committee shall think proper to point out, in order to fulfil the object and intentions of this Act, so that the said electors shall be fully equal to bear the burthen of paying a Member or Members the wages of attendance according to the value of money at the present day, and that there shall be no immediate danger of the franchise being abused by misuser or non-user. And it shall be the duty of the said Committee to point out in such report who shall be the

the House and the right hon. Secretary of State for the Home Department to a Petition, which was of no inconsiderable importance, although it proceeded from a single individual, and that individual in a very unfortunate situation. As far as he was aware, the case was altogether new. The circumstances were these:—In 1824, the Petitioner was convicted under what is called Lord Ellenborough's Act, of stabbing with intention to commit murder. The Judge before whom he was tried accordingly ordered sentence of death to be recorded. Afterwards, however, being impressed with the notion that the prisoner, at the time of committing the offence, was not sane, he commuted the punishment to one which, as far as he (Mr. Stanley) was informed, was altogether new, and in the strictest sense of the expression, illegal. He had consulted many professional men on the subject, and they had uniformly declared that it was not conformable to the practice of the law nor consistent with the Constitution, for the Judge to commute the sentence of death to a sentence of imprisonment for the prisoner's natural life, accompanied with hard labour. If the case of the prisoner's sanity had been put to the Jury and they had determined that at the time of committing the offence he was not sane, the prisoner would then have been detained in custody until his Majesty's pleasure respecting him was known. But that was not put to the Jury, and by their verdict of guilty they established the prisoner's sanity. The proceeding was exclusively that of the Judge, whose motive no man could for an instant question—for that Judge was Mr. Justice Bailey; than whom a more humane man never sat upon the bench [*hear, hear*]. He should be glad, however, to know if the learned Judge was justified in the course which he had adopted? The Petitioner had now been five years in prison, although frequent applications had been made to the right hon. Gentleman opposite by respectable individuals, by the Grand Jury, and he believed by the Judge himself, for a remission of his punishment. It was well known that the right hon. Gentleman was always ready to attend to applications of that nature; but the circumstances in which he was placed with respect to the subject were so full of difficulty, that it had been thought desirable that the Petitioner should lay his case before the House. The difficulty

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returning officer or officers of such town or place.

And be it further enacted, that in all such cases the right of voting shall be, and is hereby declared to be, in all the inhabitant householders assessed to any rate or tax, parochial or Parliamentary, within such town or place, or within such hundreds, districts, or parishes surrounding the same; and all such electors shall be assessed by the returning officer or officers thereof, for the payment of such wages as aforesaid, and of all expenses attending the return of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, according to the value of the houses inhabited by such electors.

And it shall be the duty of the said Secretary of State upon the receipt of such report from the said Committee to cause the same to be forthwith published in the Gazette, and to transmit a copy thereof to the Lord High Chancellor of England, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and to the returning officer or officers of such town or place, with directions forthwith to make the same as public as possible therein: and such report so made by the said Committee to the said Secretary of State according to the directions of this Act, shall be deemed and considered to be the Charter of enfranchisement of such city, borough, town, or place as shall be therein mentioned, for the purpose of sending a Member or Members to serve in Parliament.

And it shall be the duty of the Lord High Chancellor of England, in the event of a new Parliament, and of the Speaker of the House of Commons, while Parliament is sitting, to cause such writs to be sent to the Sheriffs of every county in which such town or place shall be situated, for the return of a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, as shall be in conformity with the provisions of this Act.

And it is hereby enacted, that the wages of attendance, as aforesaid, shall be well and truly paid to the said Member or Members, and that any agreement or understanding to the contrary shall render void the election of any Member that shall have entered into the same; and the amount of such wages, according to the present value of money, shall be deemed, and taken to be, after the rate of   a day for every Member of any city, borough, town, or place, and   a day for every Member of any county; and the same shall be assessed upon the electors, according to the value of the houses they inhabit, or of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, which afford the right of voting.

And be it further enacted, that as soon as the said Committee shall have proceeded in manner as aforesaid, to have enfranchised such populous unrepresented, or inadequately represented cities, boroughs, or towns throughout the United Kingdom, in place of those that was this;—the sentence having been once commuted, could not again be commuted for transportation; for if the prisoner were to return from transportation without leave, he could not be punished for that act. On the other hand, to the liberation of the prisoner, the prosecutor would not consent, conceiving that in that case his own life would not be safe; and thus his fate mainly depended on the opinion of one individual, and that individual his prosecutor. It was undoubtedly a case of hardship. He should be glad to be informed if there were no means of affording the Petitioner relief, either by a pardon, conditional on his immediately leaving the country, or by some other mode which would insure his going abroad. He was a young man not above three or four-and-thirty; and his anxiety to avoid passing his whole life within the walls of a prison was by no means surprising. He moved for leave to bring up the Petition.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, that he believed the hon. Member had correctly stated all the facts of the case, as far as the Petitioner was concerned. The Petitioner, whose name was Wild, was capitally convicted in the year 1824, under Lord Ellenborough's Act, of stabbing his uncle, in whose employment he was. He (Mr. Peel) would purposely abstain from detailing the evidence on which the Petitioner had been convicted, in order that he might not create a prejudice against him. Sentence of death having been recorded against the prisoner, the Judge before whom he was tried afterwards entertained some doubt whether he was sane at the time of the commission of the offence. That Judge, as the hon. Gentleman had stated, was Mr. Justice Bailey, whose complete knowledge of the law, and whose great humanity in the administration of it, every one must acknowledge. [*hear, hear*]. Under the influence of the doubt which he had described, Mr. Justice Bailey determined not to leave the Petitioner for execution, but commuted the punishment to imprisonment for life with hard labour. The hon. Member said that was illegal. He (Mr. Peel) did not think that its perfect legality could be questioned. He entertained this conviction because he had received eight or ten letters on the subject from Mr. Justice Bailey himself; and he was sure that if the learned Judge had entertained any doubt of the legality of his proceeding, he

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shall have been thus declared to have ceased to send Members to serve in Parliament, it shall be the duty of the said Committee, if any number of seats remain unfilled-up, as aforesaid, to select such counties in Scotland as are at present subject to alternate representation only, and afterwards such other counties in the United Kingdom as the said Committee shall think stand most in need of one or more additional Members, and thereupon to make their report to the said Secretary of State; and it shall be the duty of the said Secretary forthwith to publish the same in the Gazette, and to cause copies thereof to be sent to the Lord High Chancellor of England, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Sheriffs of the said counties for the purposes aforesaid; provided always, that before the said Committee shall thus add to the representation of any of the counties in the United Kingdom, save and except to those counties in Scotland, now unrepresented as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the said Committee to select such hundreds, parishes, and districts, surrounding such cities or boroughs where the inhabitant householders now have the right of voting, and which city or borough shall not fall within any of the reasons above-mentioned, to justify the said Committee, according to the meaning and intention of this Act, in making any report concerning the same to the said Secretary of State, so that the inhabitant householders in the said hundreds, parishes, and districts, assessed to any rate or tax, parochial or parliamentary, shall, together with the present electors in such city or borough, be fully equal to bear the burthen of paying the wages of attendance as aforesaid; and upon such selection to report the same to the said Secretary of State; and it shall be the duty of the said Secretary forthwith to publish the same in the Gazette, and transmit copies thereof as aforesaid, and for the like purposes.

And it is hereby declared, that all such inhabitant householders shall be electors at the next, and at all future elections for the said city or borough, and shall be assessed accordingly, in manner aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that if, notwithstanding the obvious intent and meaning of this Act, to confer upon every householder as aforesaid, in the United Kingdom, the right of voting for a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, any such householder shall find himself not included in any of the hundreds, parishes, or districts, selected in any case by the said Committee as aforesaid, it shall be in the power of such householder to vote at the next and all future elections for a Member or Members to serve in Parliament in the city, borough, town, or place, that shall happen to be the nearest to the residence of such householder, provided he shall not be entitled to vote for the county at large, and that before would have conferred with the other Judges on the subject, and would have communicated the result of that conference. Capital sentence having been passed upon the Petitioner, he (Mr. Peel) could not understand why to commute that punishment for imprisonment for life was illegal. He had submitted the case to the Law Officers of the Crown; and they entertained no doubt of the legality of the commutation of the punishment of death for any punishment of less severity. In treating of the general doctrine of pardons, it was observed by Blackstone, "A pardon may also be conditional; that is, the King may extend his mercy upon what terms he pleases; and may annex to his bounty a condition either precedent or subsequent, on the performance whereof the validity of the pardon will depend; and this by the common law." He believed, therefore, that the sentence was a perfectly legal one. He had referred the whole of the facts to the hon. and learned Gentleman who was then the Attorney General and his learned colleague, and they never had a doubt of the legality of the proceeding. But they stated, that after a Judge had commuted a punishment, it was not in the power of a Secretary of State to make a further commutation. The hard labour, however, had been remitted. A word on general cases of this kind.—No situation could be more painful than that of a man acquitted of a crime on the ground of his insanity; and the present was a case similar in its character. If so acquitted, he still became a prisoner for life. He regretted to say, that many unhappy persons were in that condition. Now a man might be acquitted of murder, or some other capital offence, on the ground of his being insane at the time, and might be imprisoned in consequence; but he might afterwards become perfectly sane, and apply for his discharge. The Secretary of State had then a very painful duty to perform; a duty which required the exercise of much caution. He remembered the case of a woman tried for arson, and acquitted on the ground of insanity, who was released from confinement by his predecessor in office, on its appearing that she had become perfectly sane. The first thing however that she did after her liberation, was to return to the place where she had committed the offence for which she had been tried, and in the most extraordinary and deliberate

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tendering his vote, he shall have given notice in writing that he is ready and willing to be assessed as aforesaid, and such notice shall be given to the returning officer of such city, borough, town, or place:

And whereas, when the right of voting for Knights or Members for counties to serve in Parliament was limited to freeholders, leaseholds for long terms of years were unknown, and copyholders were absolutely dependant on the will of their lords:

And whereas, in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, a system has crept in of separating the freehold or superiority from the property, whereby voters have been created who may possess no land whatever within the county, and moreover much landed property is now held by what is called feu-right for long terms of years, and quite independent of the will of the Lords or superiors; and all such property, like the said leaseholds and copyholds in England, is entirely unrepresented, contrary to the fundamental principles of the Constitution:

And whereas, many freeholders, whose lands, tenements, or hereditaments happen to be situate in any city, borough, or other place, which is a county of itself, may be unrepresented:

Be it therefore further enacted, that all such freeholders last above mentioned shall be entitled to vote at the next, and all subsequent elections, for the county at large, within which such city, borough, town, or other place, shall be situate, the same as if their lands, tenements, or hereditaments, were situate in the said county, and that all persons who shall hold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, by copy of Court Roll, or under and by virtue of any leases, or feu-rights for ninety-nine years, or for any other term of years, provided such leases or feu-rights for such other term of years shall be renewable from time to time for ever at the will of the leasee or feuar, or by virtue of any lease or feu-right for any term of years, whereof not less than twenty-one shall be to come and unexpired at the time of such persons tendering their votes, shall be entitled to vote at the next and at all subsequent elections for a Member or Members to serve in Parliament for that county within which such lands or hereditaments are respectively situated in the same manner as if such persons had a freehold estate in such lands, tenements, or hereditaments.

And it is hereby declared, that the right of voting in any county for a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, shall in no case whatever be hereafter created, by any such contrivances of separating the superiority from the property, nor shall such right be hereafter exercised by any person not in possession of the property, as well as the superiority; but all persons now in possession of such rights of manner again set fire to the same premises. Another, who had been acquitted of murder on the ground of insanity, and afterwards liberated when it was presumed that he had become sane, had been detected in a contrivance to murder three persons. A person in confinement might appear perfectly in the possession of his senses; but when he returned into the world, and was exposed to all the irritation resulting from mixing in society, his insanity might return, as frequently happened. In his description of his own case, the Petitioner stated that he had formerly been wounded in the head, and that when he took a little liquor he did not know what he was doing. Some caution was necessary before such a person was again let loose upon society. He (Mr. Peel) had applied to the prosecutor for his consent to the liberation of the prisoner; but the answer was, that he had a wife and nine children, and that he should not consider his life safe if the prisoner were released. He (Mr. Peel) would most willingly have commuted the imprisonment for transportation for life, had such a commutation been legal, but having consulted the Law Officers on the subject, they decided that he had no authority to do so. He had intimated to the prisoner, that although he could not commute his sentence, yet that if he could obtain ample security that the prisoner would immediately embark for New South Wales, and would remain there, he would consent to such an arrangement.

Sir C. *Wetherell* confirmed the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman. The case had been referred to him officially when he was Attorney General, and he had given it as his opinion that a sentence of death might be commuted for perpetual imprisonment; but that any second commutation would be illegal.

Colonel *Davies* said, that this individual had been wounded in the head, and when in liquor he was insane; as the persons in New South Wales had an equal value for their lives as the people of England, it was as absurd to allow the prisoner to go free in one country as in the other.

Mr. *Peel* said, that no man was in any danger from the prisoner, except an individual against whom he entertained some particular feelings of revenge. The House, he trusted, would pause before they asked for papers in a matter so exclusively belonging to the prerogatives of the Crown.

Mr. *Stanley* read a part of the Petition;

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voting as arise from the superiority alone, distinct from the property, shall be entitled to vote at the next and at all subsequent elections for the city, borough, town, or place, that shall be nearest to the place of residence of such persons, provided such notice shall be given to the returning officer thereof in respect of assessment, as is hereinbefore mentioned.

And be it further enacted, that no Burgess, or other person now having a right to vote in any city, borough, or place, for any Member or Members to serve in Parliament, shall again be allowed to exercise such right, unless he be resident within the same; and as it is not the intention of this Act to disfranchise any person whatever, it is hereby declared, that all such non-resident Burgesses, shall be entitled to vote at the next and all subsequent elections for the city, borough, town, or place, that shall be nearest to the place of residence of such persons, provided such notice shall be given to the returning officer thereof, in respect of assessment, as is hereinbefore mentioned.

And whereas, it is expedient to prevent the present enormous expense often attending elections both in towns and counties; be it therefore further enacted, that it shall be the duty of the said Committee to make such regulations, as to counties, respecting the places in each county at which the poll, if demanded, shall be adjourned after the two first days of the election; and as to large and populous towns, respecting the manner in which the numbers of the electors in each town may be increased and apportioned, or such other regulations as the said Committee may think proper for the sake of putting an end to all great expenses, and of rendering the right of voting as convenient and as efficient as possible. And such regulations shall be reported to the Secretary of State, to be published in the *Gazette*, and transmitted to the Sheriffs of the said counties, and returning officer of the said towns, as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that an Act passed in the 9th year of his present Majesty, entitled "An Act to regulate the mode of taking the poll at the election of Members to serve in Parliament for cities, boroughs, and ports in England and Wales, and all other Acts whereby the expense of erecting booths or polling places for the election of any Member or Members to serve in Parliament, is put upon the candidate, or on the person putting such candidate in nomination, are hereby repealed.

And whereas, by repealing a modern Act of Parliament, namely, the 1st of Geo. I. commonly called the Septennial Bill, and by the repeal of another Act still more modern, namely 14th George III. c. 58, which repealed the wise enactments of the 23rd Hen. VI. c. 14, and the 1st of Hen. V. requiring the electors and after an explanation from Mr. Peel, it was ordered to lie on the Table.

WAYS AND MEANS.] The House, upon the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House upon the Ways and Means.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved—first, "That, in order to make good the Supply voted to his Majesty, the sum of 2,500,000*l.* now remaining in the Exchequer over and above the expenditure for 1829, should be applied to the service of the year 1830;" and, secondly, "That, in order to make good the said Supply, a sum of 4,000,000*l.* should be applied out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year 1830."

The Motions were passed, and the Report was ordered to be received on Monday next.

SUPPLY—REDUCTIONS.] The order of the day for a Committee of the whole House to consider further of the Supply having been read,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, in moving that the Speaker do leave the Chair, in order to enable the House to go into the consideration of the Army Estimates, and the reductions which his Majesty's Government were enabled to propose in that branch of the Public Expenditure, in the fulfilment of a pledge which he had offered to the House some nights ago, he should avail himself of that opportunity to state the total reductions which, according to an expressed intention, Government had made in the Estimates now about to be submitted to the Committee,—a statement which it was necessary to make upon this occasion, in order that before hon. Gentlemen entered into a Committee of Supply, they might have before them, in a connected shape, the whole of the reductions adopted in the various estimates of Public Expenditure for the current year. The course which he was now about to pursue differed, in a slight degree, from the former practice upon like occasions, but was not attended by any other difficulties beyond this,—that it imposed upon him the necessity of soliciting the indulgence of the House to this extent,—namely, that if on the future presentation of the estimates it should be found that a small degree of difference existed between their actual amount and their estimated amount, according to his

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and the elected to be resident within their respective counties, cities, and boroughs, the purity of representation would be greatly increased, and those laws restored which ought never to have been repealed.

Be it therefore further enacted, that from and after the expiration of the present Session of Parliament, the said Act made in the first year of the reign of his late Majesty, King George the First, entitled, "An Act for enlarging the time of continuance of Parliaments appointed by an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary," and also the said Act made in the fourteenth year of the reign of his late Majesty George the Third, entitled, "An Act for repealing an Act made in the first year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, so much of several Acts of the eighth, tenth, or twenty-third years of King Henry the Sixth, as relates to the residence of persons to be elected Members to serve in Parliament, or of the persons by whom they are chosen," shall be, and the same are hereby wholly repealed and declared to be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if the said Acts had never been had or made. Provided always, that whenever any city, borough, or port is now entitled by Charter to choose from themselves and others, a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, it shall be the duty of the said Committee, notwithstanding any thing contained in this Act, by their report as aforesaid, to confirm the said right of choosing from others to such city, borough, or port, or to transfer such right to such other town as they may select to fill up the place of such city, borough, or port, according to the directions of this Act. And it is hereby declared that the fact of any such resident inhabitant of any city, borough, or place, being elected to serve in Parliament, shall be held to make such inhabitant free of such city, borough, or place, for the purpose of satisfying the said Act passed in the first year of King Henry the Third, hereinbefore mentioned.

And whereas, from the time of the reign of King Henry the Third, to the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne, there was no law to prevent such Citizens and Burgesses from sitting in Parliament as might not be in possession of freehold or copyhold estates of the annual value of three hundred pounds:

And whereas it is expedient that the laws of England touching the representation of the Commons of England, should be restored to the state in which they stood for so many hundred years; and that cities and boroughs should not be bound down to make choice of landed men, inasmuch as such landed men may not be always found in the said cities and boroughs, and therefore the electors thereof should be at liberty to elect such persons among them as have the same interests, know-present statement, the House would bear in mind that, up to the very moment of presenting them, the several branches of expenditure with which they were connected still continued susceptible of inquiry and amendment, and that hence, possibly, without the least intention upon his part of misleading or deluding the Legislature, a slight variation might occur between their actual and estimated amount. However this might turn out, he undertook to say, that whatever variation might appear in the Estimates, the total reduction would not be less than that at which he should state it; [*hear*] for his principle and practice on this, as upon every other occasion, were, that as he did not attempt to exaggerate the difficulties of the country, so he refrained from exaggerating the prospects of relief held out by the reductions upon the Estimates which he was prepared to state to the House, so as to enable hon. Gentlemen to see clearly the intention of his Majesty's Government. Before he entered upon his task, he might as well observe, that it was one which was not likely to occupy any very considerable portion of the time of the House in its performance. He should wholly abstain from any reference to the particular details and circumstances of each estimate, or to the reasons which influenced his Majesty's Government in arranging their precise amount, because these were topics that would be fitter for the consideration of Gentlemen when they came to the several votes upon them; and because he felt that those reasons applied with peculiar force to the Estimates that had been prepared by his right hon. friend near him, whose duty it was to submit the details of them to the House, and, in doing so, to explain the principle upon which Government had proceeded in framing them. But he had one or two preliminary observations to make before stating the plain and naked facts which he should have to lay before the House.

In the first place he felt extremely anxious that in judging of the extent of the reductions in the national establishments which it was the object of his Majesty's Government to make, the House would constantly bear in mind the precise amount of expenditure upon which those reductions were to be made; and, further, that these were not reductions on estimates framed upon a plainly and admittedly extravagant scale of expenditure of preceding years; that they were not reductions now

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ledge, and feelings as themselves: and whereas, by an Act passed in the 12th and 13th year of the reign of his Majesty King William 3rd, entitled "An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject," it was among other things enacted "That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving in the House of Commons," and by the same Act it was solemnly declared that the laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof:"

And whereas this wise provision for the better securing the rights and liberties of the people, has been entirely defeated by an Act passed in the 6th year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne,

Be it therefore further enacted, that so much of the Act passed in the ninth year of the reign of Queen Anne entitled "An Act for securing the freedom of Parliaments by the farther qualifying the Members to sit in the House of Commons," as renders it necessary for every citizen or burgess to have an estate of freehold or copyhold of the annual value of 300*l.* to sit in Parliament is hereby repealed, together with all oaths and other regulations affecting such qualification in any subsequent Act or Acts, and particularly those contained in an Act passed in the thirty-third year of his Majesty King George 2nd, entitled "An Act to enforce and render more effectual the Laws relating to the qualification of Members to sit in the House of Commons," and all those contained in an Act passed in the fifty-ninth year of his late Majesty King George 3rd, entitled "An Act for further regulating the qualification of Members to serve in the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland;" and also that so much of the Act passed in the 6th year of the reign of Queen Anne, entitled "An Act for the security of her Majesty's person and Government, and of the succession to the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line," as enables any person or persons accepting offices or places of profit under the King to be re-elected, is hereby repealed; and it is declared that the said enactment in the Act passed in the 12th and 13th year of the reign of King William 3rd, was meant to extend to all offices or places of profit under the King that then existed, or that should thereafter exist, and the said enactment is hereby extended to the same accordingly.

And whereas it is expedient that no modern Act touching the freedom of election or the eligibility of Members to serve in Parliament should be suffered to disgrace the Statute-book, if the same shall have been made in any particular case, and from personal motives towards any individual, and particularly where the rights and interests of a large and learned body of men have been thereby improperly affected;

for the first time brought forward after years of lavish and unnecessary expenditure, but, on the contrary, that they were submitted to Parliament after successive periods of reduction, after repeated retrenchments, and after close examination and inquiry. In corroboration of this statement he might observe that the Estimates for the year 1829 were less by 200,000*l.* than those of the year preceding; and that the Estimates of 1828 were less than those of the year before by about 500,000*l.*; making in the two last years a reduction of nearly 700,000*l.* upon these Estimates. There was another observation which he was desirous of addressing to the House upon this subject; that was, that in forming an opinion of the value and amount of the reductions, hon. Gentlemen should bear in mind that they must not consider them in reference to the whole amount of the Estimates for the maintenance of our establishments, Army, Navy, &c., which were in the last year 17,600,000*l.*; for if the House were to imagine that to be the sum on which the whole of the reductions were made, it would come to a very erroneous conclusion on the subject of the proportion and relative value existing between the reductions and that portion of our expenditure with which it was in the power of Government to deal in making them. Of that sum of 17,600,000*l.* a great part was expenditure on account of services long gone by, and not on account of present services; and the claim for payments of this nature came rather in the form of a demand on the honour and good faith of the country than as a matter connected with existing or future exigencies, which the House might regulate according to its pleasure under the dictates of expediency. The country could not get rid of such demands without a direct breach of honour and good faith towards the parties, and without departing from that strict sense of national justice which always distinguished the proceedings of the House of Commons. If, then, we deducted from the 17,600,000*l.* which constituted the amount of the Estimates for the preceding year, that portion of the expenditure which was caused by the satisfaction of the claims alluded to, we should leave a sum of little more than 12,000,000*l.*, upon and in reference to which, the reductions of the present year could fairly be calculated. Having made these preliminary observations, he should proceed to state the several Estimates in the details of which

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And whereas An Act passed in the forty-first year of his late Majesty King George 3rd, entitled, "An Act to remove all doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House of Commons," was passed for a particular case, against a single individual, and does affect the rights of a large and learned body of men, and by its then *ex post facto* operation against the said individual, and all others who had taken holy orders, was and is a disgrace to the Statute-book,

Be it therefore further enacted, that the said Act shall be cancelled and taken off the file and records of the Statute Book, or otherwise defaced and obliterated that the same may not be visible in after ages, and the said Act is hereby wholly repealed and declared to be null and void to all intents and purposes.

And whereas it is expedient and highly necessary that effectual means should be taken to secure the due attendance of the Members of the said Committee: Be it therefore further enacted, that not less than fifteen Members of the said Committee shall always be present at each sitting, and that the Chair shall be taken in succession, that all the expenses of witnesses; and all other expenses necessary for the carrying this Act into full execution, shall be paid in the same manner as in all other parliamentary inquiries; that in no case shall the time of the said Committee be occupied in hearing counsel, nor shall any unnecessary delay take place; and upon complaint of any Member of the House of Commons, it shall be the duty of the Speaker to give such directions under his hand, respecting the sittings of the said Committee, and of the attendance of the Members thereof, as shall secure the due execution of this Act.

And be it further enacted, that it shall be the duty of the said Committee to direct how and by what persons the assessments herein before-mentioned may most conveniently be raised and levied on the electors, and how all other things necessary to give effect to this Act are to be done and executed, and to report the same to the said Secretary of State, and it shall be the duty of the said Secretary of State to give notice of the same to the proper authorities, and to see that all the directions transmitted to him by the said Committee are duly executed and performed.

And be it further enacted, that it shall be in the power of the said Committee to send for and examine upon oath such witnesses as they may think proper, and that all the Members of the said Committee shall themselves take the following Oath:—

"I do solemnly promise and swear, that laying aside all private interests or motives, I will, to the best of my judgment, faithfully execute all the provisions of the Act under which I have been appointed a Member of the Reform Committee, according to the plan and the reductions had been practically made; assuring the House that the gross reduction, as would appear upon the face of it, was the result of continued, anxious, and most mature consideration upon the part of his Majesty's Government, entered into with the sincere desire of making every diminution in the public expenditure which was compatible with the safety of the country and the maintenance of the establishments necessary to the attainment of that object. The first Estimate he should mention was that which formed the subject of that evening's discussion, and from which, as the House was already aware from the papers presented a few nights ago by his right hon. friend the Secretary at War, a reduction had been made of about 213,000*l.* as compared with the expenditure of the preceding year. The amount of the Army Estimates for 1829 was, in round numbers, 6,300,000*l.*; the amount of the Estimates for the present year being (also in round numbers) 6,100,000*l.* Upon this head, there was a saving of about 213,000*l.* The Army Extraordinaries next presented themselves to his attention; and upon them it had been found possible, by strict watchfulness and careful superintendence, which were the truest and most effectual modes of effecting safe and salutary reductions, to secure a diminution of 150,000*l.* on the vote of last year. The Militia Estimates formed the third vote for branches of Military service, and upon them it was found practicable, by the close and accurate investigation of the right hon. Secretary at War, to effect reductions to the amount of more than 65,000*l.*—[Sir Henry Hardinge here said 64,000*l.*]—he meant above 64,000*l.* To complete the votes on account of the Army, it was only necessary for him to allude to the reduction effected in the Commissariat department: it would be found that the reductions under this head in the present year amounted to a sum of nearly 25,000*l.*, making the total reductions on account of the grants for the support of the Army, 453,146*l.* as compared with the expenditure of 1829; and leaving the whole sum of our expenditure for the three branches of Military force, 7,366,000*l.* When this Estimate for the expenses of our Army during the present year was examined minutely, and compared with our expenditure of antecedent years on the same account, he felt sure that the comparison and examination must be most satisfactory to the House; for, taking the Army Estimates, Extraordinaries, and Militia Estimates of the year, they would not only be found less than the military expenditure of many preceding years; but even if we

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obvious meaning of the said Act, as set forth in the preamble and enactments of the same, and if it shall appear to me that any improvement can be made in the said Act for the better fulfilling the clear intentions of the Legislature as therein expressed, I will not fail to propose that such improvement shall be reported to the House of Commons, or to vote for it if proposed by others, and that in a matter of such importance, as restoring to the House of Commons the perfect confidence of the nation, and securing for ever the rights and liberties of the people, I will consider it my duty to be regular and punctual in my attendance on the said Committee, sickness or any other unavoidable cause alone preventing such attendance."

And whereas, in the present distressed and alarming state of the country, it may not be safe to wait for the deliberate investigations and reports of the said Committee, as required by this Act,

Be it therefore further enacted, that in case of a dissolution of the present Parliament before the said Committee shall have reported upon every city, borough, and port, in the United Kingdom, and that such report shall have been published in the Gazette, by the said Secretary of State, in manner before mentioned, no writ for the election of Citizens or Burgesses, shall be sent to the following places Old Sarum, Gatton, Westbury———*

And be it further enacted, that writs in place of the before mentioned writs shall be sent by the said Secretary of State, together with a sufficient number of copies of this Act to the Sheriffs of such counties as the King, with the advice of the Privy Council, shall think proper, and the said Sheriffs shall be commanded to return such number of Citizens and Burgesses for such large, populous, unrepresented, or inadequately represented towns, the same being fully able to bear the burthen of paying the wages of attendance as aforesaid, as shall be specified in the said writs; and the said Sheriffs shall be further commanded to give notice to such persons as may be appointed to be the returning officer or officers of such towns or to the inhabitants thereof, as publicly as possible, that returns of all Members to serve in Parliament are to be made by the majority of votes of the inhabitant householders of such towns, assessed to any tax, parochial or parliamentary, and who shall agree to be assessed to the wages of attendance as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that all the pro-went back so far as the year 1794, and compared our present expenditure with any year since that period—whether a year of war or of peace—we should see that this Estimate was lower in amount than any one Estimate of a like kind that had been brought forward since 1794. [Sir Henry Hardinge said, "since 1804."] His right hon. friend said "1804:" it might be so; but with all deference to his right hon. friend, he rather apprehended he was right in his statement of the comparative moderation of the Military Estimates for the present year. However, whether the period with which we could institute a favourable comparison extended back to 1794 or only to 1804, he thought the present amount of expenditure very reasonable, and (taking the more recent date) it must be extremely satisfactory to the House to find that our Army Estimates for 1830 were less than they had been for the last six-and-twenty years. The next vote, in point of order, was the vote for the Ordnance; and in reference to that vote he had a single observation to offer to the House. It was, that if there existed one vote which more than another had engaged the time and attention of Government, of the House, or of Committees appointed by the House, with a view to reduction of expenditure, the Ordnance was that particular branch of public service, the Estimates of which had been most minutely canvassed, and in reference to the expenditure of which every species nearly of reduction had been previously practised. It was on this account that the present amount of reduction upon the Ordnance Estimates was proportionately less than the reductions upon other branches of service,—it was limited to a sum of 29,000*l.* With respect to the expenditure of the Navy, upon that, as on the Army Estimates, a very considerable reduction would take place in the present year. The saving upon the Navy Estimates, as compared with last year, would amount to a sum of 273,000*l.* within a few pounds. As to the Miscellaneous Estimates, the House would bear in mind that upon the class of votes included under that head it was more difficult to make large and immediate reductions than upon others, because in the Miscellaneous Estimates were included public works now in progress, which Parliament had already sanctioned, and which the Government was under the necessity of completing, or of abandoning in an unfinished state after having sustained the expense of making a considerable progress towards their completion. Besides, in this department reduction was in some degree less practicable, because in the preceding year, with a view to make every possible saving in point of expenditure, some balances were left on account of the Miscellaneous Estimates, which must be now paid; but after making allowance for these, the reduction on the Miscellaneous Estimates this year would amount to 276,900*l.* Taking the whole Estimates of the year, then, the total amount of reduction that would appear in the Estimates was 1,031,985*l.* [*hear.*] As he before stated, taking into account the necessary and unavoidable difficulties in the way of present reductions that arose from the frequency and amount of preceding reductions, and taking into account the necessity of maintaining our establishments upon a footing sufficiently respectable to provide for the continuance of internal tranquillity,—sufficient for the maintenance of our colonies and the upholding of the respectability of our national character abroad;—taking all these things into consideration, he conceived that the course adopted upon the present occasion afforded satisfactory proof of the disposition of his Majesty's Government to go heartily to work upon that reduction in the public expenditure, to which Ministers

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* Enumerate here all the other close and decayed places whose "domination" would not be put an end to, by giving the right of voting to all the inhabitant householders.

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visions of this Act, as to the right of voting, right of sitting in the House of Commons, and in respect of all other matters and things therein contained, shall be in full force and virtue the same as if the said Committee had made the reports required by this Act.

And with respect to all other cities, boroughs, or ports, which now send a Member or Members to Parliament, the same directions shall be sent by the said Secretary of State to the returning officers thereof, so that the elections may be made therein by such inhabitant householders, as aforesaid.

And all the provisions of this Act in respect of towns and counties, and all other provisions of this Act, shall be in full force and virtue.

And it is hereby declared, that nothing in this Act shall be construed to extend to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin, and that all cities, boroughs, ports, or towns in the United Kingdom that do send a Member or Members to serve in Parliament, are intended to be included in the provisions of this Act, and are included accordingly.

felt themselves pledged from the very first moment of their coming into office, and the necessity of which they had acknowledged by calling on the House to appoint a Finance Committee, with a view to a diminution of the weight of the various establishments of the country. He had already mentioned the savings upon the several Estimates of the present year, and their gross amount; but in estimating the reductions in the expenditure of the present as compared with the last year, it was necessary to add that there had been a practical saving by the reduction of interest on Exchequer-bills, and other matters connected with the management of the Public Debt, to the extent of 180,000*l.* in this year's expenditure. If, in addition to this item, the House took into account other reductions made in the Treasury department to the amount of 50,000*l.*, it would appear that we had certainly relieved ourselves from a charge, as regarded the public expenditure, of little short of 1,300,000*l.* in the present as compared with the last year. [*hear*] As his object in addressing the House was merely to state the facts of the case for general information, it was not necessary that he should add more, having already mentioned the amount of reduction upon each Estimate, and the aggregate saving upon the whole. If there were any Gentlemen present who concurred with the hon. Member for Aberdeen in thinking that a reduction to the amount of 8,000,000*l.* or 9,000,000*l.* might be effected, such Gentlemen, of course, would receive the statement he had made with disappointment and regret. If, on the other hand, any Gentleman had been disposed to agree with the same hon. Member when he said that the Government would not reduce one item of expenditure, to such Gentlemen the statement he had made must have been an acceptable and agreeable surprise. But to the House generally and to the country, he believed it would be satisfactory to find that such a reduction had been made without any detriment to the public service, without putting the safety of the country in danger, and without making a parade of reducing our force in a manner which might very shortly lead to greater expense from the necessity of recalling that which had been laid aside,—a consequence which, on more than one occasion, had formerly resulted from such a course. Not only the reduction itself, but the manner in which it had been effected, would, he trusted, be viewed by the House and by the country with satisfaction. It had been effected by careful attention, by watchful vigilance in the minor departments, considering what little portions of expense might be lopped off here and there, and what parts of the public service might be performed in as efficient a manner as heretofore, but at the same time less expensively. By such means this reduction had been effected, and he hoped it would be received as an earnest that the Ministers were as anxious as they had declared themselves to be to do their duty as far as regarded the expenditure of the country.

Mr. *Hume* said, that either he must have explained himself very imperfectly, or the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have strangely misunderstood him. He had never maintained the opinions attributed to him by the right hon. Gentleman. What he had said was, that no adequate reduction could be effected on those items—that nothing could be thus done which would afford the people relief; nor was he in the least disposed to retract this assertion. He would not acknowledge he was mistaken. In the first place, he thought the right hon. Gentleman had made an erroneous statement. He (Mr. Goulburn) said the present Estimates were lower than any since the year 1804; but he (Mr. Hume) found that so far was this from being the case, that the reduction was not that of one year, but of a series of years. He hoped, therefore, the House would not suffer itself to be led away by the erroneous statements of the right hon. Gentleman. Many of his assertions were more erroneous; as, for instance, he had stated that the Estimates of this year were 200,000*l.* less than the year before; but by a reference to the balance sheet he (Mr. Hume) found that the three great Estimates, together with the Miscellaneous Estimates, amounted to 460,000*l.* more.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*—No, no.

Mr. *Hume* said, that if this fact were contradicted, he must beg that the balance sheet be read.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained, that the balance sheet was merely an account of the expenditure during the year past, and never tallied with the Estimates. In the present instance, there was a sum of 500,000*l.* which was paid last year, having been due the year before. Ministers, he remarked, did not take credit last year for this sum, when the expenditure, as it appeared on the balance sheet, was less than the Estimates.

Mr. *Hume*, in continuation, said, he was quite aware of that as well as of the fact that Ministers were in the habit of using the Estimates or the balance sheets as best suited their purpose. Now he begged to call the attention of the House to the condition they were in in the years 1822 and 1823. In the year 1822 the total expenditure for Army, Navy, Miscellaneous, and Extraordinaries was 16,000,000*l.* In the last year it was 17,600,000*l.* being 1,600,000*l.* more than in 1822. Now, if 1822 were not a fair year, let them take the following year. In 1823, the expenditure was 16,282,070*l.* for the same items. Take, therefore, the average of the two years, and it would be found that, when the right hon. Gentleman proposed to take off 1,000,000*l.* at present, he was only carrying us back to the condition in which we were in 1822. [*hear, hear.*] So much, then, for the present being the lowest Estimates we had had since 1794 or 1804, and he could not allow such a statement to be made, without showing that it was erroneous. He must therefore protest against the conclusion that we were now at the lowest pitch of expenditure since 1794 to 1804. He would now beg the House to call to mind his proposition. The House would recollect that he had mentioned that a reduction in the expenditure on the Army and Ordnance might be made to the extent of 1,250,000*l.* and here he begged the House to remark that the grounds he took for this were, that many of the Army expenses were now placed under the head of Ordnance Expenditure—and he thought very properly—as, for instance, the expenses on barracks were placed under the Ordnance Estimates. Therefore it was not fair to take the Estimates of the Expenditure on the Military Establishments, without adding that on the Ordnance to it. If, then, they took the Expenditure on the Ordnance together with that on the Army—the first amounting to 1,569,000*l.*, and the second to 7,700,000*l.*, they would have a total of 9,278,000*l.* for the Army, the expense of both having been, in the year 1794, only 2,500,000*l.* so that there was an increase of 7,000,000*l.* on these two establishments since the year 1794. Now, he did not make his proposition without allowing for the Army and Ordnance Dead Weight. No; for the first he allowed 2,982,000*l.* — for the second, 365,220*l.*; and accordingly, for both, 3,300,000*l.*, which he was to take from the 9,300,000*l.* and they would then have 6,000,000*l.* to pay for the Army and Ordnance, exclusive of all pensions and debts; a sum from which, he contended, 2,000,000*l.* might be taken, without injuring the interests of the country, or impairing the efficiency of these establishments, since they would then have 4,000,000*l.* to expend upon them, which was amply sufficient. For, in the first place, the Ordnance ought not to be kept up on its present extensive scale. He felt himself called upon to say this, after the challenge of the right hon. Gentleman. The Expenditure on the Ordnance he could declare had been increased three-fold since the year 1792. In that year the expenditure on the corps of Engineers, Sappers, Miners, and the Artillery, amounted to 161,000*l.* In 1822 it was raised to 427,000*l.*, and in 1828 it reached 470,000*l.* Not only had the number of men been increased, but also the Staff appointments. At that time, 1792, also, there were only one or two officers on Staff-pay, but now there were fifty-eight with double pay, double allowance, and he knew not what else besides. The fact was, his Majesty's Ministers looked at these matters as if they were about to be called on to take the field for a second Waterloo. But he regarded them with another eye. He differed with Ministers as to the propriety and expediency of maintaining a great Military Force, when he considered our insular situation, and when he saw such abundant reason to apprehend that the country would be at length borne down by the pressure of its warlike burthens. The 6,000,000*l.* seemed so disproportionate to the benefits produced by such an expenditure, that Ministers would be unable to effect any reduction beneficial to the country, unless the House compelled them to cut down the force of the Military. The proposed reduction of 1,000,000*l.* was not what the country had a right to expect. [*hear*] Besides, he could not help offering some remark on the reason assigned for not cutting down the Military and Miscellaneous Estimates; they had embarked forsooth, in certain works, which if not continued, they would be compelled to abandon altogether. And therefore the House was called upon to agree to an expenditure of two millions and a half. But it would be borne, he trusted, in recollection, that when the first vote of 50,000*l.* was called for two years ago for the fortifications in Canada, he had foretold what would be the result of compliance. Why should they be voting 2,500,000*l.*, for fortifications in Canada? Next, as to the Militia; he would ask why should they only have a reduction of 60,000*l.* on its expenditure, which amounted to 280,000*l.*? Why should they have only 16,000*l.* taken from that other item—the volunteer or yeomanry corps? Why should not the yeomanry be dispensed with altogether? Was there so little patriotism in our Aristocracy that they would not arm their retainers, and place themselves at their head, in case of need or danger, without coming upon an already distressed people to defray the expense. If there were not, he did think that it was the duty of that House, who had the power, to apply a remedy to the abuse. And here, in justice he must say, that if Mr. Canning had lived, and an hon. friend of his had remained in the Home Office, he firmly believed that they would not then be put to 10*l.* expense for volunteers or yeomanry. Since 1817, they had paid no less than 3,700,000*l.* for the Militia. Instead, therefore, of a reduction of 65,000*l.*, he thought that a reduction of 265,000*l.* would be nearer the mark. As to the reduction which had been effected by the present Administration, he considered it only a postponement of expense, because Ministers must, according to their own shewing, complete the works in which they had engaged. This was especially the case with respect to the Miscellaneous Estimates, in which the paltry sum of 276,000*l.* only was to be saved. He called it a paltry sum in comparison with the reduction that ought to be made. He would next speak of the Irish Estimates, and would be glad to know what became of the half-million thus expended. The Finance Committee had recommended a reduction of one-half this sum, and he thought that at least 100,000*l.* ought to have been taken off this year. For the last twenty years there had been a dreadful waste of the public money in Ireland, and it was lavished with a view of maintaining corruption, and keeping up an undue influence; but this ought now to be brought to an end; they had, after the measures which had been lately passed, a right to expect that Ireland should be placed upon the same footing as England and Scotland. He hoped, therefore, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer in not alluding to any diminution of that item, had only made an omission. [*hear, hear.*] He had next to ask, was it not proposed to make some reduction in the expenditure on the Colonies, which drained the country every year to such a frightful extent? It was really monstrous to observe the salaries of officers — the manner in which these offices were filled up, the way in which the revenues were collected, and the military expenses of each colony; the evil was notorious, and yet was it passed by in total silence. Again, he wished to impress upon the House that they could not persist in maintaining an establishment of eighty-one thousand infantry; of eight thousand artillery, sappers, miners, and engineers; and thirty thousand seamen: an aggregate of military force which no country, in however perfect a state of prosperity, ought to maintain in time of peace. [*hear, hear*] The evils resulting from this system were the worst and most oppressive. The number of pensioners on the public was, in the first place, perpetually increasing, and therefore the Dead Weight was increasing in proportion. No relief could, therefore, be obtained, until this was altered; for what was the present state of the country? Sixty-five or seventy-five thousand men were required to keep our Colonies; for, independent of the forces maintained there, it was necessary to have dépôts and preparatory establishments. In a word, no great or effectual reduction in the burthens of the country could be made until they first reduced the number of men on the Military Establishments, and until they brought down the Staff to the same state it was in before the war. It now cost us 100,000*l.* A reduction had indeed been made, but what was it? Why, a reduction of Medical officers. [*hear, and a laugh.*] Twenty thousand men ought to be at once reduced, and then he thought a saving of 4,000,000*l.* would come within the scope of Ministers' power. He hoped the House would have time to read the right hon. Gentleman's statement. He thought the 17,600,000*l.* or the 16,000,000*l.*, might be reduced by upwards of 6,000,000*l.* which, with the surplus Revenue, would give a sum of 8,000,000*l.* to the people. [*hear*] The House could make these reductions if it were willing. The only way was to refuse to vote more than 9,000,000*l.*, which, he contended, was all that was necessary. The surplus merely went to support the patronage of the Government, and was not called for by necessity.

Lord *Althorp* said, he would not withhold his praise from the reductions as far as they went; they certainly were greater than he expected, but yet he was bound to say they were not sufficient when he considered the distressed state of the country. [*hear*] They were not sufficient to give any material relief. As he was on his legs, he would take the opportunity of thanking the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel) for the reforms he had stated to be in his contemplation on the preceding night. That right hon. Gentleman appeared disposed to strike off more patronage than any other Administration had ever before consented to resign. This was a sign, he trusted, that the right hon. Gentleman intended to carry on the Government supported by the attachment of the people; but he begged to remind him that he must first ameliorate the condition of the population, which could not be done without affording them relief from the burthen of taxation. [*hear, hear*] He was surprised that the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said nothing of the reduction of taxation, for without that there could be no relief to the country, although he did not expect that any Administration would ever make a sufficient reduction of its own accord. The House must compel them. He was well aware of the feeling that prevailed in the breasts of those presiding over any particular departments. For instance, he knew the energy and activity the right hon. and gallant officer (Sir H. Hardinge) displayed in the management of the affairs of the Ordnance. He knew his anxiety to have everything in the same state of order and efficiency as in time of war; and he could understand the pride he (Sir H. Hardinge) felt in his department, and the sentiments which would urge him to oppose any reduction which would have the effect of diminishing the force over which he exercised a control. So it was with the Gentlemen who presided over the other departments; each of them was anxious to keep his department in the most perfect efficiency; under the present circumstances of the country, however, this was impossible; the House could not share in their feelings, nor adopt such reasoning. The Commons should recollect that the best way to prepare for war was by filling the pockets of the people, [*hear*] and not by keeping up our Military Establishments on the same enormous scale as at present. In conclusion he would observe that it would be the duty of the Members to look to the various Estimates in the Committee, and to reduce them as much as possible, being assured that by so doing, no detriment could happen to the public service.

Sir *E. Knatchbull* allowed, that the reduction exceeded his expectations, and he gave the Administration credit for wishing to reduce the expenditure of the country to the utmost possible limits, consistent with what they deemed the efficient maintenance of the Civil and Military Establishments. [*hear*] But the amount of this reduction was in nowise calculated to give relief to the people in their present distressed condition. He had in a frank and candid manner borne witness to the good intentions of the Administration [*hear, hear*]; while he at the same time declared they had not done enough. In discussing this question, he, however, felt himself placed in a situation of extreme difficulty. He might look to the establishments of the country in reference to its character and situation in the European community. In this view he must agree with Ministers that there could be no farther reduction. But there was another view of the case, which referred to the internal circumstances of the country; and looking at them, he was bound to ask if the country could bear the pressure of its present burthen? and then he should be obliged to acknowledge that he could not see a capability of supporting the enormous load of taxation, unless it were accompanied by a change in the standard of value. In looking to the Administration, he could say that there was no gentleman connected with it who did not, he believed, ably and zealously discharge the duties of his office; and yet when there was a question if the salaries of public men ought not to be reduced, he was obliged to give his voice in the affirmative, because he felt that it was impossible for the country to pay for their services at that rate—of which they were, perhaps, well deserving. The fact was, the Government had only two courses open; it must either change the policy they had for some sime past pursued, or it must reduce taxation. The Administration within the last five years had adopted the liberal policy (as it was called) of the hon. Member for Montrose, and other hon. Members, who generally sat on the second Opposition bench; it had followed their advice in respect to matters of commerce and the internal government of the country, but it had neglected that which the hon. Gentleman had always recommended as a concomitant of the free trade system; the Government had made no reduction in taxation. It had therefore now only one of the two courses to pursue, and must either abandon this new policy, or it must make an efficient reduction in taxation. [*hear, hear*] Did Ministers hesitate now to adopt the concomitant measure, and so decline both courses, the country must fall between the two propositions; and he knew not how it was to be extricated. [*hear*] He might be deceived in these gloomy prospects, and he should be delighted if it were so; but he felt that he should not have discharged his duty, if he had not stated his views upon the subject, Giving, then, Ministers credit for the best intentions; acknowledging that the reductions had exceeded his expectations, he would conclude by declaring that he saw little prospect of their relieving the country from the desperate state of distress under which it then suffered, unless one of the two courses he had mentioned were promptly taken. [*hear, hear.*]

Mr. *W. Horton* said, the allusion in the King's Speech to the distress of the country was vague and unsatisfactory. There were three classes suffering at present. The landowner, who did not get his rents; the capitalists, who had to endure a diminution of profits; and lastly, the labourers and artizans—the most numerous of the three—who were compelled to work for their support. Now he contended that unless a division were made in this triplicate character of distress, little could be done. Every man must agree with the hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Hume) as to the expediency of reducing taxation; but that hon. Member much deceived himself when he fancied that the distress of the people, the labourers and artizans, would be alleviated by adding twenty or fifty thousand men to their number. He repeated that if there were any one who really hoped and believed that these reductions would restore prosperity to the working classes, that person, he feared, would find himself disappointed. It was true that every body felt an objection to pay for a large standing Army unless he saw an absolute necessity for its existence; but before any measures were adopted to relieve any particular classes (and he admitted the working classes ought to be most anxiously attended to, because they had no Representatives in the House), it became the House to be well satisfied as to the probable operation of such measures. Some hon. Gentlemen seemed to fancy that the depreciation of the currency would produce immense wealth in the country; they were mistaken in the idea; and although they constantly repeated that the country could not continue to pay the present taxes with the existing currency, it by no means followed that the people would be better able to pay them in another currency. The hon. Baronet who last addressed the House had stated that taxation must be reduced, and was one of those Gentlemen he believed who were disposed to recommend, if taxation were not reduced, that the currency should be again altered. But how a second change—a change from our present to our former currency—was to relieve the suffering classes of the community, he really could not understand; and after the positive declarations of Ministers that they would not alter the currency, and after the support the House had given to those declarations, he thought they were precluded from even making a change the subject of consideration as one of their measures of relief. He must, however say, that the immediate relief of the working classes would not operate as a relief to the whole community, for past experience had proved that great prosperity might exist in one portion of the empire and great distress in another. The fallacy of the expectation that the prosperity of one class—and that a very large class—must necessarily be accompanied by the prosperity of all the rest, was shown by the circumstances of the year 1825. In the Speech from the

Throne in that year, which, by-the-bye, was made prior to the currency transactions now so much bewailed, the prosperity of the country was spoken of in a very glowing manner—every one echoed the rejoicings there made, and language seemed too weak to describe the almost overwhelming prosperous state of the country. Yet at that very moment Ireland was in a state of misery unequalled in any portion of the civilized world. And if it were true that this country was most prosperous at that moment, when distress and wretchedness were so widely spread in Ireland, it might also be true that the restoration of the suffering working classes to a state of comfort would not be accompanied with a general return to prosperity throughout the country. He wished besides to observe, that the mode of relief recommended by the honourable Member for Aberdeen was hardly likely to produce any extensive good, for the dismissal from the service of twenty thousand men, who must be thrown upon their already overcharged parishes, would diminish to small extent the burthens of the people, since these men must be supported by taxes upon the inhabitants, levied either in one shape or another. In his conscience, therefore, he did not think that remedy was calculated to produce much benefit. If, indeed, the twenty thousand men could be taken away altogether, and the country were never more to see them, in that case the reduction might be efficiently applied to relieve the burthens of the people; but if their mere dismissal from the Army were to be put forward under the pretence that it was a reduction which would relieve the people, he should certainly oppose it, even though he stood alone. He thought it by no means a judicious course in hon. Gentlemen to speak of such reductions as likely to produce much benefit, seeing that the poverty of the great mass of the people had a very different cause from the extent of our establishments, he meant a superabundance of population.

Mr. *Baring* said, that the attention of every body was directed to the distress now prevalent, and every body both within and without that House looked out for some measure of relief. No persons at all acquainted with the state of the country could deny that the distress was very general; but if they looked to the reductions the Government would be able to make as a permanent source of relief, undoubtedly they would be much mistaken. Still, however, though these reductions would not afford much actual relief to the people, they would be most acceptable to the country as an earnest of the feelings of the Government, and as a proof of its sincere wish to adopt every possible plan of economy [*hear hear! from the Treasury benches*]. In the course of that discussion, many questions had been agitated which might have been much better deferred till the subjects with which they were connected fairly came before the House. Still there were Gentlemen who would, on every subject, introduce matters likely to be agreeable to the wishes and interests of their constituents; and who would speak for such a purpose upon subjects not immediately connected with those under discussion. He should not follow their example, but would briefly notice one or two of the arguments used by hon. Members who had preceded him. In reply to the hon. Baronet who had talked of the general system of Government, as one properly liable to complaint, he would merely observe that if such were the opinion of the hon. Baronet, he ought to have introduced a Motion that would have brought the subject of their conduct fairly before the House. There were some hon. Gentlemen who advocated the system of a free trade in Corn. If Government could effect that, undoubtedly, it would have afforded a great amelioration to the distresses of at least one part of the people. He did not mean to say that he was the advocate of such a system, but he mentioned it to recall to the House the manner in which it had been employed in reference to the speech of the hon. Member for Aberdeen with respect to the reduction of taxes. The hon. Baronet had said, that free trade in corn could not be granted without being accompanied by a reduction of the public burthens; and he seemed to think that we ought in other matters to return to the old system of high duties or absolute prohibition. If he thought so, he ought to make his opinion the subject of a specific Motion. If, for instance, he believed that further protection might be granted to the Wool Trade, he ought distinctly to bring that subject under the consideration of the House. They should then have heard what were the arguments for, and what the arguments against it, and whether the protection to be afforded would be a relief or an additional mischief to the country;

and as the arguments preponderated, so, he was sure, would the House decide. If the hon. Baronet wished the standard of the currency to be reduced, he ought to make a specific proposition to that effect; but as that subject had nothing to do with the business now before the House, he thought it ought not to have been introduced; and he could only say, that whenever the subject did fairly come under consideration, he should take the opportunity of saying a few words upon it. The question now was as to the extent of the proposed reduction. That reduction certainly was not one of an extended kind. Still it was such as it would be acceptable; and he only feared that in stating its nature and amount, the right hon. Gentleman had given them the pleasantest part of the picture, and had reserved something that was not quite so agreeable; for he had not told them, what it was to be feared events would prove; namely, that the reductions would be barely sufficient, if indeed they were sufficient, to cover the deficiencies in the year's revenue. That deficiency was not to be attributed to the Government; but there was no person could know from what sources revenue was derived, without also knowing that when distress did exist in the country the revenue would show it. He repeated, that he rather feared the sum of thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand pounds, which was the amount of the reductions, would hardly cover the deficiencies of the revenue for the year. From this source no great relief could possibly be expected. If any Gentleman had any financial proposition to make that would effect such an advantage, he ought to submit it to the House; but if he thought that much good was to be effected by the mere reduction of taxation at the present moment, he would find himself much mistaken. There was one principle, as stated by the hon. Member for Aberdeen on a former night, to which he must object; in considering the state of the finances of this country, the hon. Member had anticipated that under certain circumstances there might be a surplus revenue, and he had said that he would not permit such a surplus to remain in the hands of the Government. To that principle he objected. He would ask whether there was any country in Europe in which men who considered the nature of the Government, and the fluctuations to which the revenue was always subject, would ever agree to such a proposition. A large and fluctuating revenue, and particularly a revenue which, like our own, depended in a great measure on the consumption and on the means of enjoyment possessed by the lower classes, was one on the permanency of which no man could rely, and venture to sweep away at once any surplus that might exist in a particular year. He was aware that there was a strong popular objection to the Sinking Fund from the abuses to which it had been subjected while it existed; and certain it was, that when a man borrowed, as the Minister had been used to do, with one hand, while he paid with the other, and borrowed too at a very large amount of interest, there must be a considerable loss at the end of the account. For such a purpose, therefore, he agreed that a surplus revenue ought not to be left in the hands of the Minister. But the credit of this country would be gone were a principle adopted which went to take away the reasonable surplus that particular circumstances might leave from the annual revenue. For his own part he must confess he should like to see that surplus applied to the purposes he had mentioned on a former occasion. He should wish to see the country (though he believed it impossible at the present moment) make some effort towards the reduction of that enormous debt which now overburthened it. To see that would be his greatest happiness; but he feared that it existed rather in prospect than in possession. He was sure there was hardly any thinking man in the country who would not make a considerable sacrifice in order to be able to accomplish a proportionate reduction of the debt. If a surplus were really applied to such a purpose, no one could object to leaving it in the hands of the Minister. He had only intended to state his dissent from the principle of refusing to leave a surplus in the Minister's hands, under any circumstances. There might be, besides, another reason for not entirely refusing to leave the surplus in the Minister's hands. There might be a considerable deficiency in the Revenue of a particular year, and it might be necessary to apply the surplus of the preceding year to make up the deficiency in that, and to meet those casualties which circumstances might give rise to. Referring again to the different subjects which had been introduced into this discussion, he wished to observe that there were some which the sooner they were decided the better. One, for instance, was that which related to the Malt Trade—a question which he thought ought to be decided as speedily as possible; for, in consequence of the uncertainty now prevailing concerning it, there was a great degree of stagnation in the trade, which would continue until men knew what were the intentions of Parliament upon the subject. He trusted that either the Government or some hon. Member would, for the reason he had referred to, speedily bring the question under the consideration of the House. He would now state with regard to the reductions that the right hon. Gentleman had proposed, that, although he did not think they would produce any considerable alteration in the condition of the people, still he felt that the Government were entitled to his thanks for making them; and he would freely state that, small as they might appear, they were more considerable than he had expected in the present state of the departments of the public service. It was quite evident in this case that the Government must have been fully and continually busy in the recess to effect these reductions. They were such as in their very nature to require time and labour; and the Government must have given them every attention without thinking of any party. In justice to the right hon. Gentleman he must say, that his plans involved a sacrifice of patronage and place such as he had never before heard of. [*hear*] The subject of the Army Estimates having been before the Committee, which he had pretty regularly attended, he knew something of the matter, and he must say that he doubted very much whether more reductions of expenditure could be made, unless a reduction were made in the effective force of the country. If the sum total of money paid to maintain our Army establishments were considered with reference to past services (which were a debt due from the country), and with reference to the manner in which services were at present performed, he did not think that much greater reductions could be made. It was his conviction, from having looked at these circumstances in the Committee, that with the exception of a regiment or two of Cavalry, it would be difficult to make any further reductions in the Army; and, though the same opinion was not expressed by the Committee, he believed that many of the Members had the same impression as himself. The present numbers of the Army were necessary to be kept up, as there were relays necessary in our different Colonial Garrisons, and which could not be granted if the Army was put upon a diminished scale. There were, indeed, some of our Garrisons that he thought needless, because he did not see any use in retaining the Colonies in which they were placed. Unless there were some reason with which he was not acquainted for preferring a name to utility, he could not but think that it was among the idlest of all fancies to retain the Ionian Islands. The force kept up there was considerable, and necessarily entailed another expense, as it required a corresponding force at home [*hear, from Mr. Hume*]. He should like much to hear of what use to this country were the Ionian Islands. Having Gibraltar at the entrance of the Mediterranean, and Malta, which seemed almost made for us, in the upper part of that sea, he could not possibly conceive what reason there was to retain them among the number of our possessions. He believed that we had at first taken these Islands reluctantly, and at the Congress of Vienna had accepted them because Russia and France could not agree what power should have them. We got nothing, so far as he knew, but currants from them for our mince pies, and those would be sent to us without our incurring the expense of maintaining these Islands in our possession. The most important part of the financial concerns of the country consisted of the Dead Weight—in other words, the amount due for past services, which nearly amounted to six millions a-year; and if the House only considered, that though almost sixty millions a-year were raised from the people, yet, that after all deductions for debt and Dead Weight, the actual expenditure of the Government was little more than eleven millions annually, they would admit that it exhibited a picture not to be paralleled among the other nations of the earth. The fact, that out of the large sum he had named, the Government had only to deal with about eleven millions a year, showed how much the credit of the country must have been abused at former times. He hoped that some reductions, consistent with justice, might be adopted; for though it would be hard to withhold the pensions of old servants, yet, he must say, that he thought upon that subject the generosity of the House and of the country had carried them too far, and he would rather follow the principle adopted by the American Government, who pay servants well while in employment, and nothing afterwards, than continue that loose and extravagant system which experience showed to have been open to every species of abuse. He thought that some attempt might be made to remedy the abuses of the present civil system. He did not see why the clerks to the Government should not, like clerks to merchants, provide for their own superannuations. [*hear, hear*] To introduce at once such a plan was perhaps impossible, as many of the persons now in employment were probably on the verge of becoming superannuated; but such a system ought to have been before introduced, and the clerks should have been taught to look to their own provident care, with the aid of the Benefit and Friendly Societies, for their maintenance after quitting the duties of active service. He begged again to repeat his thanks to Ministers for the reductions they had made.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, that the efforts of any hon. Member to procure retrenchment must be ineffectual without the aid of the Government; and yet retrenchment they must have, and that of a more extensive kind than any that had been hitherto adopted. He agreed with those hon. Gentlemen who said that these reductions would not give material relief to the country; but at the same time he felt assured, that without them no relief whatever would be obtained. The causes of the distress had not been sufficiently examined. How was it that some were abounding in plenty, while others were deeply distressed? that the warehouses of the manufacturer were over-stocked, and yet that thousands were in want of the articles of his manufacture? In this condition, how small was the relief that the reduction of one million of taxes would give the country! With respect to the Estimates, he thought it was incumbent on the Government to act with a view to the greatest possible economy; for though the relief was but small, still it was absolutely wanted. There were some taxes that ought more than others to be immediately abolished. In his opinion no tax bore more hardly on the mass of the people than the House and Window Taxes, and he trusted they would soon be repealed.

An hon. Member trusted, that what had been brought forward to-night was only the commencement of a regular plan of reduction. If he thought that any surplus which might exist were only to be employed as a Sinking Fund, he should, from the experience we had already had of Sinking Funds, consider it utterly useless. He bore testimony to the existence of very great and extensive distress. The peasantry were worse paid, worse fed, and worse cloathed than ever, and nothing but the most rigid and well-directed economy could save them from the consequences of the distress that now so generally prevailed. The superabundance of corn produced was at one time stated to be a cause of distress; next, a bad season and a short crop had occasioned the same evil: in fact, nobody knew how it began or where it would end. He had great confidence in Ministers, and believed that they would take the condition of the country into their most serious consideration, with the view of affording speedy and effectual relief.

Mr. *Maberly* commenced by referring to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Callington, whom he had expected, and had not been disappointed in that expectation, to be merely the echo of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On one point, however, like the celebrated echo of the sister kingdom, he had even said more than was put into his mouth, and had suggested a plan which the right hon. Gentleman would never have thought of proposing. The hon. Member for Callington had been one of the last to support the now exploded fallacy of the Sinking Fund, which, if maintained at all, should be preserved, not by paying with one hand and borrowing with the other, but by an actual *bona fide* surplus revenue. The light upon this subject had, however, only lately and tardily reached the remote and dim planet of contemplation, in which that hon. Member resided. In his (Mr. Maberly's) opinion, the only way to relieve distress was to give as much as possible to the people, and by means of the surplus revenue to relieve the burthen of taxation. He was happy to find so many Members on the other side of the House now eagerly pressing for the necessity of reduction; he only wished that they had thought of taking the same course in 1817, and fifty millions of expenditure might have been saved by adopting the reform then suggested by the Finance Committee. He was aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not pursued the usual course on the present occasion, but he had adopted what ought always to be the course, and had set a most useful precedent. Parliament ought to have such a preliminary statement every Session, before it was called upon to vote the Supplies, and the country would thus know what it had to expect. Although the reductions explained by the right hon. Gentleman might satisfy many, they by no means satisfied him, because they did not go far enough. With respect to the Army, they were far short of the extent to which they ought to have gone. Where was the consolidation of the Paymasterships—of the War-office—of the department of the Comptroller of Public Accounts, and of the Agency-office? all of which had been recommended by the last Finance Committee. Where were the reductions of the Cavalry? Instead of a saving of only 200,000*l.*, he was convinced that expenditure might here alone be reduced with ease to the amount of 500,000*l.* Where was the necessity for so many offices? or supposing the other establishments were preserved, in agency alone a saving of 24,000*l.* a-year might be effected. Where was the use of the duplicate and triplicate accounts kept, excepting to multiply places, when all that was wanted was a detail of payments, and a proper check upon them? The proposed reductions in the Navy might be said to amount almost to nothing, compared with what they ought to have been. This was one of the most extravagant departments of the State, including ship-building, and wages of men for five days in a week who ought not to be employed at all. It was preposterous to keep artificers in pay to prevent their employment by foreign nations, because their services might possibly be needed here twenty or thirty years hence. The reductions ought to have been fully double the amount to which they were to be carried according to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Miscellaneous department was in precisely the same situation, and the expense of our colonies was the source and root of an enormous evil. He was ready to admit that the gallant officer opposite (Sir H. Hardinge) was a most useful public servant; no man could feel more respect for him than he did; he was a most active and able man both in his civil and military capacity, but especially in the former, which he (Mr. Maberly) had had the best opportunity of observing. That gallant officer would, no doubt, assert that the reduction in the Army could not be carried further; but he (Mr. Maberly) would ask, as an instance, why should not the expense of the Horse-Guards be lessened? Why was it necessary to keep up the three regiments? They, and other bodies of Cavalry, never went beyond England and Ireland, while with regard to the Infantry, their tour of duty was far more extensive and severe; they were fifteen years abroad, and only five at home, and when at home they were very frequently stationed in Ireland. If the matter were thoroughly examined, it would be found that a considerable reduction might safely be made in the Infantry employed in the colonies. The committee of 1817 had reported that the whole expenditure ought to be about 17,300,000*l.* but last year it had exceeded that sum by no less than 300,000*l.* Let the House attend to this simple fact, which depended upon no fancy or calculation of his, but upon the report of a Committee. Excepting in the year 1822 or 1823, when the expenditure was a trifle below the amount stated in the report, it had unfortunately exceeded this. He put it, therefore, to every hon. Member, whether, after fourteen years of peace—after every article used by soldier and sailor had been so much lowered in price—when the outcry was, that low price was the cause of distress—it was fit that the Estimates should be 300,000*l.* higher than in 1817, only the second year of peace? The fact that in 1817 the Committee had decided that no more ought to be spent than 17,300,000*l.* could not be too strongly impressed upon the House. Where had been the increase of territorial possession to render an additional 300,000*l.* necessary? He fully concurred with the noble Member for Northamptonshire (Lord Althorp) that nothing could relieve the public distress but the lessening of taxation; but he feared that whatever reduction was intended to be made would be applied to the payment of the debt, and not to the diminution of the public burthens. He had heard nothing from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to lead him to suppose that a single existing impost was to be removed. Suppose the interest of the debt were lessened to the extent of 180,000*l.* it would afford no relief to the suffering population: to a certain extent the right hon. Gentleman might deserve credit for this saving; but it would occasion no diminution of the establishments of the country. It had been asserted by the hon. Member for Callington, that the sum out of which only a saving could be made was eleven millions; but the sum the Chancellor of the Exchequer had dealt with was twelve millions, omitting all considerations of Scotland, which, with other sources of revenue, afforded the additional sum of six millions. Here then were eighteen millions out of which reductions might be made; and if the House pressed the matter, Ministers would soon find, that they could adopt its recommendations with perfect safety to the State. It depended, therefore, on the House alone to make the reductions. The mere modification of existing taxes would afford an opportunity of relief, and upon this point he might confidently refer to the Beer Duties, in the collection of which 370,000*l.* a year might be saved. The duties on printed cotton amounted to two millions, of which 1,400,000*l.* were repaid in the shape of drawbacks, and of the remaining 600,000*l.* only about 300,000*l.* came into the Exchequer, the rest being consumed in the collection. A reduction, then, to the amount of 300,000*l.* might be obtained from the very source of this revenue, to the important relief of the people. He did not usually deal so much in assertions as proofs, but he had no hesitation in asserting that the affairs of this country could be conducted quite as well as at present if relief were afforded to the distressed in the shape of diminished taxation to the extent of 4,000,000*l.* If the House should come to that conclusion, Ministers would not be long in arriving at it also, and they would continue just as ready to discharge all their public functions upon the altered scale. To talk of reduction as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had talked of it, was a mere matter of form, and it meant nothing in substance, as far as related to the sufferings of the people. He would take the surplus of last year at 1,700,000*l.* and the saving this year, with the Exchequer Bills, would amount to 1,280,000*l.* so that if the revenue continued as productive as it had been, there would remain about three millions that might be applied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the diminution of taxation. The right hon. Gentleman might reply, that the produce of the revenue would not continue so high as at present; but at all events, it was not to be disputed that in 1830 there would be a surplus, on the whole, of three millions. Whatever it might be, certain he was, that it ought to be devoted to the lessening of the public burthens, and that the best support to the public creditor was the relief of the people.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* had been disappointed by the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not merely at the amount of reduction, but at the mode of its application. He thought that both the Army and Navy cost the country too much, more especially after Ireland had been pacified, and all chance of war in Europe was at an end, in consequence of the subjugation of Turkey. In Ireland alone, a reduction of the military force might be made to the extent of 5000 men.

Mr. *W. Smith* congratulated Ministers, that the well-applied exertions of the noble Duke at their head had placed the country in such a situation, that even if much larger savings were made it could look an enemy in the face without apprehension. Thirty or forty years ago it had been said that the Army of England was the ridicule of the Continent, but now it was at once a source of terror and admiration. With regard to our colonies, an important saving might be effected, for the best of all reasons—because they were not worth keeping at their present expense. Most hon. Members seemed afraid to look the National Debt in the face—it had grown to such a giant size, that it certainly was not a pleasant object of contemplation; but we could not make it less by not venturing to estimate its height. He admitted that it was advisable to have a small available surplus, but it was mere folly to devote it, under the delusion of a Sinking Fund, to the supposed payment of a debt exceeding seven hundred millions. Instead of these vain attempts to reduce the Debt, the wisest plan would be to endeavour to increase the comforts of the people.

The Question was then put that the Speaker leave the Chair, and being carried, the House resolved itself into a

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.] Sir *H. Hardinge* proceeded to state the Army Estimates for the ensuing year. He should pursue the usual because most convenient course, by comparing the Estimates for the present with those of the past year; but previously he would give a few particulars relative to the intended diminution. Passing by, therefore, for a moment, the amount of force, he would first mention the reductions in the Staff of the Army which the Commander-in-chief had been able to make. He was sorry not to see the hon. Member for Aberdeen in his place (and his absence at such a time was a very unusual circumstance), who had said that the reductions in the Staff were chiefly confined to Medical officers. He could assure the Committee, that the number of other Staff-officers reduced this year was greater than the number of Medical Staff-officers. Last year, indeed, the reduction among the Medical Staff-officers had been considerable, producing a saving of 19,000*l.* This year the saving on the Staff generally was 7,788*l.*, making together a sum of about 27,000*l.*, which could not be justly termed, as the hon. Member for Aberdeen had termed it, a paltry saving. The office of Adjutant-General had been abolished: for four years it had been very useful and effective, but when the Committee came to examine what reductions could be made, it found that that situation might be dispensed with, and Government had accordingly acquiesced in the suggestion. In his own department would be found a small increase in the salaries, for length of service; but he could assert that in no office did the clerks discharge their duties more assiduously. The Secretary for the Treasury (Mr. G. Dawson) on a former night had mentioned that seventy-three persons now so employed in the office of Secretary at War received less than was paid to fifty-eight clerks in the year 1797, although the duty had been materially increased. During the war the number of clerks had been gradually enlarged to one hundred and seventy, but his predecessor (Lord Palmerston) had reduced that number to seventy-three, at which the establishment still continued. During the last fourteen years only five or six appointments had been made in the War Office, and those had fallen to his predecessor; for although there were many deserving candidates for vacancies in his time, none had occurred. The next item was the Military College, and the total expense was now 7,659*l.* The Governor of the College formerly enjoyed a salary of 1,500*l.*, but at present it was reduced to 1,000*l.* a year, and in that reduction the individual had willingly acquiesced. The saving in the item of General Officers amounted to 10,000*l.* the whole amount being 26,000*l.* The Retired Full Pay of Officers was 104,000*l.*, being a diminution of 5,000*l.* The Home Half Pay was 520,000*l.*, showing a reduction of 18,177*l.* The Foreign Half Pay was lower by 2,370*l.* than last year, making a total diminution under this head of 35,549*l.* Last year he had informed the Committee that the sum of 82,000*l.* had been appropriated to the cancelling of half-pay commissions, and he had expressed his opinion, that one hundred and forty commissions would be cancelled. The fact was, that two hundred and ten Commissions had been cancelled, and a saving effected of 150,000*l.*, including a sum for casualties. The apparent saving on the Half-pay was only 17,000*l.*, but in fact it amounted to more than double that sum. The hon. Member for Aberdeen had complained that there was no diminution in the Half-pay, but it was a misapprehension on his part. The number of officers reduced subsequent to the peace while his noble friend was in office, was nearly three thousand five hundred. The pensioners formed the next item, and the subject was important. The House would see from the Estimates, that in the Pension List a diminution had been effected of one thousand two hundred men, by a strict observance of the rule, never to discharge any but those who had really been worn out in the service. The observance of that rule, and of the revised regulations, was, he conceived, likely to be productive of the best results; as, for example, the years spent in private life—namely, between one period of service and another—were as half time; thus, if a man were out of the service for two years, and joined again, that period had been reckoned as one year. The practice was now abolished, as was also the practice of reckoning time spent in India or elsewhere. Again, when a soldier was discharged, he was not pensioned unless he had been disabled on service. Formerly, it happened that from the facilities with which pensions were granted, many young men not above twenty years of age were pensioned after, perhaps, only one year of service; but now there was no pensioning, except for injuries actually contracted on service. Preparatory to the present statement he made a calculation, from which it appeared that three hundred and fifty men were pensioned annually for slight disabilities, whose average age was twenty-four years, and whose average period of service was four years. He had also found that twenty thousand men had been at one time receiving pensions under the old regulations, whose average age was thirty-one years. Many men who had been pensioned for life, retired after a service of only eight on ten years, and enjoyed those pensions for thirty or forty years afterwards. The regulations under which those abuses prevailed were such as he felt bound to advise his Majesty to alter, and the consequence was, he might be permitted to say, that none received pensions for short periods, except such as were justly entitled to them, upon the strictest application of the rules; and none for long periods, except for long and faithful services. By these means, then, had the Pension List been got down to what it was in the year 1817. The amount of Widows' Pensions was 145,267*l.*; upon that, however, there had been an increase of 1,856*l.* No widows, it was to be observed, were entitled to pensions, unless their husbands had served for a period of ten years at the least on full pay, or unless they had been killed on actual service. If hon. Gentlemen would turn to page 34, they would find that Mr. Francis Moore had been in possession of a pension of 1,800*l.* per annum, and that he had voluntarily relinquished 800*l* per annum of that pension. That was a gift made to the nation in the most simple and unostentatious manner. [*loud cheers*] Mr. Moore said, that he spent his income out of the country, and having thus no means of contributing to the exigencies of the country, he desired to relinquish the 800*l.* a year stated in the Estimates. It was his (Sir H. H's) fortune to have been present at the time when the brother of that Mr. Moore closed his career, with a heroism, with a superhuman fortitude, which he had never seen approached. The relinquishment of so large a sum was the more worthy of especial notice, as Mr. Moore's fortune, he had reason to know, was extremely moderate. He had to add, that the act was done with the full concurrence of Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, his son, whose income above his pay was also very moderate. He would pass to some of the details of the Estimates then on the Table. The expense of the full amount of force for the current year was fixed at 6,123,112*l.*; that, it was to be observed, was the lowest Estimate for the last twenty five years—apparently those for the years 1822 and 1823 were less, but then there were colonial corps paid out of the colonial funds, which was not the case at present. He was accordingly justified in saying that the present was the lowest Estimate that had been presented to Parliament in any year during the peace. The gross amount of men had been fixed at eighty-eight thousand, eight hundred and forty-eight, by which a reduction of 7,684*l.* was effected. In 1829 the reduction was only 1,200*l.* In page 41 they would see that the amount of force intended for Ireland had been most materially reduced; and whatever difference of sentiment might prevail with respect to the Catholic question, it would at least be acknowledged that the present peaceable state of Ireland was most gratifying. In page 41 they would see, from the general distribution of force, the number of men withdrawn from Ireland was not less than three thousand—to that he had to add that the expense of the military establishment in that part of the United Kingdom did not exceed 50,000*l.* Apologising to the Committee for having so long occupied their attention, he proceeded to state that the total number of battalions in the service was one hundred and three—that seventy-four of these were abroad—that twenty-nine were at home, or rather, he should say, that twenty-nine less by four were generally at home—four were, for the most part, on the passage between home and their foreign destination. At present it happened that there were only three battalions on the passage, leaving the actual number at home twenty-six, divided between Great Britain and Ireland, of which number four, as usual, were under orders for foreign service. The practice was to have battalions ten years abroad and four at home, and it must be evident to the Committee that the numbers requisite for maintaining that practice—the advantage of which had not been questioned—could not be kept with a smaller amount of force. The hon. Member for Callington had said that some of the guards might be sent abroad—to that he had only to reply that their numerical strength was not sufficient for such a purpose. The battalions of the guards were not more numerous at present than they were in the reign of Charles 2nd

—than they were at the end of the American war—than they were in the year 1792. The hon. Member for Callington had called for a reduction of the Cavalry; but if he would turn to page 4, he would find that there had been a reduction of four hundred and sixty-four. Certainly, in one respect, the Cavalry establishment was on a larger scale. In the year 1792 there were two Majors in each battalion, but the Commander-in-chief had directed that whenever vacancies arose of the second Majors, such vacancies should not be filled up. He was not aware that it was necessary for him to go any further into detail—it could scarcely be supposed that the number of battalions at home was too much, considering the necessity for reliefs. The evidence of the Quarter-master-general before the Finance Committee, was he apprehended, completely conclusive on that subject. Assuming, then, that the force in the United Kingdom was not excessive, he would inquire whether the number abroad was more than our foreign garrisons required? According to the evidence before the Finance Committee, the force in the West India Islands was greater in the year 1792 than at present—though the circumstances of our possessions there had materially changed. We now had there in our immediate neighbourhood a black population at St. Domingo, within twenty-four hours sail of Jamaica, and certainly such neighbours did not diminish the necessity for maintaining a strong military force; yet the force had not been augmented since the independence of that population was established. Then several new Republics were springing up in South America, not far from our possessions; and yet even that circumstance had not led the advisers of the Crown to recommend any colonial augmentations beyond the standard of 1792. The same observations applied to Canada, Nova Scotia, and Gibraltar. The only exception was New South Wales. His right hon. friend, the Secretary for the Home Department, and another right hon. friend, the Secretary for the Colonies, could inform them what were the grounds upon which that increase was made, founded as they were upon the nature and increase of the population of that colony since the year 1792. After recapitulating the principal items and observations already given, he proceeded to notice the apparent difference between the Estimates of 1822 and 1823. The reductions made in 1822 were an experiment which had failed, and the result was, that augmentation became necessary for the purpose of bringing back the military establishments of the country to their original level. The hon. Member for Aberdeen had said, that the force in 1822 was only seventy-one thousand; but he had left out of view that the colonial corps at that time made the number really amount to ninety-five thousand, so that the increase of the military establishment was much less than had been represented. With respect to what had been said on the subject of the Militia force, he had only to observe that he was quite sure the hon. Member for Limerick had never intended that that constitutional force should be put down. The Member for Limerick had thought the Staff useless, and recommended that it should be abolished; but he never proposed that the force itself should be put down. In accordance with that view of the subject, his right hon. friend the Secretary for the Home Department last year brought in a Bill, the object of which was to place the establishment of that force upon the same footing as that upon which it stood at the peace of Amiens, and as it stood in 1792. It was his (Sir H. H's) opinion that none of those hon. Members who had taken a part in the discussions on that subject desired to see that Constitutional force put down. In like manner, though there was no intention of putting an end to the Yeomanry Establishment, yet the expenses of it were reduced 10 per cent; on all other points he had no reason to think but that it was intended to keep them upon the present footing. In conclusion, he had to state that the saving on the present year would amount to 213,000*l.*; and that, he submitted, was as large an amount of saving as the circumstances of the service would allow. He moved "That the amount of men in the current year should be eighty-eight, thousand, eight-hundred and forty-eight for the Land Service, exclusive of the forces employed by the honourable East India Company"

Colonel *Davies* rose, but for a considerable time the noise of Members leaving the House rendered the observations of the hon. and gallant Member totally inaudible. He declared that he should not have troubled the Committee, were he not influenced by a deep sense of the importance of the savings which might be effected in those branches of the public expenditure [*renewed and increased disturbance.*] He really should not have troubled the House with any observations whatever upon the subject, did he not persuade himself that his professional experience gave him some facilities in exposing what he conceived to be the imperfect arrangements and unnecessary expenses of that branch of the public service. It was with much regret, not unmixed with surprise, after all that had been said by his Majesty's Ministers, that he learned the saving was to be no more than 213,000*l.* [*much confusion and frequent cries of "Order order."*]

Mr. *Hume* said, if the Committee were not disposed to listen to the observations of his hon. and gallant friend, he should move and divide upon it, that the Chairman do report progress, and ask leave to sit again. If a full assemblage of the House such as that were not disposed to listen to the well-founded objections which his hon. and gallant friend had to offer to the Estimates then on the Table, the only remedy left was to move, that progress be reported. He appealed to the Chairman of the Committee, to keep the peace—He appealed to hon. Members for decency's sake to listen to what might be urged; and he hoped the hon. Members near him would support him in moving to postpone the consideration of the Estimates till the House could meet in a better spirit, and more disposed to listen to the dictates of common sense and common decency, and the obvious suggestions of duty in promoting economy. [*hear*]

Colonel *Davies* then proceeded to state his objections to the Estimates. He could not be brought he said to think that the country was in that high and palmy state which could warrant the high amount at which the military force of the country was fixed in those Estimates. There never was a period at which our foreign relations placed us in a more disgraceful situation. [*No, no*] Our ancient Ally, the Turk, was prostrate at the feet of the Russians. If we looked to Spain and Portugal, we should find ourselves in no better condition; nothing there could flatter our vanity. If we looked westward, we should see that Spain was labouring to prevent the independence of the new countries which was so important to us in a commercial point of view. Was it to be supposed that, in making these observations, he sought to recommend war? On the contrary, he was a warm advocate for peace; but if the country were to have peace, let it at least have the benefits and economy of a peace establishment.—The French army consisted of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and the English of only ninety thousand, and yet the total expense of the latter was more than that of the former. It was therefore his intention to propose, as an Amendment, that they should allow the present establishments to Government for three months, instead of twelve; and if he should succeed in that proposition, he purposed to follow it up by a Resolution, that the Chairman be directed to report to the House that it was the opinion of that Committee that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire what further reductions in the Army could be made, with a view to the reduction of the amount of taxation, and for the purpose of affording such relief as the distressed state of the country required. The state of Ireland was one point to which he wished particularly to call hon. Gentlemen's attention: if so much good had arisen from the great measure of Catholic Emancipation as had been anticipated, it was high time that they should begin to reduce the military establishment there. [*hear.*] They had been informed that there was less crime in the neighbourhood of Dublin than in the neighbourhood of London; and why, therefore, should not the military establishment there be diminished? At present there were eighteen thousand troops in Ireland, while, in his opinion, ten thousand would be amply sufficient to answer all purposes; so that in this quarter alone there might be effected a reduction of upwards of eight thousand men. The next opportunity for reduction that presented itself was the number of forces kept up in the Colonies, which in almost all instances appeared to him to be infinitely greater than was necessary. If the Ionian Isles were unavoidably so expensive, why should we retain possession of them at all? At the time that we took possession of them, there was an express stipulation entered into that they should be no charge to the nation. At all events, he thought that a reduction of one thousand three hundred or one thousand four hundred men might safely be made there, to which might be added a reduction at Malta of eight hundred more, at the Cape of Good Hope four hundred or five hundred, and at Nova Scotia and the Canadas of as many more. Why was this country never to take a hint from the example set it by other nations? The whole amount of the American army as voted by Congress was but six thousand including the artillery. The United States were content with this amount, because they knew, that they could depend upon their Militia. But why could not England in the same way depend upon the Militia, which in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were enrolled to the number of one hundred and forty thousand? The employment of natives for military service appeared to him to be much better than sending out troops from England, not only because it would be more economical, but likewise because natives were more accustomed and would be better able to act under their respective climates, and other local circumstances: besides which, it would also be an act of justice to the soldier of this country, who by being sent for a term of years to our distant colonies ran a great chance of never again returning to his native country. The way in which the government of those places was managed was likewise highly expensive and objectionable. Persons were sent out there to perform useless services at enormous salaries. If the right hon. Gentleman (Sir H. Hardinge) would take the trouble to walk into the United Service Club any morning, he (Colonel Davies) would answer for it, that he would find plenty of officers there who would be glad to go out and perform all those onerous Governorship duties at a very reduced price. [*hear, hear! and a laugh.*] It was his firm conviction that, as the Army was at present constituted, twenty thousand men might be reduced without any disparagement of its efficiency. It was not his wish to enter, on that occasion, into the general state of the country; but he might observe, that it was evident that the agricultural portion of this country could not flourish when the manufacturing was depressed; and it was notorious that our manufactures were daily losing ground in foreign markets.—An attempt, he believed, was to be made to procure the repeal of the Malt-tax; but he would suggest to hon. Gentlemen, that if they wished for any chance of success in that attempt, they should endeavour to bring it on before any supplies were voted [*hear, hear*]; for if the Government once obtained the money they wanted, they would cry "A fig for all Repeals," and send them all about their business. [*hear, hear.*] He therefore, would suggest that there was no time to be lost: and for himself he would only say, that he was ready to renounce all party feeling, and to co-operate in any measure that he believed would tend to the general good. Had he been in the House on the first night of the Session he should certainly have voted for the Amendment, not that he wished to displace the present Government, (and the day was gone by when the Ministry would think it necessary to resign because they found themselves in a minority), but because he thought that that House could not too soon have expressed its cognizance of the distressed state of the country. Up to the present moment they had not heard one word as to the repeal of any taxes, and he wished to know whether any surplus revenue was to be applied to that object? The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving as an Amendment, "That the grant for Troops should only be made to the 25th of May 1830, instead of the 25th December 1830."

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, he should support the Amendment of his gallant friend, although the address of the right hon. Gentleman was calculated to make converts of them all. For his own part he preferred a good weak Government to a good strong Government, because from the former concessions were sometimes obtained, while with the latter they had never been able to make head against abuses. It was from what was gained from a good weak Government that he expected the salvation of this country would one day or another be insured. The reason for which he rose to trouble the House at that particular moment was this: He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman, who had that night come forward with an explanation of the general reduction of Expenditure for the year, whether it was or was not his intention to make any reduction in the amount of taxation? [*hear, hear.*] Whether, in short, it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to apply the amount of his saving to the use of the Sinking Fund, or to that relief from taxation which the people had a just right to expect? On these subjects they had not yet received any information; and as the right hon. Gentleman had condescended, at almost the very commencement of the Session, to yield to the desire of the House, and lay before it those statements which were not usually made until near its close, he hoped he would carry his condescension still further, and let the people know whether they were to expect any relief from distress by means of the amount saved in reductions. [*hear, hear.*] The hon. Member, in conclusion, observed that the reductions, in whatever manner they might be applied, fell very far short of what the public had a right to expect, and he should therefore vote for his hon. friend's Amendment.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he rose to say a very few words in reply to the questions of the hon. Member for Westminster. He confessed that if, consistently with his view of the duty he owed the public service, he could give an explicit answer to that question, he should be most happy to comply with his desire. The House had already seen the readiness with which he had acceded to the general desire, in laying before it, at the earliest period, a statement of the amount of reductions; and he trusted he might, from that fact, be credited for the assurance that he should feel equally ready to convey information with respect to the application of the saving, did he not feel that it was totally out of his power to state what might be the ulterior views of the Government on that subject. [*hear*] He was quite sure the House would see at once that any statement of the particular purpose to which the saving might ultimately be applied would tend much to aggravate the distress it was intended to remedy, and lead to mischievous speculations in the trade or manufactures of the country. He begged, however, to assure them that he should take the earliest possible opportunity to put the House in possession of his intentions with respect to the application of the saving; but in the meantime he hoped they would not infer, from his silence in the present instance, that he intimated any opinion in favour or in disfavour of either of the applications of the money to which the honourable Member for Westminster had alluded. [*hear, hear*]

Sir *John Wrottesley* approved of the silence preserved by the right hon. Gentleman on this subject, and observed, that if it were once known the saving was to be applied to the reduction of taxation, all classes would look at this or that particular tax as the one to be taken off, and the result might lead to still greater distress by creating a still greater stagnation of trade in those branches of commerce or manufacture in which it might be anticipated the reduction would take place. [*hear, hear.*]

Mr. *Western* rose amid cries of "question." He said he merely wished to express his belief that Ministers were anxious to make every reduction in their power, but he should be glad to know why there was a difference of six thousand men in the Estimates of 1822 and 1830?

Sir *Ronald Ferguson*, as a military man of some standing, and as one who had some knowledge of the Colonies, felt himself bound to say, he did not think they could do with a single regiment of the line less than the number they possessed. The hon. Member for Worcester had made some observations on the number of men kept up for the Colonies, but he recollected well that the hon. Member, and a number of friends whom he saw around him, had, in 1822, complained of the miseries to which regiments were subjected by remaining so many years abroad without relief. A better system had since been adopted, and the regiments were regularly relieved. Before that, however, it was not unusual for a regiment of the line to rot away in the West Indies, or to remain fifty years in the East; but there were no soldiers now who could not claim relief after being a fixed time abroad, and was not entitled to remain five years and a half at home. How, he would ask, were these regulations to be preserved, and these regiments to be relieved, unless they had a competent force at home? The hon. Member for Worcester had recommended the use of the colonial regiments, to save the expense of troops of the line. He (Sir Ronald) had seen a good deal of these colonial troops, and a more useless body of men he never knew in any country. It had been recommended to them to incorporate the officers of the line with the colonial troops; but he thought the experiment would be useless. They had the 6th regiment, the African corps, and the West-India corps; but although those regiments contained many highly honourable men, it was found, in too many instances, that they were officered by persons whose pecuniary embarrassments rendered it inconvenient for them to remain in England. [*hear*]

Colonel *Davis*, in explanation, said he knew the colonial corps were, in many cases, a set of the greatest outcasts in the Army; but he asked if the East India colonial troops were so bad, or if it were not practicable to adopt the system, without the necessity of officering the regiments in the manner alluded to?

Sir *R. Wilson*, after complimenting the lucid analysis of intricate accounts produced by the Secretary at War, observed, that he did not think the number of men for the Colonies too large, although it might be another question whether it were expedient to retain so many Colonies. [*hear, hear*] The Secretary at War had stated the amount of men required for India to be twenty thousand. Now, he thought the East India Company should pay the whole expense of these troops; and if it did not, in his opinion the subject ought to be under the consideration of the Committee engaged in considering the arrangement for the renewal of the Charter of the Company. [*hear*]

Sir *Henry Hardinge* said, that the East India Company paid 60,000*l.* towards the expense of the regiments of the line in India; but he confessed he did not think that sum enough, and he thought it was a fit subject for consideration.

Mr. *Stanley* objected to the amount of men retained to supply the place of those in the Colonies, which he recollected very well the Secretary at War stated, in his examination before the Finance Committee, to be in the proportion of four to six —that is, that for every sixty men we had in the Colonies, it was necessary to keep forty in this country. He hoped, however, the hon. Member would not press his Motion to a division, because it would imply a want of confidence in the Government, which the statements and hints of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that evening, if he had not misunderstood them, did not deserve. If, however, the hon. Member proposed the appointment of a Committee to follow up the plan of the Finance Committee, and consider what reductions could be made, he should have his cordial support. If the hon. Member pressed his Motion to a division, he would vote with him, although he hoped not to be called on to do so.

Lord *Althorp* thought the troops of the line might be reduced; and although those of the colonies were not so good, in the present state of the country they might be found sufficient. If the Amendment were pressed, he should vote with his hon. friend.

Sir *H. Vivian* defended the Estimates, and contended that the Cavalry, the effective services of which had recently been very apparent, were reduced as low as it was possible to reduce a force which could not easily be again raised if once disbanded.

Mr. *Hume* said, the vote of that night involved the question of whether the country were or were not to have any relief. Could any Member of that House say that his constituent or constituents, if he had more than one [*Hear, and a laugh*], were not distressed, then he might vote for the Estimates. It was admitted that the deficiency of the year would amount to 1,700,000*l.*; and when they considered the difference between the establishments now and in the years of peace preceding, and recollected the tranquil state of Ireland, he thought every man in the House whose constituents complained of distress was bound to support the Amendment.

Mr. *Maberly* was of opinion, that if the Finance Committee, with a mass of evidence before it, had not been allowed to prosecute the subject of reduction, there was no hope of any good from the establishment of another Committee. If the question were to be decided only with reference to the convenience of the Army, there would be no reduction; but it was not by the convenience of the Army that the question ought to be decided. He would say, that the Guards might be made available, and then some Regiments of the line might be diminished. He pressed on the attention of the House the propriety of making every reduction possible, and declared his intention to vote for the Amendment.

Lord *Palmerston* said, he could not give a silent vote on the occasion, and he was anxious to state, that he could not consider it consistent with his public duty to vote for the Amendment which had been proposed by the hon. Member opposite. He was quite convinced of the necessity which existed for retrenchment and reduction in every quarter, in order if possible to relieve the distresses of the country; at the same time he felt that relief was not be attained by the reduction of any of our effective establishments below that point at which, under the existing circumstances of the country, it seemed fit and expedient to maintain them; and looking at the considerable possessions of the Crown of Great Britain in all parts of the world, he was not disposed to think that it would be expedient at present to reduce our Military force beyond the point stated by his right hon. friend the Secretary at War. It was quite a different question whether, upon any review of our Colonial system, and of the expenditure connected with their several establishments, the local expenses of the Colonies might not be reduced, or their resources rendered more available for their own support. That was quite a different question, and he did not consider himself as expressing any opinion regarding it by his vote on the present occasion. He thought his right hon. friend had proposed a considerable reduction, though he was himself well aware of the difficulty of making reductions in those Estimates. He perceived that under almost every head some reduction had been effected, and that, he knew, could not have been done, without great labour and a frequent revision of all the Estimates. He should abstain at present from making any remarks upon the reductions which had been stated by the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would be necessary for the House to have further information on that subject before it entered upon its consideration. He was glad, however, to hear that so much would be effected in that way.

Mr. *Labouchere* said, he should certainly vote for the Amendment. He found it difficult to persuade himself that five thousand men were necessary for the preservation of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. [*hear*] He did not think the enormous military establishment in Canada necessary, and its reduction was certainly due to the people of England, and was equally desired by the population of British North America. [*hear*] He complained of the principles upon which the government of the Canadas was conducted. If those provinces were properly governed, their own Militia might be substituted in the place of the present military establishments, and they were perfectly able and willing to defend themselves. He would state one fact illustrative of the manner in which Canada was governed. He happened to know that in the colony of Lower Canada there were no less than four hundred Militia officers degraded, under the administration of the late Governor, Lord Dalhousie, simply for attending a meeting which was held there for the purpose of petitioning that House—a right which, if they had not exercised, they would not have been worthy of the name of British subjects. [*loud cries of hear, hear*] On the proper occasion he should not fail to express to the House his opinion of the system of government pursued in our North American provinces, and lay before them the feelings of the inhabitants of those provinces on that subject.

Sir *H. Vivian* remarked that there were four regiments of Guards in this country always ready for foreign service.

Mr. *W. Duncombe* said, the country was looking with the greatest anxiety for retrenchment, and he was convinced that the reductions proposed by his Majesty's Government would not at all satisfy the people, but would cause infinite disappointment throughout the country. He was sorry to hear the declaration from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he could not say at present that he should be able to come down to the House to propose any reduction of taxation.

Sir *George Murray* wished to say a few words, in consequence of what had been stated by some hon. Members in the course of the debate. The hon. Gentleman opposite said, that the Canadas were governed upon a garrison system. To show that was not the fact, it was sufficient to state that the Military force there now was the same as in 1792, though the population had considerably increased since that time, and the possessions of the Crown had been enlarged, not by the addition of new territory, but by the bringing into cultivation that which had lain waste and neglected. We had since then had a quarrel in that quarter of the world, and it was obviously necessary to maintain our Military establishment there at least upon the scale of 1792. With respect to the case of the officers of Militia mentioned by the hon. Member for St. Michael, all he (Sir G. Murray) could state to the House regarding it at present was this—that the case of these officers had been referred to the present Governor, the circumstance having occurred in the time of his predecessor, and he (Sir G. Murray) could assure the hon. Member, that though it was impossible that these officers could at present be replaced, in consequence of their places having been filled up by other individuals, there was not the smallest objection to their return whenever places should become vacant for them, and no stigma whatever rested upon their character or conduct. [*hear, hear*] The hon. Member opposite (the Member for Aberdeen) had contended for a further reduction of the military force in Ireland, and had gone back to 1792, to compare the force then required in Ireland with that maintained there at present. But the hon. Member should recollect that the circumstances of that country materially differed at the two periods. At the former period to which he had alluded, the state of one class of the population of Ireland in relation to that of the other, was not the same as at present, or had been till very recently. The Catholics—that is the majority of the population of Ireland,—had recently been combined together, in consequence of the existence of causes which he hoped were now buried in oblivion. That led necessarily to an augmentation of the military force in Ireland; and though he felt perfectly confident that the great measure of last Session would render in time the presence of such a force in Ireland unnecessary, he should not press for the too quick reduction of that force at present. That force had not been maintained in Ireland to keep down the population of that country, but as a military power standing between the two great hostile parties into which that population was divided; and though eventually it might be reduced, it would be imprudent to effect that reduction too suddenly. The honourable Member had also called for a reduction of the military force in our colonies, and here again he (Sir G. Murray) would resort to the same argument that was applicable to the case of Ireland. Perhaps, in comparing the situation of Ireland with Jamaica and our other West-Indian colonies, where the population was divided into two different classes, he might be drawing the picture with too strong colours; but the same argument at all events applied here too, for it was necessary to maintain a large military force in our colonies to prevent the danger and cruelty that would follow from the contests which might otherwise occur there. The right hon. Baronet, after expressing his full concurrence in the praise bestowed by the hon. Member for Abingdon upon the regiments of the line, expressed his doubts whether they would be as fit as the Guards for the service which the latter at present performed. The Guards appeared to him the best force for service in the metropolis and its neighbourhood; and as it was necessary that a peculiar body of troops should be always attached to the person of the Monarch, the Guards, he conceived were best fitted for that duty. It would greatly injure the regiments of the line to employ them in service about the metropolis; and the continual changing of them would render them very ineffective for such service when compared with the Guards. The gallant Colonel opposite had recommended the employment of native troops in our Colonies, and he had referred to the efficiency of the native troops in the East Indies. But he should recollect that the circumstances of the East Indies did not at all apply to our West Indian colonies, and that if the latter possessions were garrisoned by native troops, such troops would consist of the worst description of soldiers and officers,—that they would have no feeling for the honour of the British Army, and that they would be swayed by local connexions, instead of entertaining that strong attachment which always existed in the breast of the British soldier for the country of his birth [*hear*]. After some observations from an hon. Member whose name was not known, and a few words from Sir R. Inglis, the import of which, owing to the noise in the House, was not understood, the Committee divided, when there appeared: For the Amendment 93; Against it 225; Majority against the Amendment 132.

Mr. *Hume* then moved, that instead of eighty-eight thousand eight hundred and forty-eight men, the number be seventy eight thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

Mr. *C. N. Pallmer* said, he was one of those who had refrained from voting with the Member for Montrose (Mr. Hume) upon a former evening, though he had felt it impossible to vote against him. He had held a suspended opinion, founded upon the hope that his Majesty's Ministers would that evening have come down with some satisfactory measures of reduction of expenditure and taxation. A reduction of expenditure had been brought forward, and he was thankful for it. As to a reduction of taxation, there had been an omission which, he feared, should be rather called an admission that no taxes were to be reduced. This would be a grievous and cruel disappointment to the suffering people of this country. They would be mortified and irritated beyond measure. The hon. Member for Callington (Mr. Baring) had talked of preserving a Sinking-Fund. It was the first business of the House to sustain a sinking people. To save was a good thing, but to starve was a very bad one; and if the House were disposed to go on, night after night, without passing some strong vote, the Session would pass over and nothing would be done. Let those who supported such a system look to its consequences. It was a most unfair proceeding to mix up questions concerning the distresses of the people and the means of relieving them, with the question of who should or should not be the Ministers of this country. He disclaimed all such feelings. No Englishman could admire more than he did (and that was saying much) the noble Duke at the head of the Government. He wished that the success which had attended his military career might attend his political exertions. No man could admire more than he did many of the civil services which had been rendered to the country by the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department, who had in that office displayed talents, exertions, and skill, which had never been surpassed, perhaps never equalled. But he looked to measures, not to men. It had been said, let those who wanted reduction of taxation point out the mode of meeting the exigencies of the country. He (Mr. Pallmer) would not pretend to financial knowledge, but he could not help thinking that there were many modes of relief which had strong recommendations. Let the taxes which pressed unequally upon the poor and the rich be removed. Since the Member for Aberdeen had stated that the Post-office revenue had not advanced, let the House begin with themselves, and throw into the revenue the profits arising from the absurd privilege of franking,—let a portion of the enormous sum expended in the collection of the revenue be thrown into the public purse, and let the burthen which must be borne be lightened by a more equal distribution of its pressure, under a well-arranged scheme for taxing all the property of the country to pay for its exigencies.

Mr. *Hume*, observing that the real number the Committee was called upon to vote for was eighty-one thousand, one hundred and sixty-four men only, he should alter his amendment to seventy-one thousand, one hundred and sixty-four. He said that in the year 1821 he had divided the Committee seventy-five times on the Army Estimates, as the noble Lord (Palmerston) well knew, for it had interrupted his parties; yet at the end of the Session, not one farthing of the expenditure was reduced. But an address to his Majesty was carried, and in two months after thirteen thousand men were reduced; and in the following year, 1822, the number was only sixty eight thousand, eight hundred. Now, however, the number was three-thousand more. He held this out to the House as a precedent.

Lord *Althorp* said, that he should be very willing to vote for a reduction of five thousand men, but he could not concur with his hon. friend in thinking so many as ten thousand could be reduced.

Mr. *Cutlar Ferguson* concurred with the noble Lord in thinking that five thousand men might be spared; but if the Amendment were pressed to the extent of ten thousand, he should vote against it.

Sir *H. Hardinge* observed, that although the hon. Member for Aberdeen had stated that the number of men in 1822 was only sixty-eight thousand, if he had recourse to his arithmetic, and added the Veteran establishment and the colonial corps, which were not included in the Estimates for that year, he would probably find the number in 1822 was upwards of seventy-five thousand.

Mr. *Hume* consented to alter his Amendment again, by substituting 76,164, instead of 61,164.

A division then took place, when the number swere—For the Amendment 57; Against it 167. Majority against the Amendment 110.

The original resolution was agreed to.

Sir *H. Hardinge* suggested, that as the number of men was agreed to, probably the hon. Member for Montrose would have no objection to go on with the other resolutions, for their pay.

Mr. Hume and Mr. Maberly objected,

—whereupon the Chairman was ordered to report progress. The House resumed, and then adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, February 22.

State of the Nation.] The Earl of *Rosebery* said, that seeing a noble Earl in his place, who had given notice of a Motion of the utmost importance for Thursday next, in general terms, on the State of the Country, he wished to ask whether the noble Earl had any objection to state more specifically what the precise object of his Motion would be.

Earl *Stanhope* begged to state, that the Motion he intended to submit to their Lordships on Thursday next, would be drawn up in the very terms in which he had already announced it; namely, "that the House resolve itself into a Committee to take into consideration the internal state of the Country." By using the words "internal state of the country" he wished to exclude all discussion of its foreign relations.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, February 22.

Minutes.] On the Motion of Sir T. Acland, a new Writ was ordered for a Member to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Rye, in the room of H. Bonham, Esq. who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. A new Writ was also ordered for a Knight of the Shire to serve in Parliament for the county of Essex, in the room of Sir Eliab Harvey deceased.—Lord Morpeth gave notice, that he would on the 4th of March move for a repeal of 4th Geo. IV., which subjected to banishment persons who had been a second time convicted for libel. The Bill to prevent abuses in the Administration of the Poor-laws and Rates was read a first time.—The Paupers' Removal Bill was read a second time.—The Illusory Appointment Bill was read a second time.—Mr. Lamb obtained leave to bring in a Bill to regulate the performance of Dramatic Pieces, and to secure the rights of the Authors.

Court of Admiralty (Ireland).] Sir *J. Newport*, seeing the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department in his place, would take that opportunity of expressing a hope that the Report, which had been made with respect to the Admiralty Court in Ireland would not be allowed to remain on the Table without being acted upon.

Mr. *Peel*, in reply, stated that the present was not a fit occasion for entering upon a general discussion respecting the Admiralty Court. He could assure the hon. Baronet that the Reports to which he alluded should be attended to. He felt himself called upon to say, that after the grave charges which had been made respecting the mode of doing business in that Court, his Majesty's Ministers felt that they had no alternative but that of calling the attention of Parliament to it at an early period. [*hear, hear*]

Petition of the Jews.] Mr. *R. Grant*, in rising to present a Petition from the Jews, observed, that the Petition he held in his hand was the first application that had for the last eighty years been made by the collective body of the Jewish community to that House, for the purpose of being restored to their rights as British subjects. It was a Petition from the Jewish community, being native-born subjects of this realm. It was signed by five hundred and ninety seven individuals, all of whom resided in or near the City of London, the most of whom were persons of high station, influence, and respectability: the others were wealthy and substantial tradesmen. The Petition stated that the enactments which were imposed with respect to the enjoyment of certain offices, namely, the acts of Abjuration and Supremacy, bore upon them with extreme hardship. He was not going to discuss whether or not the prayer of the Petition should be granted, he only wished to put it to the House to say whether it were not well entitled to their serious consideration. The House would do well to inquire what were the grievances complained of, and who were the parties that suffered under them. With regard to the nature of the particular grievances, it was scarcely necessary to add any thing to the statements contained in the Petition. The operation of the Oath of Abjuration and of the Declaration contained in the 9th of the King, had the effect of totally excluding Jews from seats in Parliament, from the enjoyment of the elective franchise, from all corporate and government offices, from the profession of the law, and from many subordinate situations. He implored the House to recollect that the body of the act, the operation of which went to exclude the Jews from the enjoyment of civil and political privileges, had nothing to do with their community directly; that the tests were not directed against them individually; but it happened that the words "on the true faith of a Christian" had been introduced, and it consequently followed that Jews could not subscribe the Declaration in that form: to which he might add (as another obstacle in the way of the Jews), the usage of taking official oaths on the Evangelists. Till the important measure of relief for Protestant Dissenters had passed into a law, Jews were not subjected to many disabilities to which they were now exposed. Up to that period they were in the same situation as Protestant Dissenters; for, although, like them, they did not take the tests required by law, yet they were protected from the penalties of non-compliance, by annual Acts of Indemnity, which applied to them as well as to the Dissenters. Had the Legislature, he would ask, designedly added new rigour to the code of intolerance as affected these parties, while emancipating others from its operation; or had it indirectly and unconsciously trammelled the conscientious Jew, and deprived him of political privileges which till then he had enjoyed? It required no argument to show that the grievances complained of were of a substantial nature. This being the case, the next question was, who were the complainants, and what were the circumstances in their condition to entitle them to attention? The petition was signed by a number of persons inhabitants of the metropolis, who, for private wealth and unimpeached honour and integrity, would bear a comparison with any others n this metropolis, rich as it was in examples of this nature. With respect to the rest of the petitioners, a more loyal, peaceable, and industrious community of men did not exist. But he should be sorry to restrict the force of the Petition to the number of signatures attached to it. If opportunity had been afforded, he was sure that the great body of inhabitant and native-born Jews in this country (nearly thirty thousand in number) would have attached their signatures to the Petition. When he spoke of the number of the Jews, he did not mean to enforce their claims in any way, except such as the parties themselves would approve of; namely, by loyal and constitutional means. They were too well conducted, and at the same time too few, too powerless, and too peaceful, to regard the attainment of civil privileges by any other means with approbation. In fact, they were exactly in the condition best fitted for concession, because all the merit of the grace would be our own, inasmuch as it must be spontaneous and uncompelled. Christian Europe had been lavish to extreme prodigality of its injuries to this persecuted race, but he hoped the Legislature would then do its part towards wiping away the stigma of cruelty.

Mr. *Ward* trusted, that he might be excused if he added to what had fallen from the hon. Member who presented the Petition, his humble testimony of the worthiness of the class of persons from which it proceeded. He had enjoyed opportunities of knowing a large proportion of the respectable Jews of London, and could say with perfect truth, that a more charitable and industrious class of persons did not exist. But it was not on the ground of their charity or industry alone that they were entitled to ask for concession: he believed that a safer concession could not be granted than that which was sought by this Petition. He should hold himself prepared to assist the hon. Member in forwarding the views of the petitioners.

Sir *R. Inglis* said, two years ago, by the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, we separated the Church of England from the State: last year we separated the Protestant Religion from the Legislature by passing the Catholic Relief Bill: upon the latter occasion he had predicted that next year we should be called upon to separate Christianity itself from the State; and the present Petition bore out his prediction. He contended that whatever we had done with respect to Protestant dissent or Catholicism, we should at least preserve the connexion between Christianity and the Legislature inviolable. It appeared as if the honourable Member for the City of London contemplated the introduction of a Bill upon the subject of Jewish Disabilities; he (Sir R. Inglis) should regard the success of any Bill of that kind, as involving a separation of the last link that existed between the Legislature and the religion of the country. Not content with admission to the profession of the law, to corporate offices, &c., the Jews appeared, by their Petition, to demand admission to the highest executive situations in the State. It was not enough to say their number was small; it was well known that a small number of men, acting in concert, might exercise considerable influence, beneficial or otherwise, over the State. If Parliament were reformed, probably not one Jew could find his way into it (if eligible); but means existed at present, by which the entrance of Jews could be easily effected. But it was not on the ground of the number of Jews that might enter Parliament if qualified, that he objected to the prayer of the Petition—he objected to it upon the point of principle.

Mr. *O'Connell* wished to say one word. Instead of disapproving of the Petition in consequence of the principle which it involved, he thought it exactly what the House ought to approve of. Instead of separating the Legislature from Christianity, by conceding the claims of the Jews, we should prove ourselves still more Christian by doing as we would be done by, and carrying into effect the principle of perfect freedom of conscience,—a principle that already manifested its beneficial tendency, and which would be the more beneficial the more widely it was extended.

After an observation from Mr. R. Grant, the Petition, which was from certain Jews, praying that the peculiar grievances under which they laboured might be considered by the House, with a view to their removal, was read, and ordered to be printed.

REPORT OF WAYS AND MEANS.—QUARANTINE IN GEORGIA.] On the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the order of the day for considering the Report of the Committee of Ways and Means having been read, Sir A. Grant brought up the Report.

On the question that it be read,

Mr. *O'Connell* asked the right hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether his Majesty's Government had been apprised of a law recently passed by the State of Georgia, imposing quarantine upon foreign vessels having on board free men of colour. By this regulation it would seem as if British subjects, not being white, were considered by the State of Georgia as a sort of pestilential objects: he wished to know whether steps had been taken to protect the rights of such individuals?

Mr. *Peel* said, that Government had learned within the last few days (on the 12th of February), that the State of Georgia had lately passed an Act, imposing a quarantine of forty days upon vessels containing free persons of colour, and coming either from other States of the American Union or from foreign countries. The subject was now under consideration, having been referred to the King's Advocate, and he could not as yet speak explicitly upon the point. The measure alluded to quarantine regulations avowedly, but evidently contemplated another object—the prevention of all intercourse between the free people of colour in Georgia, and those coming from other places. It might be a question whether a regulation such as this did not contravene commercial regulations entered into between the two countries; however, he was not yet able to speak positively, the subject being under consideration before the proper legal authority.

The Report was read, and the several Resolutions agreed to.

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.—ARMY ESTIMATES.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer having moved the order of the day for the further consideration of the Supply to be granted to his Majesty in Committee of Supply, the Speaker left the Chair.

Sir *H. Hardinge* moved, that a sum of 3,015,333*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* be granted to his Majesty for defraying the charge of the Land Forces at home and abroad (excepting the regiments employed in the territorial possessions of the East India Company), from the 25th of December, 1829, to the 24th of December, 1830.

Colonel *Davies* entered his protest against the extravagant character of the Estimates: it was disgraceful to go on voting away millions when the country was suffering so much from distress. However, his right hon. friend should experience no more opposition from him in the voting of the Estimates: he did not care a farthing how it went: the other night he had not been fairly listened to, still less supported, when he attempted to go into the subject. He had no doubt, if the hon. Member for Cumberland had brought forward his Motion of disapprobation relative to the recent appointment of Treasurer of the Navy, that there would have been a large division against that appointment, because it was a million to one that any of those who might vote against the conduct of Ministers on this point would ever stand a chance of getting into the office; but as to the Army and Navy Estimates, the number who were interested in the question, remotely or directly, was so great as invariably to secure Ministers a large majority. When the House came to vote upon an office of 2,000*l.* a year, the *pseudo* patriots made a merit of opposing the petty expenditure, which was not a drop, no not half a drop, in the ocean of our extravagance. This was said without any feeling of hostility towards Government; but if Ministers persisted in refusing to make reductions commensurate with the public distress, let them not be surprised if independent Members of his way of thinking joined themselves to another party in that House, and took the chance of something better. He feared that the House had given itself blindfold into the hands of the Government; and in fact, he expected more from the Government than from the House, moderate as was his reliance on the former.

Sir *H. Parnell* said, he wished to make a remark upon the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on a former evening, as to the amount of our expenditure upon which reductions could be made. The right honourable Gentleman said, that the whole amount of public expenditure subject to diminution was 12,000,000*l.*; and if he had confined his statement to the sum annually voted on the Estimates, he would have been correct, and his ridicule of the honourable Member for Aberdeen for an attempt to save 8,000,000*l.* out of an expenditure of 12,000,000*l.* might have been justifiable. But it appeared from a statement in the fourth Report of the Finance Committee, that out of our gross expenditure of 55,000,000*l.* there was a sum of only 35,000,000*l.* which was not susceptible of diminution. These 35,000,000*l.* went to the payment of the interest on the Public Debt, to the maintenance of the Civil List, and to the payment of pensions and half-pay. Here, then, there appeared upon this statement a balance of 20,000,000*l.* which was subject to diminution. But to that 20,000,000*l.* might be added 3,000,000*l.* of sinking fund, and the sum might be still further increased by the addition of 2,000,000*l.* more, on account of the possible reduction of the 4 and 3½ per Cents, to 3 per Cents, so as to save 2,000,000*l.* Thus we should have a gross total of 25,000,000*l.* (and not 12,000,000*l.*) subject to diminution. He thought it right to make this statement, for otherwise some of the reductions that had been proposed might appear extravagant, if we were really limited to a saving upon a sum of 12,000,000*l.* With respect to the present Estimate, the numbers of the Cavalry were eight thousand three hundred, and those of the Foot Guards five thousand one hundred: these were not destined to colonial service. Our whole force was about eighty-eight thousand rank and file, including the troops in India. It appeared to the Finance Committee, that in 1828 the number of troops was one hundred and sixteen thousand, and one hundred and two thousand in 1829—a number which appeared capable of reduction by fifteen thousand men. The expense incurred in supporting this force was altogether a colonial question; if we kept up our garrisons and colonies, a force of eighty-seven thousand might be necessary to enable us to do so: but it was a question how far we ought to keep up these establishments. The hon. Member for Callington stated that this question had not been decided by the Finance Committee; and it was assumed that the Committee would not have decided in favour of such reductions as were now proposed. He did not presume to say what might have been the decision of the Finance Committee; he could only state his own opinion, which he had expressed elsewhere, and which was to the effect that an establishment of eighty-seven thousand men would be sufficient for our present system, not saying that that system was correct. When the question was before the Finance Committee, it was urged in justification of the large garrisons kept up in the Mediterranean, that the condition of Greece and Turkey rendered them necessary. But the case was altogether changed now, when there no longer existed a chance of our being involved in warfare in that quarter. He should say, that upon the whole, including the reduction of our forces in the Colonies, there might be made a total reduction of between six thousand and seven thousand troops.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that if he had understood the hon. Baronet correctly, the hon. Baronet was of opinion that eighty-eight thousand men, rank and file, were more than sufficient, and that in consequence of some alterations that had lately taken place, the number might be reduced by six thousand or seven thousand men. But how long was it since these alterations had taken place? He had had the honour of receiving, through the courtesy of the hon. Baronet, a book on Financial Reform, which had proceeded from the pen of the hon. Baronet. The book had only been published a few days, and in it the hon. Baronet stated that the number of troops, rank and file, for all the public services ought to be eighty-seven thousand—that was to say, the hon. Baronet admitted that, by the evidence taken before the Finance Committee, eighty-seven thousand was the proper number. The number voted this year was only eighty-eight thousand, and therefore it was within one thousand of the number which the hon. Baronet had admitted to be necessary. He should have calculated, therefore, upon the vote of the hon. Baronet; for certainly he could not have expected that a difference of one thousand men should have been a sufficient ground of dispute. But the hon. Baronet had also said, that in the islands in the Mediterranean, in Malta, in Gibraltar, and in other places, we kept up too great a force. In 1792, however, the force at Gibraltar was four thousand two hundred and twenty-one: while the force there now, in 1830, was only three thousand four hundred and eighty-six, being nearly one thousand less than in 1792. In the Canadas, too, the hon. Baronet said we had too large a force. But on referring to the accounts of 1792, he found that in that year the amount of our force in Upper and Lower Canada was three thousand two hundred and forty-seven, and that in 1830, it was only two thousand nine hundred and five, being three hundred men less than in 1792. He had stated on a former evening, that if he were to go through all our foreign possessions, he could show that, with the exception of New South Wales, we had at present a smaller force in them than we had in 1792. However, as the vote of this year was within one thousand of the number which the hon. Baronet thought a proper number, he hoped there would be no farther altercation on that point.

Sir *H. Parnell* said, that the gallant officer had not accurately stated what he had said elsewhere. The gallant officer had stated that he (Sir H. Parnell) had admitted elsewhere that eighty-seven thousand men were the proper number for the force of this country. Now he had expressly stated that we had a right to infer, from a comparison between the expense of our military force now and what it was in the peace preceding the war of 1793, that the present expense was much too great. He had stated, moreover, that the Finance Committee had been of the same opinion, and that if the Committee had been re-appointed it would no doubt have recommended considerable reductions. As to the number of men, he had taken the evidence given before the Finance Committee, and shown that, even upon that evidence, eighty-seven thousand would have been sufficient, whereas a much larger number had been voted; but, in showing that, he by no means meant to say that there should be no farther reductions made. When he found, too, by the evidence of the right hon. Gentleman, and of other gallant officers, that they rested the case of our garrisons on the war in Turkey, and on the unsettled state of Greece, the matter assumed a different aspect, for the war in Turkey was at an end, and the affairs of Greece were now settled. He had stated elsewhere, that when these events should have happened, the time for reducing our military force would have arrived. That time had arrived, and he thought that reductions ought now to be made.

Sir *John Wrottesley* was persuaded that our military force was too great, and that they ought to begin by reducing the number of men. He did not blame the Ministers for not making reductions,—it was the House of Commons that he blamed. It was the House that taxed the people, and not the Ministers. The Ministers brought down their Estimates, the House voted them, and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer afterwards came down with his Budget, the House might perhaps ask him to reduce the Taxes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would of course reply, that that was not his place,—that he had only to find out ways and means. It was for the House, then, to make those reductions which the country needed. With respect to our military force, he had hoped now that there was a new and efficient police that the Guards might be done away with in the metropolis. He agreed, however, that the right hon. Secretary for the Colonies had, on a former evening, given a satisfactory explanation on this subject. The right hon. Secretary at War had stated that the number of battalions had not been increased since 1792, which was true; but the strength of the battalions had been increased. In 1792 a battalion consisted of about four hundred men: it now consisted of seven hundred and forty. In 1792 a regiment of Cavalry consisted of one hundred and ninety-six men; it now consisted of three hundred and five. He should propose that we should reduce our force by two battalions of Guards, by one regiment of household troops, and that the Cavalry generally should be reduced to the condition in which it was in 1792. He believed that during the late reign each regiment of the line had an opportunity in its turn of performing duty at Windsor, and he regretted that this custom had been abolished. With respect to reduction generally, he felt it his duty to propose something that should effectually relieve the country.

The Marquis of *Blandford* said, that he was fearful that in any observations he might make against the Ministers, his opposition might be, as it had been, attributed to factious motives. He begged however, once for all, to deny that charge most unequivocally. If that party which was generally known by the appellation of "Brunswickers" were to obtain the reins of power, and were to propose the repeal of the Catholic measure which passed last year, he would oppose such a proposition as stoutly as he had opposed the measure itself. [*hear, hear.*] He disliked the measure, but he would never become a party to a proposal for the repeal of it, now that it had passed. [*hear*] He trusted that after this declaration it would not be supposed that he was actuated by such unworthy motives as some had thought proper to impute to him. [*hear, hear.*] He was actuated by no such motives; but on behalf of an oppressed and insulted people, calling loudly but in vain, he did protest against the Ministers laying their sacrilegious hands on the public money. The distress of the country was general,—it was universal; and if the Ministers persisted in their present course, they would urge on that distress until the foundations of society were shaken to their very centre. One Minister of the Crown admitted that the distress was general, while another wished to gloss it over. What dependence, then, was to be placed upon these contradictory statements? The primary duty of the House was to inquire into the fact of this distress, and into the means of relieving it. If the House refused to perform this duty, they would violate the confidence which had been reposed in them by their constituents, and give to the Ministers a still greater power of oppressing the people. But the majorities of Friday last had taught the people what they had to expect from the House of Commons and from the Ministers. The history of that night's proceedings had already gone forth to every quarter of the country, bearing with it bitter disappointment and disgust. The voice of a complaining and indignant people must, however, be heard at last; and in the name of that people, he called in the first place, for the repeal of all taxes on labour and industry. [*hear, hear.*] Let him call the attention of the House to the following passage from Lord Bacon:—"Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used * * * * *. For their merchants they are *vena porta*, and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the King's revenue; for that which he wins in the hundred he loses in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased. For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life." The noble Marquis, after reading the above passage, concluded thus:—"May these words reach the Royal ears, and may the admonitions contained in them sink deep into the Royal mind!"

Sir *G. Murray* said, that he was neither one of those who had attributed factious motives to the noble Marquis, nor did he approve the conduct of any who dealt in such imputations. There could be no doubt that every hon. Member had a right to give utterance to whatever opinion he entertained on public affairs, and he thought that that right was impeached as often as the expression of such opinions was attributed to any improper motives. The noble Marquis might be assured, therefore, that he (Sir G. Murray), widely as he differed from him, should never impute to him that he was actuated by factious motives. With respect to what had fallen from the hon. Baronet (Sir J. Wrottesley) and which had been the occasion of his rising, he begged to observe that he believed the duty at Windsor, Kew, and Hampton-court, had always been performed by the Guards.

Sir *R. Heron* agreed that the retrenchments proposed by the Ministers were very small, but he did not think with the noble Marquis (Blandford) that the people would be at all disappointed, because he believed that the people had long since abandoned all hope of relief from those who called themselves their representatives. He thought that the Army Estimates were the best subject of any for reduction. [*hear*] In the half-pay chiefly, as it appeared to him, a great saving might be effected ultimately. It seemed unjust that half-pay, which had originally been given only for loss of health in service, should be converted into a fee-simple, transferable. The system of the purchase of commissions. too, should be altered. With regard to pensions, he could not help thinking, that for the future soldiers might be contented with lower pensions, granted only for a greater length of service. He could never understand why such a difference in respect of pensions should exist between the Army and the Navy. One word more:—they had been told that the passing of the Catholic Relief bill would effect a saving in our military establishment; but this promise had not been realized. He knew that very little reduction could be effected in our military force while we retained so many colonies. But why should we retain so many? Nothing would be more wise than to give up the Ionian Islands.

Sir *J. Wrottesley* said a few words in explanation.

Mr. *Maberly* said, that if the Finance Committee had been re-appointed, this subject would have been properly investigated, and the House would never have come to such votes as those to which it came on the last evening. They could now only make observations upon the Estimates,—they could not examine them. He contended that nothing could be more indefensible than to call upon the country to pay the East-India Company for twenty-thousand men. Great saving might also be made in the mode of paying general officers, and that without reducing their pay one sixpence, which he was not anxious to do. It was, however, of no use to make any statements upon the subject, because some gallant officer opposite would get up and contradict them, and no argument could be effectual in the teeth of a majority.

Mr. *Hume* said, that he had been strongly urged by many of his friends to make no farther opposition, because it was evidently useless; but the distresses of the country forced him on. It was now certain that eighty-eight thousand soldiers and thirty thousand seamen would be forced upon the country. Still, however, he would not discontinue his opposition. See what a state they were in,—he meant the House. Every hon. Member on the other side the House to whom he had spoken had said—"This is very bad: the establishments ought to be reduced." "Then, said I, "continued the hon. Member, "why don't you vote with us?" "No, they replied, we can't vote with you, but we will do any thing else." [*hear and laughter*]. Out of the House, therefore, where they could do nothing, Gentlemen would express their real wishes, and say what the people wanted; but in the House, where they could do something, they were silent. Now was not this a proof that Gentlemen came here to serve themselves, and not to serve the country? [*hear and laughter*] It was useless to talk, then, of any effectual reductions by the House, if hon. Members voted in this way. If it should continue in the same course of indifference to the wishes of the people, what remedy was there but force? [*hear, hear*] He would repeat it, that was the only remedy; it was the only thing which could impress itself on those who were inaccessible to argument. What was it that kept the tyranny of the Sultan within some kind of limits? Why the dread of re-action. They had been told the other day by an hon. Baronet (Sir E. Knatchbull), who had referred to an argument of his (Mr. Hume's), that they had only one of two courses to adopt—the one a measure which would bring up the payments and prices of every thing to the state of taxation, so that all might be equally raised; or they must consent to a large reduction of taxation. The first measure his Majesty's Ministers had, in his opinion, very wisely declined to adopt. He had given them his humble support on that occasion, because he felt convinced that the measure suggested would have the effect of eventually plunging the country into greater difficulties than those in which it was now involved, and he would continue to support the views of Ministers on that point. The other course,—the reduction of taxation by means of the reduction of our large establishments,—

that was pressed, earnestly pressed, upon the attention of Members and the House; yet out of six hundred and fifty-eight Members, only ninety-three were found to consent that the taxes ought to be reduced. If a stranger to the country, uninformed as to the constitution of the House, were to look at that division, his conclusion would certainly be, that it was impossible the people of England could be desirous of a reduction of taxes, for there were the representatives whom they had sent to act for them,—the majority of whom had voted against it; and of course he would judge of the opinion of the country from the majority and not the minority. He regretted exceedingly that the House had not followed the example recently set by the representatives of the people in the Netherlands: they felt themselves aggrieved by some measures of the Ministers of the Crown, for which they in vain sought redress, and they very properly resolved not to vote the supply until redress was obtained. They not only determined not to vote the ten years' supply; but would not vote it for even one year, till Ministers had come to a proper sense of what they ought to do. And what was the result? Why, that the Ministers did adopt, as far as they could, what was proposed in the name of the people. If he could persuade the House to adopt a similar course, what would be its effect? It would place Ministers on a pinnacle of popularity much higher than they ever could be placed otherwise; but instead of this they were now under the influence of a few magnates, despising the representations of the people—despising their distresses and their prayers for relief. Why, if the House should go on in that way, he did not see what use it was, except that a man could speak his mind there, which the Attorney General would not permit him to do out of it. [*hear*] Indeed, one of the greatest benefits derived from that House was, that the Attorney General could not take official notice of any thing said in it. [*hear, hear.*] What was the situation in which the country was placed? Distress increased in every quarter. The people prayed for relief, and the majority of that House decided against the adoption of that course by which alone relief could be afforded. Was it possible that they could continue to go on in this way? What, he again asked, was their situation? If a man advocated measures of relief in the House, he was unsuccessful; if he spoke of the conduct of Ministers out of the House, in a way not very agreeable to Government, the Attorney General fastened upon him at once with a state prosecution at the instance of the Duke of Wellington; for after all he had heard on the subject of the late trials, he could not bring himself to believe that the Attorney General would have brought them on if he had not thought they would be agreeable to the Cabinet, or to the Duke, for he was in effect the Cabinet. [*hear, and a laugh*] He would call upon the House to look at the condition of the country —to consider the distress which prevailed every where; so great, that many had died of starvation. If any hon. Members doubted this, let them look to the evidence adduced at certain coroners' inquests. He would also beg of them to consider of that which the hon. Member for Kent did not seem to know —that the pauper population in some places helped themselves in the streets in a manner which could not be considered legal, and this must increase to a fearful extent if some timely remedy were not applied. And was he sorry for this? No, —on the contrary, he rejoiced at it, for it was only by such means that a remedy would be at length applied. When Ministers were blind to the distress of the country, it was right that it should be forced on their attention in this way. He might be told that this was intemperate, but he repeated, he wished it. When he saw the course adopted by former and present Ministers,—when the interests of the majority in the country were neglected, and every thing done to promote the interest of the few,—when he saw these things producing their natural effects in the country, he would defy any man in that House to put his hand on his heart and say, that he believed the country could go on much longer, to bear the expenses which now pressed upon it. He owned he was tired of reiterating to the House the necessity of reduction. But the question was—should there be any opposition or not? He knew he had been beaten over and over again on questions of reduction, but still he went on; for exposure was one thing, and success was another. He still was not disposed to give it up, for he had seen some little effect produced by it. He had been for years calling the attention of the House to the exorbitant expense of the staff of the Royal Military College, which was 6,000*l.* Reduction had at length taken place. The salary of the Governor had been reduced, but why had it not been reduced long ago? But this was the way—reductions were resisted until they were forced again and again on the attention of Ministers; but still they would go on in their former course until the people obliged them to consider those matters more attentively. The Attorney General would no doubt say that this was language tending to bring the House into disrespect and that all such language used out of the House should be punished; but he would say that every act of the House had tended more to bring itself into disrespect with the people than all the paper bullets of the Standard or the Morning —— he did not know what to call it. It was a shame that men with such power as Ministers possessed should exercise it in not allowing the miserable to complain of their injuries. It was not to be borne that this last resource of the miserable, that of complaint, should be thus cut off. He would say, that if ever there was a time when the people of England should arouse themselves from their lethargy, the present was the time—it was the time for action—for the action of co-operation throughout the country, until they brought Ministers to a sense of what was due to the distresses of the public. He might be told that this was inflammatory language. It was the language which the circumstances of the country called for; for he was one of those who thought that when all fair means had been tried without success, recourse should be had to unfair means. If the consequences to which he alluded should arrive, he was not to blame. Let Ministers bear in mind that he had given them warning,—had advised them to yield to the fair means; and if they neglected it, they should have only themselves to blame for any consequences that might follow. He was not in his place when it was proposed to go into the Committee, or he would have taken the opportunity of stating his opinion before that vote was agreed to. He agreed with several of his hon. friends near him, that it was now almost hopeless to press for further reductions in that House. But he did not address himself to the Estimates with any such hope. He cared not what was the opinion of that House, or whether he spoke to full or empty benches. His wish was, that the people should understand the subject, for he hoped they would see the necessity of taking matters into their own hands. [*Some cries of " order, order."*] He cared not for that cry. He would repeat it,—it was the right of the people, as they were the party most interested. He would now come to the vote before the House, for if the majority were determined to keep up this enormous force in time of peace, that was no reason why they should pay for that force more than was necessary. They had a force of Guards, Cavalry and Infantry, amounting to fourteen thousand and thirty-eight men. He would now wish to show what was the expense at which they were kept up. From a paper which had been laid before the House by a noble Lord (Palmerston), when Secretary at War, it appeared that the Life Guards were kept up at an expense of 32,000*l.* in 1822. [as was understood.] They were still kept up at the same expense. Every Life Guardsman cost the county 74*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* a-year, without his horse, but including the expense of the horse, each man cost 150*l.* a-year. Every man of the Dragoon Guards cost 56*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* a-year each man. The Foot Guards 34*l.* 6*s.*, and the Infantry of the line 31*l.* per man a-yea . It had been said by the gallant Secretary at War that there was not much increase of this Force since 1792, but he had an official document in his hand, dated 28th March, 1828, and laid before the Finance Committee, which exhibited the difference in the numbers of the Household Troops during the years 1792, 1822, and 1828, and it was as follows: In 1792 the number of privates in the Horse Guards was six hundred and seventy-eight; in 1822 it was one thousand one hundred and forty-four, and the same in 1828. In 1792 the number of privates in the Foot Guards was three thousand two hundred and ninety-two; in 1822 it was five thousand one hundred and four, and the same in 1828. In 1792 the number of privates in the Cavalry was four thousand two hundred and ninety-six: in 1822 it was six thousand and eighteen, and the same in 1828. The Horse Guards it was manifest from this Return, had nearly doubled in number, and the increase in the others had been likewise very considerable. He repeated that with this document in existence, he could not understand on what it was that the right hon. Secretary had founded his assertion. The other portions of the army had increased in like manner; and though in 1792 we had only forty-six thousand troops—in the present year that number was given at eighty-nine thousand, to be reduced to eighty-one thousand, or nearly double the number of the former year. The right hon. Secretary, however, could not make out the fact of reduction, even if he were to appeal to a still later period; for in 1822 the pay of the Army was 2,532,000*l.* in 1823, it was 2,561,000*l.* in 1824, it was 2,734,000*l.* and in 1825, it got up to 3,062,000*l.* It had now come back to 3,000,000*l.* but even that was an excess of about 500,000*l.* over the year 1822. What, after this, became of the declaration that the charge was as low now as within any year since the peace? He again asserted that the country was not in a condition to justify them in giving such a vote as that now demanded. Before the House voted that sum, they ought to ask this question, "What was the pay of the troops in 1806?" In that year the pay was raised, in consequence, as it was said, of the high price of provisions. The country was not in the same condition now. He expected that the Finance Committee would have taken up that question, and the evidence which had been given upon it was now on the Table of the House. It was accessible to every body, and was well worthy of their attention. From the year 1797 to the year 1806, the pay of the soldier was 8*d.* per day. In the latter year there was a proposition to increase it to 1*s.* per day, and together with the beer-money, it now amounted to 1*s.* 1*d.* per day. If hon. Members would look back and see the reasons on which that increase was made, they would see that the contrary reasons now applied in favour of a reduction. On a former occasion a question had been put to the noble Lord then at the head of the War Office, in order to ascertain whether any inconvenience would follow from a reduction in the rate of pay of the soldier, to be effected from that time; and the noble Lord had answered, none whatever, for that there were no less than nine different rates of pay in every regiment—nay, in every company there were different rates of pay, arising from different lengths of service, and from other circumstances. If the Government were disposed to reduce every unnecessary expense, they might from that moment have engaged soldiers at the reduced rate of pay. He thought that question was one of very great importance, and that every parish which was over-flowing with able-bodied men, whom it was obliged to support, might tell these persons that the King's service was open to them, and that they might go and serve. This might appear to some hon. Gentlemen a matter of very little importance; but he must say, that if means were not taken to lessen the expenditure in every way, no great reduction could be made. But the reduction was not so small in amount as some might imagine. When the noble Lord he had before referred to was asked what would be the saving effected by lowering the pay of the private soldier from 1*s.* 1*d.* to 11*d.* a day, he answered, that it would amount to 240,000*l.* a-year. That calculation was made, he believed, upon an estimate of ninety-five thousand men. He was aware that such a saving could not be instantly effected, and he would state what length of time would be required to accomplish it. Supposing the army to amount to seventy-two thousand men, there would be casualties among them in one year to the number of twelve thousand. In other words, one sixth part of the army required to be renewed every year. In that way 40,000*l.* might be saved in the first year, 80,000*l.* in the second, and at the end of six years the whole army might be engaged at a diminished pay. Taking the calculation of the noble Lord, the relief now would have amounted to 150,000*l.* if the principle had been acted on from the moment when it was admitted that it might have been. The question was, whether we ought now to keep up the increased pay, when the reasons for which it had been increased existed no longer. On that another question of considerable importance arose concerning the increased rate of pay to officers. The pay of the officers, like that of the soldiers, was raised in 1806, upon the plea of the high price of provisions. The same reason did not exist now, and it ought therefore to be reduced. He did not think that any difficulty would be found in procuring officers upon the reduced pay; for at this time there were not only a hundred candidates for every vacant commission, but great interest was used by each of the candidates to procure it for himself. Any government that looked to the expenditure with a view to economy would well consider that circumstance; and reduce, as far as possible, the pay and half-pay of the officers of the army, so as to put them on the same footing with that on which they were placed previous to 1806. When he talked of half-pay, he never was able to forgive that shameful proceeding which took place two years ago, when old officers were allowed to sell their life-pensions, and young officers to buy them. He must say that such a proceeding never ought to have been adopted by a Government claiming any title to a desire to be economical. It was true he had seen a calculation on that subject (if it were possible that any calculations could convince a man that he would pay no more to a young than to an old life), in which the wisdom and economy of the measure were asserted, and in which it was attempted to be shown that the country had not been a sufferer by it. If the House did its duty, it would say that there should be no rate of pay beyond that of 1806. He would ask any hon. Member what were the reasons assigned for raising the pay in that year? It was said not only that provisions were dear, but that there was such a want of men in the Navy, and in the Militia, and in the Army, that it was fit to hold out encouragement for men to enter the King's service. All these reasons had now ceased to exist; and when the causes for increased pay had ceased, we ought to go back to the original rate of pay. He had stated that the pay of the soldier had been raised from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 1*d.* a day; there was a deduction on account of rations, but no soldier was allowed to be charged more than 6*d.* a day for his rations, and there was sometimes a small sum returned to the soldier on that account. The Cavalry was now paid 1*s.* 3*d.*, and the Life Guards 1*s.* 11½*d.*, and we had twice the number of Life Guards now, that we had in 1792, and they had nearly double their former pay. It was most important that a reduction should take place in this part of our army. It was the most expensive, and the most useless, being unavailable for foreign service. When the large amount of the Army was attempted to be defended, however, it was said to be necessary, because the soldiers were wanted for reliefs in the Colonies. Now these troops never were sent out to the Colonies. For the parade of the court, four or five hundred men would be quite enough; but at present we had a much larger number, with one officer to every seven privates. The disproportion of officers to men, and the great rate of pay, were things that a country in the greatest state of prosperity ought not to be called on to support. There was, besides, another matter of importance here: the whole accounts of the Horse Guards and the Foot Guards were passed without any audit, so that nobody knew whether the money was expended or not, for it rested with the officers to whom it was given. He had a paper sent to him, upon which he should like to ask the gallant General opposite a question. He did not profess to know whether the information it contained was true or not, but he wished to ask whether it was a fact that, in the Oxford Blues, there was not only a Quarter-Master for the regiment, but one for every troop in it, at the pay of 8*s.* a day? If it were possible that such extravagance could exist, he thought it was high time that reduction should take place. He understood, besides, that some had retired on half-pay since reduction had been talked of. Having stated that, he would further ask the House whether it was prepared to keep up the recruiting establishment at its present enormous expense? There were six Inspecting Field Officers on full pay, five Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, seven Adjutants, six Paymasters, five Staff Surgeons, six Serjeant-Majors, seven Serjeant-Clerks, five Paymaster-Serjeants, and eight Paymaster-Clerks, and no less than forty-six Staff-Serjeants. All these were in this country; but there was precisely the same set of officers for Ireland, besides an immense expence for dépôts. Under the circumstances he would assert that it was not fair to bring forward one lumping Estimate of three millions, when there were so many objectionable items in it. One might really imagine that the Army was fixed at one hundred and fifty thousand, instead of eighty thousand men. It did appear to him that the whole was put upon the most extravagant scale. The right hon. Gentleman opposite might think that these observations were not well timed, and that he did not give the Ministers the credit they deserved. How could he be disposed to give them credit for their acts, when he saw, year after year, 43,000*l.* a year expended for lodging money, and

50,000*l.* for moving money? He was told that a large amount might be saved if the Household Troops were not moved so often. He would mention one thing more. There was a table kept at St. James's for the officers on guard, at an annual expense of 6,000*l.* As every thing now was cheap, he thought such a sum was enormous, and ought to be reduced. There was, besides, a sum of 8,500*l.* allowed to the officers, as compensation money, on account of certain emoluments formerly derived from outlyers, and from things supplied to the men, in respect to their apartments in the Savoy and in Scotland-yard. He did not think it was ever intended that they should enjoy these emoluments. All he knew was, that the Commons of England, in the fifteenth year of peace, ought not to vote so large a sum for this part of the Military Establishment; and his advice to the House would be, to grant much less than was required, in order to compel Ministers to attend to the wishes of the people: to refuse to pay the troops would compel reduction, and the first step ought to be to give no more than was given in 1822 and 1823. The average of 1822 and 1823 was 2,550,000*l.*, whereas the sum now demanded was 3,015,000*l.* for the pay of eighty-one thousand men. He should take the sense of the House on his Amendment, which would be to substitute the sum of 2,550,000*l.* for the sum of 3,015,000*l.*

On the Amendment being put from the chair,

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he had no doubt but his right hon. friend the Secretary at War would be enabled to give the Committee a satisfactory explanation with respect to the details comprised in the latter part of the speech which had just been delivered by the hon. Member for Montrose. But in the preceding part of that speech the hon. Member had indulged in some observations of a very different nature, which he could not listen to without emotion and astonishment, as they were of a character such as had been never before uttered, within his recollection, in that independent and honourable assembly. When he heard the extraordinary language employed by the hon. Gentleman, he could not help thinking that the speaker stood before them in the uneasy character of a disappointed prophet, who desired some compensation for his inconsiderate declaration, that he expected no reduction whatever from the present Ministry. He had found however that the prodigal Ministry, so vituperated, had made reductions to such a considerable amount as to cover him with confusion at the discovery, and he sought to regain his usual complacency in the manner which they had that night witnessed. In this awkward attempt to conceal the failure of his prognostics, he had, however, expressed himself in terms which the hon. Member, he felt assured, would in cooler moments regret. As to the Estimates against which he now directed such a vehement opposition, he ought surely to call to mind that they were lower than in the year 1804, and might have had the candour to acknowledge the subsequent reductions. Indeed, comparing the whole amount of the present Estimates, including extraordinaries and all the other items of expenditure, he had himself no hesitation in pronouncing these to be less than those of 1794. But, said the hon. Gentleman, why not reduce the Estimates to the state in which they stood in 1822? This triumphant question could be readily answered, by stating for the information of the querist, that the Estimates then under consideration were lower than the Estimates of 1822 by at least 150,000*l.* [*cheers and laughter.*] The hon. Gentleman admitted that he had been absent, forsooth, at the commencement of the debate, as he supposed that the House would have been occupied by the discussion of another motion which stood amongst the notices for that day, and which, it was understood, would have taken precedence. But wherefore had the hon. Gentleman advisedly absented himself on such an occasion, aware, as he must necessarily have been, that the Motion referred to was no less condemnatory of Ministers than his own? [*hear*] What could have been his reason for an absence so inopportune, if he really believed the Ministers, in truth, guilty of the unthriftiness or profligacy which their opponents had imputed to them? Did he mean to wave the arguments of both sides, and betake himself to his post at the fag end of the debate, only for the deliberate purpose of voting the condemnation of His Majesty's advisers, without hearing a syllable of their defence? [*hear, hear.*] Such a course of conduct, he submitted, was scarcely accordant with candour and fair dealing. But the hon. Gentleman did not stop here, for he took upon him to impute corrupt motives,—and that, too, in no very niggardly terms,—to the majority who had voted in support of Government on Friday. [*hear*] This invidious and most unjustifiable assumption he deprecated as equally unbecoming and untrue. Many Gentlemen who voted with Ministers on the division alluded to were generally adverse to Government, as every individual who heard him well knew; and such Gentlemen, although they had the misfortune to differ from the hon. Member for Montrose, were in all respects as conscientious and upright and independent as himself. [*hear, hear.*] It was assuredly too much for any Member of that House, not only to censure and condemn the conduct of others, but to asperse them individually,—to charge them with corrupt interested motives,—to describe them as actuated by unworthy personal views of aggrandizement, when there in the open exercise of a public duty. [*hear, hear.*] He, it appears, would propose a reduction in the Army of ten thousand men, and so compute it at seventy-six thousand instead of eighty-one thousand, whilst others would leave it at eighty-one thousand. Now it was rather hard that for such a difference of opinion, imputations of so foul a character should be cast on the motives of those, who in common with the hon. Member availed themselves of the privilege of judging for themselves. Those votes, he contended, were as honestly given as any which had ever emanated from Opposition, being influenced neither by a desire that relatives should continue in the receipt of public pay, nor by any other personal interest whatever. Such was the uncourteous conduct of the hon. Gentleman to the Members of the House of Commons, and it were well if he had been content with depreciating and vilifying his opponents within doors. But a part of his speech, he lamented to perceive, was addressed to another class of the community, and evidently uttered in a spirit little calculated to elevate the speaker in the opinion of the rational and dispassionate. The hon. Gentleman had made an appeal intended to operate without the doors of that House; he had actually made an appeal to the physical strength of the country, under circumstances which should have induced him to suppose that it might not fall entirely ineffectual from his lips;—under circumstances, moreover, which reflected the deepest discredit on the source from whence those perilous counsels had originated. [*hear, hear.*] Was it, he fearlessly asked, the part of a wise or a humane man to play with such instruments? [*hear*] How could that hon. Member reconcile to his conscience this endeavour to incite a population which he described as in distress, and even starving, to rebellion; for his inflammatory language amounted to nothing short of that deplorable extreme? It was truly bold advice which had flowed freely from the hon. Gentleman, but how had he put it? Was he himself willing to encounter the dangers which he was so forward to excite;—did he intend to participate in the storm which he so valiantly invoked? No: far from it. His exhortation was conducted in a very different tone, and might rather be paraphrased in such language as the following:—"I who instigate you to rebellion,—I who invite you to take up arms, am myself safe from the penalties of treason, and not even the Attorney General can lay hold on me, sheltered as I stand behind the shield of my privileges." [*cheers*] Such, it must be acknowledged, was not the language of the hon. Baronet who represented Westminster. That Gentleman—be his counsel what it might—had the manliness to take upon himself the entire responsibility, and abandon the screen of Parliamentary privilege, by stating that he would abide by his opinions within doors or without, and publish what he had said, avowing himself the author. [*hear, hear*] This was at least frank, candid, and straight-forward; but the hon. Member for Montrose was content to wrap himself round with his privilege as a Member of Parliament, most unfeignedly disclaiming participation in such chivalry. Ministers, the committee might be assured, deeply lamented the distresses of the people, and sympathized in their sufferings,—sympathized with them the more on account of their moderation and forbearance under the pressure of calamity: but what was the counsel of the Member for Montrose? Don't be moderate, don't be temperate,—have recourse to arms! But will the hon. Gentleman assert himself the champion of those whom he thus addresses,—will he put himself at their head? Oh no; he will stand upon his privilege, but adds that he will be glad to hear of their resistance. [*cheers*] Those, he confessed, were not the exact words employed by the hon. Member, but he had expressed himself to exactly the same effect in substance.

Mr. *Hume*, interrupting the right hon. Secretary, disavowed the inference which the right hon. Gentleman drew from his remarks, but he repeated that he was not inclined to retract a syllable of what he had said.

Mr. *Peel* professed himself unable to understand what the hon. Member had intended to convey if his interpretation was erroneous. He had certainly stated 'that when Ministers, as in the late instance, were capable of procuring a corrupt majority, no other resource remained for the people, except an appeal to arms.' Language such as this was, in his opinion, open to no inference but one. But if that address to the passions of a suffering people should be answered by their raising the standard of rebellion, what alternative, he demanded, would remain for Government but that of meeting it with prompt, powerful, and successful resistance? In that event, he apprehended, the hon. Member could hardly reconcile to his own conscience his declaration from his place in Parliament, that he should rejoice to hear of such resistance. [*hear, hear*] In the present excited state of his feelings he found himself quite unable to enter into the details of the subject before the Committee, and would accordingly leave that task to his right hon. friend. But he could not conclude without expressing his belief that the hon. Gentleman would find little support in his inflammatory appeal to the people, who, he was sure, even under their present adverse circumstances, were too generally conscious of the advantages derived from the Government and Constitution to listen for a moment to those dangerous and intemperate suggestions. Nevertheless, if any portion of the population, however inconsiderable, should prove so infatuated and misguided as to hearken to that pernicious counsellor, and undertake a hopeless, a ruinous, and he would add, a wicked resistance, he could not envy the responsibility of him who had excited it. [*hear*]

Colonel *Davies* said, he had always heard that a total loss of temper indicated a consciousness of a defective cause, and he could not refrain from applying the observation to the right hon. Gentleman, who had made such an unwarrantable attack upon him; for he understood that he also was included in the animadversions directed against the hon. Member behind him. In justification of what he before said, he could only repeat that he had argued as the people of England would argue, when they heard of the majority who had opposed themselves to any inquiry into the present distressed state of the country.

Mr. *Peel* disclaimed having made the slightest allusion to the speech of the gallant officer, as he was not present on the occasion referred to, and might not have remembered it even if he were. [*laughter*].

Colonel *Davies* proceeded to state his opinion that few of the majority in question had heard the arguments adduced, or were acquainted with the merits of the subject. He thought that it was unnecessary for the right hon. Gentleman to tax his hon. friend, the Member for Montrose, with having been absent during the earlier part of the evening, as no Member of that House was more regular in his attendance. He certainly, for one, felt no inclination to spirit up the suffering people to acts of violence, [*hear*] but could not help saying that no one would be able to predict what might happen if things went on, as at present, from bad to worse.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, he should not be induced to swerve from the course which he had already prescribed for himself, or be influenced by the inflammatory invectives of the hon. Member for Montrose, to submit any measure which would operate harshly on the soldier. The suggestion for lowering their pay was repugnant, he had no doubt, to the better feelings of the Committee, and its wisdom in point of policy was at least very dubious. Participating fully in the indignation, which the speech alluded to had excited in the mind of his right hon. friend, he should proceed to refute, as concisely as he could, the misrepresentations advanced in that speech. The hon. Gentleman was mistaken when he described the pay of the soldier as having been increased since former times. In the year 1795, the pay with an increase of 2*d*. per diem had been settled by Mr. Wyndham, since which the allowance of beer formerly granted was commuted to a penny additional. But no one could pretend to maintain that such commutation was a virtual increase of pay, which on the whole had remained on the footing established in the reign of Queen Anne. It had been also said that the pay of the officers was too high, and that of the Guards more especially. But he appealed to any Member present whether the subalterns of the Guards might not be said to give their services to the public gratuitously. In fact, many gentlemen around him gave higher wages to their servants out of livery than 7*s.* 10*d.* a day, which was the pay of the subalterns of the Guards, and did not include many of the necessary expenses requisite to keeping up the appearance of a gentleman. They were, moreover, liable to go abroad, and subject to the other contingencies of a military life. No corps of the line had seen more active service than the Guards during the last thirty years. They had been in Egypt, in both Americas, and the Peninsula. In the First Regiment of the Guards, in which he and a gallant colonel opposite had had the honour to serve, not less than twenty-eight thousand men had passed through the ranks within that period. The pay in proportion was at the same time lower than in the time of Charles 2nd. Where there were formerly sixty-four battalions, there were now only fifty-six. They were likewise maintained at a cheaper rate than in 1792, as there were at present fewer officers and more men. As to the manner in which they discharged their duty in the metropolis, he believed it gave general satisfaction, and he had no doubt but the hon. Member for Westminster would testify that the very best understanding subsisted between them and the inhabitants. The Cavalry likewise had been stigmatized by the hon. Gentleman, who had observed that they were more numerous now than in 1792. But he begged leave to remind him that there were fewer regiments now than at that period, and the expense was to be estimated according to the officers and not the number of men.—There were then one hundred and eighty rank and file, and the number now was three hundred. In France the proportion of Infantry to Cavalry was at present as four to one, while in this country they bore a proportion of nine to one. Thus the proportion of Cavalry to Infantry on the Continent was double that of ours. The table of the Guards, at a cost of 6,000*l.* per annum, was referred to by the honourable Member as another item of extravagance. But he recollected some years ago having had a similar discussion on this very subject, when he stated that the subalterns of seven battalions of the Guards cost the country less than seven battalions of the line; so that after all there was a difference of one half the expense in their favour. It was observed, amongst other details, that the recruiting department was higher now than last year; but the fact could be easily accounted for. A plan had been acted on according to which soldiers were allowed to receive their discharge fourteen years after entering the service, and thus they would be enabled to leave the army often at thirty-five years of age, in the prime of life. He felt convinced, that hitherto the difficulty of getting out was a principal cause of the popular disgust against entering the army; and it was as well to meet this objection as to create a saving in the Pension List that the step he spoke of was taken. Discharges to the number of two thousand were so given, not as formerly with a pension of 20*l.* but of 10*l.*, 7*l.*, or 5*l.* according to the years of service. In consequence of this regulation it was certainly true that it would be necessary to recruit more men this year than last year, chiefly on account of the discharges which soldiers might now claim after fourteen years' service. Thus it was supposed that three thousand five hundred additional recruits would be needed; but the patronage of Ministers was thus in no respect extended. On a comparison of the whole estimates, including those for the colonial corps, and the troops in the Ionian Islands, it would be found that the sum required for the present year was at least 100,000*l.* less than had been voted in 1822. The saving had been effected in the following items:—

The Staff was less expensive this year than in 1822, by	£20,354
The Clerks of Public Departments, by	25,052
Medicines, by	11,936
The Military College, by	6,005
The Pay of General Officers, by	56,000
The Full-pay of Retired Officers, by ..	41,000
The Half-pay, by	149,951
The Foreign Half-pay, by	19,000

The honourable Member for Montrose had repeatedly charged him (Sir H. Hardinge) and his noble predecessor, with being regardless of the diminution of the half-pay of the Army, but he could establish that the charge was altogether unfounded. In 1815, the whole number of officers, on full and half-pay, was eighteen thousand, four hundred and five; and in 1830, the number was reduced to fourteen thousand, nine hundred and ten, being a diminution in the interval of no less than three thousand four hundred and ninety five officers. As to the total amount of force, he would only say, that if any catastrophe were to require the aid of a larger number; if any massacre of the whites, for instance, were to occur in one of our colonies, it would be but small consolation to Government to reflect that it had happened, because Government had listened to advice of Members who supported injudicious and dangerous economy.

Mr. *Denison* gave credit to Ministers for a sincere desire to economise; but the question of the necessity of maintaining the establishments, at their present point, remained. He felt satisfied that a considerable saving might still be made in the colonies; and sure he was that whatever reduction could be effected, in the present state of the country, ought to be attempted without delay.

Lord *Althorp* said, it was alleged that it would be impossible to maintain the present high state of efficiency of the Army at a less expense than that stated in the Estimates presented. He believed that might be perfectly true; but he would ask the Committee whether the maintenance of that high state of efficiency were required? or, however desirable it might be, whether it were practicable to maintain that high degree of efficiency without inflicting upon the country an extent of distress which it was incapable of bearing? The right hon. Secretary opposite had said, that the proportion of Infantry as compared with Cavalry, was much greater in the British Army than in foreign Armies; that with us the infantry are as nine to one; while in foreign Armies they are as four to one; but the reason for that was obvious, the services on which our Army was employed being such as demanded a greater proportion of Infantry, therefore the Government had but small merit in adhering to a regulation convenient to themselves. As to the probability of our armies being again called on to perform duties which require an increased proportion of cavalry, he hoped that that time was not likely to return. He hoped that there was no foundation for what the Minister seemed so forward to assume, that in all future wars it would be necessary for England to maintain a large Army on the Continent. He hoped, whenever this country was again so unhappy as to be engaged in war, the circumstances of that war would be different from the last; and that it might be carried on in a manner more truly English than heretofore. But where was the necessity for keeping the country in a state of military preparation? At the same time he was far from going the length of his honourable friend, in saying that a reduction to the extent of 500,000*l.* ought to be made; for this which would be rather more than one-fifth of the whole amount, would have the effect of requiring a reduction in the number of men to the extent of sixteen thousand. He felt that so great a reduction would not be expedient; and, therefore, he could not vote for the Amendment of his hon. friend. If, however, it had been for a reduction of five thousand men, he would most cheerfully have supported it; but he could not bring himself to vote for so sweeping a reduction as 500,000*l.*

Mr. *Monck* thought, that the pay of the soldiers might be very advantageously reduced from the 1*s.* 1*d.* to 11*d.* Provisions were now much cheaper than when the pay was fixed at 1*s.* 1*d.* With that and with judicious reductions, and a better arrangement of the colonial force, there might altogether be a saving effected of 500,000*l.* But even supposing one-third part of the present vote were cut down—that 1,000,000*l.* were saved, of what perceptible use would that be, unless similar reductions were made in other branches of the public expenditure, so as, at the least, to produce a relinquishment of 3,000,000*l.*? No less diminution than that could effect any perceptible reduction of taxes. He begged the House to consider that such a reduction did not depend upon any declarations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; it depended upon the vote of that House whether there should or should not be a reduction. Now, with the expensive establishments at present existing it was impossible engagements with the public could be kept, and taxation at the same time reduced, otherwise than by cutting down those establishments.

Mr. *Hume*, adverting to what had fallen from the right hon. Secretary for the

Home Department, said, that he might very well have reserved his indignation for other purposes than those to which on that occasion he had thought proper to devote it. He (Mr. H.) had not brought forward any unsupported assertions—he had made no unfounded charges, but he could show that the right hon. Gentleman had made some unfounded statements. From a Return then in his hand—a Return signed by the late Secretary at War, he should show that instead of the officers of the Life Guards at present being not more numerous than in 1792, the fact was, they were thirty-one more now than at that time—in 1792 they were only seventy-three in number, now they amounted to one hundred and four—or rather, by that Return, they were, in 1828, one hundred and four in number.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, he had never once alluded to the Life Guards.

Mr. *Hume* replied, that that was no answer to his speech. The right hon. Gentleman had asserted that there was no increase in the number of officers, placing them above the standard of 1792, and as that force was not wanted for the Colonies, it might, he conceived, be easily reduced. He came prepared with the Returns, which was the only way of meeting official Gentlemen—for some of that class would admit nothing that was not signed officially, and others even sometimes forgot their own signatures, therefore what he should say was not without authority. From that Return, it appeared that the force of the Life Guards in 1792 was six hundred and seventy-eight, and in the year 1828 it was one thousand one hundred and forty-four; was not that an increase, and in the most expensive species of force? By another return he saw that each Life Guardsman cost the country 75*l.* annually, without the expense of his horse; whereas an Infantry Soldier cost 31*l.* a year. The Return was the ground of his assertion, and if he had left an impression upon the mind of any hon. Gentleman that he had asserted anything not borne out by official documents, he could only say that he had failed in making himself understood. He had only to add, that if the Committee would do him the favour to compare his documents with the assertions of the right hon. Gentleman, they would see he was correct throughout, and that the gallant officer ran from the fight. When Ministers were pressed upon the subject of a particular vote, they turned the attack by general statements of reductions; but was that the proper mode? He would join issue with them upon some particular case: the present vote, for example, which was 3,000,000*l.*, in 1822 was only 2,550,000*l.* He was ready to admit that there was a difference as respected the Colonies, but was that sufficient to account for the wide interval between the one sum and the other? But the moment that observation was urged, the right hon. Gentleman turned round and began to talk of reductions in the Staff and the Military College; doing anything but applying himself to the question; speaking of all things but the vote before the Committee. Did any hon. Gentleman who heard him, doubt that if the right hon. Secretary had a defence, that defence would not have been brought forward? He knew well enough how to make his artillery bear upon any point, did he conceive himself safe in the use of it. He must be allowed to say, that it was extremely unfair to impute to him any wish to depreciate the Guards. He never denied that they had done their duty, and it was very unfair to hold him up as stigmatising a body of men towards whom he had never expressed the slightest disrespect. He said not one word about their efficiency; he only complained that the amount of pay and the number of men had been increased, and contended, that as that force was not applicable to the service of the Colonies, a reduction might there be effected; and instead of meeting that is it ought to have been met, the right hon. Gentleman ran away from the real fight, and began to contend against an argument of his own creating. He raised a phantom for himself, and the Committee might judge what merit he had in demolishing it. The Right hon. Secretary had preached the doctrine of non-resistance; it had before been preached from those benches, and opposed from his side of the House with great ability, perhaps on both sides. But in the course of his advocacy of non-resistance, he had charged him (Mr. Hume) with being an agitator. Who were the real agitators—he, or the Members of that Government who pressed upon a distressed country with an iron hand? The tendency of their acts and language was too plain to be misunderstood. He would not say, that they were agitators and encouragers of rebellion, but he would say, that their conduct might lead to such a disastrous result. When the people cried aloud that their burthens were no longer bearable, what did the Government do? It said, oh yes, you can bear them very well; and it took no means to lighten them. If violence and rebellion thence ensued, who was to blame? Surely those who called upon the people to bear what was beyond their strength. Was, he or the Government, in that case, to blame? He had warned the Ministers, from the first, of the tendency of the course they were pursuing, but his warning was in vain; who, then, were the real agitators? It might be said that he was attaching too much weight to the savings referred to; possibly the people attached too much weight to them; but if they did, was it not important that their feelings should be considered, especially in the exasperated state of mind to which their sufferings had brought them? It was said that he (Mr. Hume) stood there safe; yes, he was glad he stood there safe from the Attorney General [*cheers and laughter*]—safe from the fangs of the law. He could expect no mercy did he not stand there—did he feel himself in the power of that hon. and learned Gentleman whom he then saw entering the House—he need expect to fare no better than others had done; but he should take especial good care that the Law Officers of the Crown should not catch him elsewhere. [*cheers and laughter*] It was said to him, "how cowardly you are; why don't you come out?" but, situated as he was, prudence was better than valour. He might be fool-hardy enough on other occasions, but he was resolved to keep out of the hands of the Attorney General if possible; and no taunts should induce him to throw away the privilege he possessed—no charge of being a coward rebel should tempt him to put himself defenceless into the hands of the enemy. It was in vain that they told him that he laboured to rouse the physical force of the country, and that when it did come forth, he would not heed it. Charges of that sort did not affect him, but they did little credit to the right hon. Gentleman by whom they were made—they were charges altogether unfit to be made in that House. For his own part he did not retract one word of what he said, and so far from retracting it, he would complain that other Members had not done the same, that no one but himself would speak out; prudential reasons might restrain them; but they should remember their duty; at all events he, for the performance of his duty, did not deserve to have applied to him the epithets which the right hon. Gentleman had so freely bestowed, when he said that on the head of the hon. Member for Montrose be the responsibility. But once again he would ask, on whom ought the responsibility to rest? he would say on them who were really the instigators and the causes of the dangers that threatened the country, and when that danger arrived, let the blame be not on him, but on them. It might be said that the partiality which he might be naturally disposed to indulge towards his own acts and language, was sufficient to account for the earnestness with which he accused others: but he believed the decision of all indifferent persons would be, that a sense of truth and justice was the cause of the pertinacity, as it might be called, with which he pressed his views upon the consideration of the Committee. Having said so much respecting his own observations, he should now come to the vote, and beg to point out to the Committee one other saving he thought might be effected. In his opinion, the five thousand men employed in the Ionian Islands might be reduced. On that, or any other point admitting of improvement, if the majority would only vote with him, they would speedily find—yes before twenty-four hours they would find—that the distresses of the people were of some importance in the eyes of the Minister; it would soon appear that the Estimates admitted of a reduction of ten or eleven thousand men. Before he sat down, he begged to observe that if any hon. Member disapproved of what he had said, that the offence ought to rest with him (Mr. Hume), and ought not to be allowed to affect the object of his Amendment, which was altogether independent of the Mover, and ought to be decided on its own merits.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, that he had before felt satisfied that the hon. Member would, in his cooler and more candid moments, disavow or explain what fell from him. The event had shown that he had not made a false estimate of the hon. Gentleman's right feeling. He did not discuss the question of responsibility; he did not put any case hypothetically, but he thought he heard the hon. Gentleman say, that the vote of Friday night was one which justified an appeal to physical force. It appeared that the hon. Gentleman's meaning was different. He begged distinctly to declare that he had never used the words coward, or rebel—he was not in the habit of using such language, and he should much regret to hear such terms applied to the hon. Gentleman after his explanation of the words physical force.

The Committee then divided:—For the Amendment 27; Against it 159; Majority 132.

The Resolution was then agreed to.

On the Question "that a sum not exceeding 109,347*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* be granted for defraying the charge of General Staff Officers and Officers of the Hospitals for Great Britain and Ireland, in the year 1830,"

Mr. *Hume* objected to the sum as extravagant, and contended that it should be reduced to the amount paid in 1792. In the General Staff he found one Adjutant-General, one Deputy Adjutant-General, one Assistant Adjutant General at Head Quarters, and one Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General. Now he would ask, in the name of common sense, what necessity there was for such an establishment in the fifteenth year of peace? The pay, too, had been increased; was there any necessity for that? In the year 1805 the pay of the Adjutant-General was increased 500*l.* a-year, but he had then two hundred and sixty-eight corps under his management. Why not reduce their pay to the amount it was before the increase? The Quarter Master's department was framed on an equally extravagant plan, making for the whole of the Commander-in-chief's office above 13,000*l.* He really thought that at least 30,000*l.* might be struck off the 109,000*l.* for the whole Staff. The honourable Member then adverted to the extravagant establishments in the Colonies. In the Ionian Islands, at the Cape, and the Mauritius, at Ceylon and in Canada, the most ruinously unnecessary establishments of Staff were kept up, although the Colonies were both able and willing to pay the expense of their own Staff, if they were relieved from that officious interference practised towards them by the Government at home. The truth was, that the Colonies, instead of being a support and assistance to the mother country, were, from the injudicious course pursued towards them, a drag, and a ruinous drain on her resources. After observing that there were eight Quarter-Masters General in Great Britain, and nine in Ireland, and animadverting on the folly of retaining such a number with a reduced military force, the hon. Member concluded by moving that the Estimate be reduced fifteen thousand for the present year, which, although not all he thought necessary, would, perhaps, be sufficient for the present, as nearly one quarter of the year was already gone by.

On the Question "that the Resolution be for a sum of 94,000*l.* instead of 109,000*l.*,"

Mr. *Maberly* entreated the hon. Member not to waste the time of the House by pressing his Amendment to a division. It was but too obvious that nothing could be done in that House, and he was much inclined to dread that a convulsion, such as that described by the hon. Member, must ensue.

Sir *John Wrottesley* complained of the practice of keeping four General Officers on full pay at the present moment.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that whatever hon. Members might think or do with respect to these Estimates, it was his duty to offer every explanation of their items which might be demanded from him, and he was sure it would be found they were not open to the imputation of extravagance thrown out against them by the hon. Member for Aberdeen. The hon. Member complained that no reductions had been made in the Staff. Now the fact was, that an Assistant Adjutant-General and Assistant Quarter-Master-General had been reduced in Canada, Nova-Scotia, and several other places, and the whole reductions of the Staff, within the last two years, amounted, along with contingencies, to 29,000*l.* The Adjutant-General's pay had been reduced above 1,000*l.* since the conclusion of the war, although his duties were nearly the same; and the Quarter-Master-General's Department had only one officer more than in the year 1792. In answer to the hon. Baronet (Sir J. Wrottesley), who objected to the number of General Officers, he admitted they were double the number of 1792. They had one at Portsmouth, one at Plymouth, one in the manufacturing districts, where his services, it had been seen, were required; and there was a fourth found necessary as an Inspector-General of Cavalry. When the various duties they had to perform, as well as the occasional services demanded by Courts Martial, were considered, he thought that the Army could not be properly directed with a smaller number.

Sir *John Wrottesley* did not see the propriety of keeping one general officer at Portsmouth and another at Plymouth.

Colonel *Davies* complained of the practice of keeping up Inspectors of Militia at the Ionian Isles, and paying them also as residents, although there was not a militia corps in the Islands at present, or at any other time.

Sir *G. Murray* said, that although they were called Inspectors of Militia, they were really residents, and paid as such. He thought, however, the number might be reduced. It had been said, that the Ionian Islands should be given up by this country or sold to some other power; but it might be well to recollect we were bound by treaties with other Powers to occupy these islands, and to their inhabitants by treaty to afford them protection; and, whatever might be thought of the propriety of getting rid of them, he conceived that this was not the precise period, when the present unsettled state of Greece was considered, to agitate the question. At that moment, although it was said they paid none of their expenses, he could assure the House that those islands defrayed the whole of their civil charges, and 23,000*l.* annually for military and other works undertaken to strengthen their fortresses. The hon. Member for Aberdeen had contended, that no reduction had been effected in the colonies; now, during the time he had been in office, and, he believed, during the time his right hon. friend (Mr. Huskisson) held the same situation, every opportunity had been taken to reduce the expenditure of the colonies. In Malta reductions had been effected to the extent of 3,265*l.*, and 10,000*l.* were annually paid into the Military Chest on account of its garrison. At Sierra Leone the reductions were 2,000*l.*, at the Cape of Good Hope 4,000*l.*, at Newfoundland 1,200*l.*, at the Mauritius 800*l.*, at Ceylon 2,400*l.*, at Trinidad 934*l.*, and about 1,822*l.* in the other West-India Islands. While he was on this subject he might observe, that it had been stated a large military force was kept up in Canada, for the purpose of keeping down and oppressing the inhabitants. He denied this, and he hoped the papers which would shortly be on the Table, would show the falsehood of the charge.

Colonel *Davies* could not see why the Ionian Isles should not pay all their own expenses. It was the same, however, with all the colonies. The Cape of Good Hope, under the Dutch Government, paid all its own expenses; but the moment we took possession of it, the expenses commenced.

Mr. *Hume*, in reply, said that all the reductions alluded to by the gallant officer produced no diminution of the amount of expenditure. The hon. Member then alluded to the expenses of the Commander-in-chief's office, which, in 1792, under Lord Amherst, were 846*l.* When the Duke of York was first placed at the head of the Army they were 1,578*l.*, and now above 13,000*l.* He did not expect any great support, but he was determined to take the sense of the Committee on the Amendment.

Sir *H. Hardinge* denied that the only reduction which had taken place in the Staff was in the Medical Staff. With respect to the Commander of the Forces, his pay was not greater than it was in 1792, when Lord Amherst held that situation.

Mr. *Hume* repeated his statements with respect to the Medical Staff; and observed that although it might be true that the pay of the Commander of the Forces was not greater than in the time of Lord Amherst, the expense of the office had increased to the amount which he had already described.

The Committee then divided:—For the Amendment 38; Against it 122; Majority 84.

Original Resolution agreed to.

The next Resolution moved by Sir H. Hardinge was, that the sum of 106,530*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* be granted to his Majesty to defray the charge of the allowances to the principal officers of the several public departments at the Horse Guards, their deputies, clerks, and contingent expenses, for the year 1830.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know why the office of Paymaster-General had not been reduced? He described the circuitous manner in which the Army was at present paid, and maintained that by a simpler and more economical arrangement that payment would be greatly facilitated. The salary of the Judge Advocate General had been raised in 1817, to meet the great increase of duty arising from the increase in the number of the Army. Now that the number was reduced, why was there not a correspondent decrease in that salary?

He would move as an Amendment, to deduct 15,000*l.* from the Estimate.

Mr. *Calcraft* said, that the office which he had the honour to hold (that of Paymaster-General) was a most ancient one. On looking back for the last hundred and twenty-five years, he found that it had been filled by some of the most distinguished persons who had taken a political part in the affairs of the country. Whether a better system of accounts might not be adopted in the office was a question upon which he would not enter. He administered the office as he found it. Referring to the accounts of the office for the last fifty years, he found that the public had not lost a single shilling of the money which had passed through that office. When the House recollected that during the war hundreds of millions passed through the office, this was a fact of no small importance. Though the office which he held was not a very laborious one, yet it was one of great trust and responsibility. He had various duties to perform, which occupied a considerable portion of his time. Amongst the rest, he presided at the Board at Chelsea Hospital; and so constant was his attendance there, that since the prorogation of Parliament he had not had a single spare week to himself. The office at the present moment stood lower than at the time of Mr. Burke's great reform; for then there were two Pay-masters and two Deputies. It was painful for any man to talk of himself; but he was compelled to say, that he discharged the duties of his office, he was sure, conscientiously, and he hoped diligently. The House ought to be cautious in meddling with an arrangement which had secured such fidelity of service in the payment, through a number of years, of such very large sums.

Sir *H. Parnell* said, that the right hon. Gentleman had made out no case to rebut the charge advanced by the Finance Committee; namely, that the office which he held was a sinecure office. The right hon. Gentleman's deputy told the Committee that he executed all the duties of his principal's office. It was, in his opinion, a serious objection to the establishment that the officers in it possessed too uncontrolled a command over the public money. The right hon. Gentleman's reference to the period when there were two Paymasters, was a common-place fallacy of justifying an existing abuse by the example of one still greater. He was surprised to hear the hon. Gentleman say he would postpone the consideration of the question whether the business of his office could be better conducted than it was at present. He thought that this was the time for considering that question. He hoped that Ministers would not call upon the House to agree to the vote now before them next year. He was of opinion that the duties of the Treasurer of the Navy, the Treasurer of the Ordnance, and the Paymaster of the Forces, which were now paid at the rate of 55,000*l.* a year, might be effectually performed for one-third of that sum.

Mr. *Calcraft* declared, that so far was the office of Paymaster-General from being a sinecure, that not a day passed on which his presence at the office was not necessary. If he were not there, the business of the office must stand still.

Mr. *Maberly* said, that if he remembered rightly, the hon. Gentleman, when he sat on his (Mr. Maberly's) side of the House, always disapproved of the office of Paymaster-General. As to the importance of the office with a reference to the care of the public money, he need only refer to the evidence of Mr. Serjeant (a man of great respectability) before the Finance Committee. In answer to an inquiry what sum he could take away from the office, and how long he could keep it without the risk of detection, Mr. Serjeant stated that he thought he could take away 250,000*l.*, and that he could retain it for a week. The manner in which the accounts were kept in this and the other offices was most unsatisfactory. Old forms, by which no sufficient check was maintained, were adhered to with pernicious pertinacity. If, for instance, any one of the twenty volumes of accounts respecting the colonies were examined, it would be found full of errors, and of misapplications of local funds. By consolidation and arrangement, a large saving in all the public offices might be certainly effected.

Mr. *Calcraft* denied having ever disapproved of the office of Paymaster-General.

Mr. *Maberly* said, in explanation, that he had only stated so hypothetically.

Mr. *Calcraft*, in continuation, went on to say that the doors of his office had been thrown open to Mr. Abbott, who had examined all the books, and preferred the system followed in his office to that of any other public department. The hon. Gentleman and the hon. Baronet had both admitted that the public money was pretty well secured; but how? Not by chance; but as it was secured in private life, by care and diligence. He thought great caution ought to be used in touching an establishment in which justice had been done to the public.

Mr. *Maberly* said, the right hon. Gentleman had done no more than his duty in opening the doors of his office to Mr. Abbott, who was sent by the Treasury; and he ought not on that account to take any merit to himself.

Mr. *Calcraft* did not claim any merit; he had only stated a fact.

Sir *H. Hardinge* reminded the House that his right hon. friend, as President of the Board of Chelsea Pensioners, had to administer a sum of 1,241,000*l.* a-year. In the execution of this duty he attended the Board upwards of fifty times in the course of the year, and had frequently come up from the country, for two or three days together, to attend this part of his duty. As Paymaster-General, he was President of the Board of Commissioners for Chelsea Hospital, and had very important and weighty duties to perform.

Mr. *G. Dawson* complained of Mr. Maberly making random assertions. He had stated that Mr. Serjeant had given in evidence before the Committee that he and two or three others might connive and draw out a sum of 250,000*l.* and might go off undiscovered for a week. He believed that he could not be undiscovered for twenty-four hours, and more than one person must connive at it. There was no possibility of avoiding such confidence. It happened in private as well as public business. In the public offices checks were established, so that no single individual could appropriate the public money.

Mr. *Maberly* denied that he had made a random assertion, and would afterwards prove what he had asserted. He trusted to his own memory quite as much as to that of the right hon. Gentleman. Other gentlemen, as well as Mr. Serjeant, had given the same evidence; and it was the duty of the right hon. Gentleman, as well as that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to take care that the public money could not be so disposed of.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* admitted that he believed the memory of the hon. Gentleman was correct, and that there was an impression in the Committee that the public money was not properly secured. A Treasury Minute, however, had been immediately passed, to pay no drafts unless signed by two persons. He had great confidence in Mr. Serjeant; and it was on principle, not from any mistrust of him, that the Treasury Minute had been passed.

Sir *J. Beckett* was surprised that the hon. Member for Aberdeen should now find fault with the expense of his department, when he had called for a complete return concerning it in 1821, and was then satisfied. The expense of it was less now than it was then by 500*l.*; and it was not 5,000*l.*, as the hon. Gentleman stated, but 4,400*l.* The expense was now as low as ever it had been for the last twenty-five years. In 1806 the office was regulated, the fees were done away, and the salary of the Judge-Advocate was settled at 2,500*l.* It was to be then made equal to that of a Puisne Judge. Since then the salaries of the Judges had been doubled; but the salary of the Judge-Advocate had not been raised—faith had not been kept with that officer. By the abolition of several Deputy Judge-Advocates' places, particularly in Ireland, reductions had been made to the amount of 3,700*l.*; and all the duties done by the officers whose places had been abolished had fallen on the Judge-Advocate's shoulders, and he had done them without any increase of salary. He did not think that the expense of the whole office, which was only 4,400*l.* a year, (not equal to the salary of one Puisne Judge,) was an extravagant charge, considering the great duties of the office, and the protection it had to afford to the Army throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Mr. *Hume* had not forgot the return for which he had moved in 1821, nor that the expense of the office was then 5,180*l.* What he had stated was, that, in 1798, Sir Charles Morgan had only a salary of 1,031*l.*, and 340*l.* for a house; and that in 1807, the salary had been raised to 2,500*l.*, on account of the heavy duties which then resulted from our having a large army; and he complained that when the reason for which the salary had been raised no longer existed, it was still kept up at the war rate. The right hon. Gent. opposite had stated that he had never voted for the reduction of the office of Paymaster of the Forces; but, in 1821, when he (Mr. Hume) moved that an Address should be presented to his Majesty to reduce that, with other offices, the right hon. Gentleman did vote for that Motion. He would not have referred to this had not the right hon. Gentleman challenged him to quote such an example. He did not say that the right hon. Gentleman was inconsistent; the only difference was, that then he sat on his (Mr. Hume's) side of the House, and that now he sat on the opposite side, and was bound to defend things as they existed.

Mr. *Calcraft* admitted that he might have given his vote for a lumping resolution like that referred to by the hon. Gentleman, and that he might in that manner have voted for the reduction of the office of the Paymaster; but if the hon. Gentleman looked back at the whole of his conduct, he would find that he had always voted for the keeping up our establishments, as not too extravagant and not more than was necessary for the regular service of the country. He had always defended the Guards, for example. He could not think, therefore, that there was any inconsistency in his present vote and his having once voted for a lumping Motion of the hon. Gentleman.

The Chairman asked Mr. Hume if he meant to divide?

Mr. *Hume* begged the House to recollect, that the hon. Baronet had stated, that out of 90,000*l.* 40,000*l.* might be saved. He did not ask for the half of that sum; he only asked for 15,000*l.* out of 106,000*l.* and he hoped the House would support him.

The House then divided, when there appeared for Mr. Hume's Amendment 42; Against it 118:—Majority 76.

The Question was then put on the original Resolution, 106,530*l.* for allowances to the principal officers, &c. voted.

On the Question that 14,420*l.* be voted for the charge of Medicines and Surgical Materials for his Majesty's Land Forces,

Mr. *Maberly* produced the evidence given before the Committee of Finance by Mr. Serjeant, and showed that his statement had been quite correct, and not a random statement, as asserted by the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *G. Dawson* had understood Mr. Maberly to say, that the public money might be drawn without any check whatever, which was not quite correct. He had himself been wrong as to time.

Mr. *Maberly* said a few words in explanation. He complained of the diversity of contracts for the supply of Medicines to the public service occasioning a great additional expense, and giving rise to private jobbing. The Finance Committee had reprobated the system. He had no objection to the vote; but it required attention.

The vote was then agreed to.

The next vote was for 60,612*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*, for Volunteer Corps of the United Kingdom.

Mr. *O'Connell* rose to object to the vote, so far as related to Ireland. He thought that the Army in Ireland, during what he might, perhaps, be permitted to call the late civil commotions of that country, had performed its duty, from the highest officer down to the lowest subaltern, in the most exemplary and praiseworthy manner. He suggested to the right hon. Gentleman opposite, that it was necessary to recollect that a large portion of that Army had been employed in the North of Ireland for purposes into which he would not enter. The conduct of the Yeomanry in that part of the country he could not praise. It was supposed to have been kept up for purposes not of protection, but of oppression. He submitted that it was a description of force which might be well spared. In the province of Connaught, where the population was almost entirely Catholic, the amount of Yeomanry was but an unit. In the province of Munster it was only a decimal: in the province of Leinster it was a hundred; but in the province of Ulster, where the population was chiefly Presbyterian, it was a thousand. If the Yeomanry were diminished there, the Army might be diminished too; for the presence of the Army was wanted for no other object than to protect the people against the outrages of the Yeomanry. For these reasons he should move that this Vote be reduced to 50,812*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*

Sir *G. Hill* said, if the Yeomanry force could be spared, he should have no objection to the proposed reduction. He could not, however, submit to the insinuation of the hon. and learned Member for Clare, that disturbances had originated in Ireland from the conduct of the Yeomanry corps. As a proof that the Yeomanry corps in the north of Ireland had merited well of their country, he would merely state that the Insurrection Act had travelled through every country in Ireland, save the nine counties in the province of Ulster, Mr. *S. Rice* supported the Amendment, on the ground of economy, and of the internal tranquillity of Ireland. He believed that the existence of the Constabulary force, which was in itself a Military force, was sufficient to justify a diminution of the Yeomanry force.

Lord *F. L. Gower* said, it was only doing bare justice to the hon. and learned Member for Clare, to declare that he had touched upon the subject of the Irish Yeomanry with a moderation which must be highly serviceable to his view of the question. He was of opinion that any inconsiderate meddling with that body at the present moment would produce an irritation of feeling in Ireland, which it was desirable to avoid. He admitted that the time had at last arrived when this question ought to be looked at. He should be sorry if the hon. Member for Clare pressed his Amendment, for he had no objection to take the subject matter of it into immediate consideration.

Mr. *Rice* said, that after such an admission from the organ of the Irish Government, he should suggest to his hon. and learned friend, the propriety of leaving the reduction in the hands of the Ministry.

Mr. *Brownlow* could not intend any thing disrespectful to the Yeomanry, in whose ranks he had had the honour of serving, but he thought that the time had at length arrived when, in point of economy, they ought to be disbanded.

Mr. *O'Connell* was most ready to withdraw his Amendment, and would prefer the proposition for the Reduction of the Yeomanry coming from the other side of the House rather than from himself. He denied every intention to traduce the Yeomanry of Ireland. When he was first called to the bar he was one of their number, and had moved that they should extend their services to every part of Ireland. He hoped that nothing which had fallen from him that night would have the slightest tendency to embitter the quarrel between the two parties in the north of Ireland.

Mr. *Trant* desired the Government to be cautious how they reduced a force in Ireland which had rendered such inestimable services to the country.

Mr. *Hume* submitted to the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department the propriety of reducing the amount of the English Yeomanry. Let them either be disbanded, or continued at their own expense.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, that in the speech which the hon. member for Aberdeen had delivered on a former evening, he had accused him of acting in contravention to the rule which Lord Lansdowne had laid down for the reduction of the Yeomanry corps. He appealed to his hon. friend the Member for Limerick, whether he had not strictly followed up the rule which had been left in the office by his noble predecessor. When Lord Lansdowne left office, the expense of the Yeomanry force amounted to 66,000*l*, and it was now reduced ten per cent. There were only twenty-two corps in the manufacturing districts. He then proceeded to eulogize the Yeomanry corps in Ireland, and mentioned, as a proof of their spirit, that in 1814, when Buonaparte returned from Elba, they had volunteered their services, both Catholics and Protestants, to any part of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman concluded with expressing his readiness to make inquiry into the propriety of reducing the Yeomanry of Ireland, as had been done in England, but he was not prepared to agree to an immediate reduction.

Mr. *S. Rice* said, that in his opinion there was no item in which reduction would be more justifiable than that now before the Committee; therefore, without dissenting from his right hon. friend as to the expediency of retaining these corps at the time he was in office, or without differing with the right hon. Secretary as to the high character of this body, he would yet vote for any reduction suggested by the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he certainly was not prepared to assent to a reduction to the proposed amount. He begged to remind the House that breaches of the peace did in the manufacturing districts occasionally take place, under the pressure of distress; and therefore it was exceedingly necessary to maintain those corps in such neighbourhoods. With respect to the Cavalry corps, he thought they were, perhaps, the more efficient of the two.

Mr. *R. Gordon* said, that in his opinion the Yeomanry corps were the worst possible corps that could be employed for putting down disturbances, and he entertained this feeling the more strongly when he looked back to what had taken place at

Manchester. The right hon. Secretary should recollect that these corps were taken from the people, and he submitted to him, that in depending upon them in the case of any popular commotions, he would be trusting to a broken reed.

Mr. *Peel*, in reply, said, he had a much higher opinion of the Yeomanry. There were many Yeomanry officers in that House who would bear out his belief, that those men were to be depended on. If, however, any case should occur in which a corps proved itself not trust-worthy, or in any way misconducted itself, that then a reduction of that body should be at once effected. But he really thought Yeomanry corps were as much to be depended on as any other branch of the Service; and he was quite sure, if they received his Majesty's commands to quell any popular tumult, not one of them would fly from his colours. [*hear*]

Mr. *G. Lamb* agreed with the right hon. Secretary, that not one corps would misconduct itself, [*hear*] still he thought them the worst force that could be employed to quell popular disturbance. Unpleasing as was the picture, he could not refrain from looking back to Manchester, and he remembered that the loss of life there originated in the manner in which the Yeomanry chose to march against the people. In a word, he did not believe that these corps were any longer necessary. An apprehension of foreign invasion was the only thing which could justify their maintenance; the grant, therefore, might be reduced. There was no man who knew anything of these corps, who was not aware that they were generally the playthings of some great person resident in the district to which they belonged. Such, therefore, as were willing to provide their own arms and accoutrements, and would serve gratis, might be continued; but he certainly should oppose the vote, for he thought 40,000*l.* for such a purpose altogether thrown away. If, in time of peace, any additional force were required, he should rather vote for the creation of a new regiment of Cavalry, than for keeping up the Yeomanry.

Mr. *R. Gordon* observed, that he understood the right hon. Secretary had, during his (Mr. Gordon's) absence, applied some severe language to the hon. Member for Montrose, for the appeal which that hon. Gentleman had made on behalf of the people to his Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to attribute the same feelings and opinions to him, but he could assure him that he had no intention of alluding to the general question, although he certainly did believe that there was a reckless, if not a revolutionary, spirit abroad. The people were impressed with the opinion that the Government looked with contempt and disdain on their distress; and so long as that feeling prevailed, and so long as no attempt was made for their relief, his Majesty's Ministers could never be secure against the excesses into which a people in such a condition might be betrayed.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* repeated, that if the Yeomanry were called on in aid of the public peace, he should have as high confidence in them as in the regular troops.

The Marquis of *Chandos* acknowledged and deplored the general distress; but he was quite sure that the Yeomanry would not misconduct themselves; he was himself a commander of one of those corps, and he could confidently assert that if called out there was not a man in it who would not do his duty.

Mr. *Maberly* declared he was opposed to the grant. The necessity which occasioned the creation of those corps had passed away, the apprehension of foreign invasion having ceased to exist. He disagreed with the right hon. Secretary as to the expediency of maintaining them in manufacturing districts. A body of cavalry was generally stationed in those districts sufficient to put down all the rioters in England. He had no wish, however, to press the immediate reduction upon the right hon. Secretary, if he said he would take the question into consideration with a view to economy; if not, he should vote for the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *Hume*, looking round the House, said, he could not perceive one of six hon. Members who had declined supporting him in his Motion for a general reduction, pledging themselves that they would be present to watch the proceedings in the Committee upon each item of expenditure. He would not take it upon himself to say, whether these hon. Members had done their duty towards their constituents, but they certainly had not done their duty towards him; for, having promised him that they would attend, to judge on each individual vote, not one of them was to be seen. With respect to the argument of the right hon. Secretary, if it were good for any thing, it was good for the re-establishment of all the Yeomanry corps; and as to what had fallen from the noble Marquis, he would only ask him, if he did not believe that his corps would do its duty equally well if it were not paid? If he fancied that the noble Marquis could reply that they would not, he should hesitate before he pressed his question; but being well convinced that this could not be the case, he would demand a division. His object was, that there should be a reduction of 42,804*l.* from the 60,612*l.*, thus leaving the Irish Yeomanry untouched, and he would move as an Amendment, that the vote should be reduced to 17,808*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.*

The House divided, when there appeared for the Amendment 23; against it 83; majority 60.—The original Motion was then agreed to. The House resumed, the report was brought up, and ordered for consideration on Wednesday next.

GAME LAWS.] The Marquis of *Chandos*, in moving for leave to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the laws relating to the preservation of Game said, it was his intention to propose a repeal of all former laws upon the subject, with a view to their being embodied into one Act; it was also his intention to propose, that any occupier of a number of contiguous acres should be allowed to sport over them, on obtaining the permission of his landlord. He also wished that a conviction for poaching should take place before two Magistrates, instead of one, as at present; and, even then, he would afford the right of appeal to the Quarter Sessions. He would also permit the sale of Game, under the same provisions and restrictions as those suggested by the present Secretary to the Board of Control.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that whenever the Bill should be brought in, he should take the opinion of the House upon the question of abolishing the Game Laws entirely.

Leave was given, the Bill was introduced, and read a first time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, February 23.

MINUTES.] Lord MONSON took the Oaths and his Seat.—MR. R. GORDON, and other Members of the Commons, brought up the Pauper Lunatic Asylum Bill, which was read a first time.

DUTIES ON WOOL.] The Duke of *Richmond* presented a petition from one hundred and eighty-one farmers of Romney-marsh, praying for an alteration of the Duties on Wool. He took this opportunity of correcting a mistake which had gone forth respecting what he had stated on the first day of the Session. What he then stated was, that he did not intend to bring forward any resolution on the subject of the Duties on Wool, unless numerous petitions were presented, and unless he saw a better chance of success than on former occasions.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, February 23.

MALT AND SPIRIT DUTIES.] Mr. *Western* presented a Petition from a parish in Suffolk, complaining of Agricultural Distress, and praying for a repeal of the Malt Tax.

Mr. *Ridley Colborne* called the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to a revision of the Licensing System, as a means of promoting the sale of Beer, and relieving Agricultural Distress. He was satisfied that the public and agriculturists would be more benefited by a judicious alteration of that system than by a repeal of the Malt Tax. If Spirits could be made to bear any additional duties, he believed that the effect of imposing such duties would also be highly beneficial. [*hear*] Perhaps there might be some difficulty in raising the duties in Scotland and Ireland, but he thought that the imposition of an additional duty of 2*s.* or 3*s.* a gallon on British Spirits would be attended with advantage.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was his intention to move, on a future day, for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the existing state of the Licensing System, with a view of ascertaining how far it might be possible to allow a free sale of Beer consistently with a proper attention to the morals of the people. [*hear, hear.*] The right hon. Gentleman subsequently stated, in answer to an observation made by Lord Nugent, that he should be sorry to be misunderstood as to the precise nature of his object, which was, to consider the state of the present Licensing System with respect to Beer, in order to give a free sale of that beverage, without incurring the dangers and inconveniences to prevent which he was satisfied the existing restrictions had been originally proposed.

Sir *J. Newport* observed, that he could not pretend to say what would be the effect of raising the Spirit duties in England; but the adoption of such a measure in Ireland would immediately revive illicit distillation, and along with it the disorders and disturbances which a few years ago it had been found so difficult to quell.

Mr. *W. Smith* admitted, that the reduction of the Spirit duties in Ireland might have facilitated the collection of the Revenue, and done away with many local causes of disorder; at the same time he had no hesitation in saying that the reduction of the Scotch and Irish Spirit duties, and the competition thereby occasioned in the English distilleries, had driven beer out of the Metropolitan market, and deluged it with an abominable and pernicious beverage.

Mr. *Hume* bore testimony to the good effects produced by the reduction of the Spirit duties in Scotland on the character of the inhabitants of the Western Highlands, who were formerly smugglers, but had now returned to peaceable and sober habits. He deprecated the outcry that had been made against the reduction of the Spirit duties: it was no reason because an article might be abused by some, that it should be rendered dear to all.

Lord *Nugent* said, that in a few days he should lay a case before the House containing strong proofs that the bill of the hon. Member for Oxford, although good in some of its provisions, had in parts signally failed,—he alluded to the plan of appeals to Quarter Sessions.

General *Gascoyne* was of opinion, that the people of England would receive the Chancellor of the Exchequer's intimation with gratitude. Let the right hon. Gentleman proceed unintimidated by the representations of Scotch and Irish Members, and he would have the House and the country with him to bear him out in his undertaking.

Mr. *R. Gordon* admitted the propriety of decreasing the duty on Beer, but doubted the policy of increasing the Spirit duties. There was a great deal of spurious humanity abroad on this subject. Gentlemen liked to indulge in the luxury of wine, but viewed with severity the indulgence of the lower orders in spirits, the use of which was not merely a luxury and comfort, but in many instances a necessary of life to such persons. So also with respect to the amusements of bull-baiting and cock-fighting: they were put down because they were diversions of the lower orders, while gentlemen scrupulously adhered to their own sports of shooting, hunting, &c.

Colonel *Davies* said, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and the ring, were opposed, not merely because they tended to demoralize the lower ranks of society, but because they congregated together the worst and most dangerous characters. If the sports pursued at Newmarket—if fox-hunting produced similar results, he would be the first to assist in putting them down. He admitted all sumptuary laws were bad [*hear*]; but at the same time that he would not pass an act to prevent a man from drinking or buying gin, he should be glad to check the practice of gin-drinking by raising the duties on British Spirits.

Mr. *Brownlow* observed, that by lowering the duties on Irish Spirits one-half, we had more than doubled our revenue.

Mr. *Bright* recommended the taking off of the Hop duties altogether. This would enable every cottager to make his own beer.

WEST INDIA TRADE.] The Marquis of *Chandos* rose to present a petition from certain West-India Planters, praying for a Reduction of the Duties upon Sugar and Rum. He was happy to be the organ chosen by that body to lay the petition before the House. When the House considered the extremely low prices of Sugar and Rum, they would feel that the West-India merchants had an extreme case of distress for the consideration of the House. The duty on sugar was 27*s.* cwt., and 21*s.* was the gross price received by the planter; of which, it was calculated that 12*s.* a cwt. was the cost of producing the article. The planter had likewise to contend with the Sugars introduced from the Mauritius; and, when these latter had been first allowed to be imported, it had been calculated that the annual importation would never exceed ten thousand hogsheads, whereas twenty-five thousand hogsheads were now annually introduced. The West-India planter, moreover, had to contend with those who raised Colonial produce by slave labour; and he thought it scandalous, after what England had paid and done, that France, Spain and the Brazils should be allowed to carry on the slave trade to the scourge of humanity, and to the injury of the British Colonies. The attention of Government ought to be more seriously given to the state of the Colonies, for whatever theories might be afloat respecting the nature of Colonies, he should ever hold them to be constituent parts of the wealth, of the fame and glory of the country. If Ministers did not do something for the Colonies, he would venture to predict that very great evils would ensue.

Mr. *Keith Douglas* said, that upon a great portion of West-India produce no profits were gained, but, on the contrary, a great loss was sustained, and families formerly in affluence were now in the greatest distress. The shipping and property, and other commercial interests connected with the West Indies, amounted to about seven millions annually. Was it, then, to be believed that all this shipping and property might be swept away without inconvenience or injury to the general interests of the country? Of these interests, some were of a very peculiar nature; and they, he contended, were affected by that colonial distress which arose from excessive taxation, the foreign slave trade, and the introduction of Mauritius Sugar. In the year 1807 the slave trade had been put an end to in our Colonies, under the impression that, by its abolition, we should be paying a debt due to humanity, in allowing slaves to rise in the scale of society to the rank of freemen. Measures also had been taken by Lord Castlereagh to induce foreign countries to give up this traffic, but in vain; for the French appeared bent upon carrying it on, though it was deeply degrading to such a nation as France. Thus it happened that notwithstanding all our exertions and expense, seven hundred thousand slaves had, since the peace of 1815, been brought from the coast of Africa to foreign colonies, for the purpose of extending cultivation there; while our Colonies were deprived of all such advantages. Again, in 1823 the introduction of Mauritius sugar was permitted, the consequence of which had been that depreciation in the price of West-India sugar stated by the noble Marquis (Chandos). How, then, were the West-India planters situated? There was a duty of 27*s*. the cwt., while the price had fallen from 50*s*. and 60*s*. to 22*s*. the cwt. He begged the House to remark, too, that the Colonies had gone along with the Administration of this country in all the arrangements respecting the United States; but that, notwithstanding, our Government had regulated their views of Colonial policy upon a principle altogether opposed to their professions. What, then, was the situation of the West India planter? He had, at the utmost, after paying the freight, insurance, landing, and sale charges, only 12*s*. per cwt., to pay him for the cost of production, while he paid 27*s*. duty. The extent of the consumption could not accordingly be sufficiently great to afford him any adequate profits, and therefore neither taxation nor production could long continue to exist upon the foundations of such arrangements as the present. He was consequently induced to hope that the House would be of opinion that the duties now exacted would not be continued. Another point which he wished to press upon the consideration of the House was the necessity of some reduction in our colonial establishments, which did not require to be kept upon the same footing as during the time of war.

Mr. *Hart Davis* concurred with the noble Marquis in all the statements he had made respecting the distressed state of the Colonies, and in all the opinions he had professed; but there were some points which the noble Marquis had omitted, and which he (Mr. Davis) was anxious to bring under the consideration of the House. He thought that it would be expedient to make some new regulation respecting the registering of slaves, and the removal of them from one colony to another; for cases of extreme hardship had fallen within his knowledge, of property rendered altogether useless, in consequence of the law which prevented slaves being sold or transferred from one island to another. It happened thus—the estate upon which a certain number of slaves were employed was worn out, and consequently, from the operation of this law, the property and the persons employed on it were both rendered at the same moment useless. Indeed, he knew a case in which a friend and constituent of his would derive the greatest benefit and profit, if he could only transport his slaves across a river.

Mr. *Bright* observed, that the excessive duties on West-India produce were burthens laid on as war taxes, and ought long since to have been removed. The planters had, therefore, good reason to pray for reduction, when they were suffering under the pressure of calamity, and to expect that their prayer would not be disregarded; the more especially, as they considered it could be proved, by lowering the duties, that there would be an increase of consumption, which would be a benefit to the revenues of the mother country, as well as to the interests of the Petitioners. Besides, he believed that nothing could be more effectual in promoting reformation and improvement in the West-India Islands, than a revision of those duties; for it must be perfectly evident that so long as people felt themselves oppressed, so long would they entertain but little anxiety to carry on improvement. In the name of humanity, therefore, he called on the House of Commons to look with a favourable eye upon this application. [*hear*] There was another point to which he wished to advert before he resumed his seat. The planters complained not alone of the excessive duty upon Sugar, but also of that upon the Spirits produced in these islands, which fiscal regulations prohibited from those markets they had a right to enjoy. Thus, the duties were so high that the produce could not be introduced into Scotland or Ireland. He knew that in addressing the House he had to deal with many hon. Members whose private interests were altogether opposed to those of the West-Indian planters; but he hoped even they would consent to do justice in the case, as they would between man and man—considering the Petitioners, not as foreigners and strangers, but as brethren and fellow subjects. In conclusion, he trusted the planters would be looked at with a view to conciliation.

Mr. *Bernal* said, that he had always abstained from unnecessarily troubling the House with his opinion upon this question; and having entertained the hope that something would have certainly been elicited from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, it was his intention to have remained silent upon the present occasion, but finding that the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer was about to permit the Petition to be laid upon the Table without comment or explanation, he felt himself bound to trouble the House with a few words. He thought the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer was called upon to say something; to state, for example, whether the West-Indian body had a right to entertain hopes of redress founded upon any solid basis. He was not one of those who were disposed either to deny or disregard the distress existing in this country. He acknowledged and deplored it, but he maintained that there were no people so depressed as the inhabitants of the West-Indian Islands. None whose comfort, well-being, and very livelihood were more immediately in danger. Since 1792, the price of Sugar had never been so low as at that moment. The price was then 23*s*. per cwt., while the duty still remained at 27*s*. per cwt. Besides a great deal of Sugar introduced into this market was of a very inferior quality; and here as the duty was not an *ad valorem* duty, it pressed with such extreme severity, as actually to amount to about a hundred and fifty per cent In time of war the West-Indian Planters had not complained of the increase of 12*s*. in the duty—nor had they any right to complain, considering it, as they did, only as an augmentation which would exist during the war. They accordingly looked upon the whole arrangement as a solemn league and covenant which bound them on the one part to contribute to the wants of the Government during the continuance of the war, and which bound the Administration on the other part to relieve them of the additional burthen whenever the restoration of peace might enable the mother country to grant them relief. But in vain did they rely upon the good faith of the Administration. Peace was restored to Europe, but not a single shilling of their duty was taken off. He requested the House to remember also that the West-India body had been deceived; because Mr. Robinson, now Lord Goderich, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, had declared that if the additional 1*s*. 6*d*. a gallon on rum were found to be a prohibitory duty, the West-India body would have a fair claim to demand that this duty should be put upon a level with those on other spirits. Yet, what was now the case? the duty levied on English manufactured spirits was 7*s*. a gallon, while that on rum was 8*s*. 6*d*., and that on the Scotch and Irish spirits was 2*s*. 10*d*. Therefore, it was clear that the introduction of rum into these two last countries was next to impossible; the planter being likewise obliged to pay one guinea for the cask, independent of freight, insurance, landing, and sale charges. He acknowledged there was some little *bonus* given in the contract for supplying the seamen with rum; but he contended that the power of introducing it amongst the people generally ought to be extended; his argument with respect to the nature of the spirit could be fairly urged, because seasoned rum was by no means an unhealthy liquor when taken in moderate quantities and under proper precautions. But there was another matter which pressed still more heavily upon the West-Indian body, and created a still greater grievance, and that was the advantage in the introduction of Sugars into the European markets possessed by Cuba and other foreign colonies and states into which slaves continued to be imported in large numbers. It was extremely hard that this country should have been put to an expense of upwards of two millions for the purpose of putting down the slave trade, and that our vessels should be kept cruising on the unhealthy coast of Africa at a heavy annual expenditure, and yet that our colonists should be the only persons prevented from importing slaves to the West-India Islands, while such immense advantages accrued to the foreigners who continued to pursue the practice, that the only result to be anticipated was, that we should be ere long altogether driven out of the market by other powers. Without entering into more details, he would content himself with saying, that there was a *primâ facie* case before the House and the Administration, which deserved their consideration: and he trusted he should not call in vain upon the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say, if the West-India planters might justly entertain any hope of relief from the burthens under which they were then suffering. He had one more observation to make. He understood that a treaty with Austria was in progress. The productions of the British West-India Islands were at that time shut out from the markets of Austria and Russia; but he thought that if Government dictated the provisions of that treaty with a firm hand, an opening might be effected for our colonial produce into these countries.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* begged to assure the noble Marquis (Chandos) and the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bernal), that if he had forborne making any observations upon the subject of that petition, it was not from any want of respect towards them, or from any want of sympathy for the distresses of the Petitioners; but compelled as he had been on many preceding occasions, in accordance with the line of duty he had laid down for himself, to withhold information respecting the intentions of the Administration as to the revision or repeal of any portion of the taxes—he felt that it would be equally a deviation from his duty, as one of his Majesty's Ministers, on that as on former occasions, if he spoke one word respecting that petition. He believed, and had always expressed this belief, that no course could possibly be more inconvenient than that of promulgating the opinions or proclaiming the views of Government upon the occasion of some petitions being presented; and in the present instance, it would be peculiarly unadvisable and unnecessary, because the sugar duties came annually under the consideration of Parliament, and so presented his Majesty's Ministers with the best and most desirable opportunity of explaining their views and opinions upon that question. It was for these reasons alone he declined giving the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bernal) or the noble Marquis (Chandos) any satisfaction with respect to the intentions of Government respecting the questions touched upon in the petition. But thus much he could say, that he was not one of those who were insensible to the value of the Colonies; on the contrary, he gave them his most sincere sympathy under the pressure of their present difficulties, and he should be most ready to take all means to alleviate their distress which were compatible with the general interests of the country.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he had it in his power to controvert the statements which had been made; he would, however, postpone all observations for the present. The inquiry was one which ought to be entertained without passion or prejudice.

Mr. *C. Grant* reminded the House that it had been his lot, for the last two sessions, to recommend for adoption a reduction of the duty upon Sugar. The opinions which he had then professed were abundantly confirmed by the statements he had heard that night—by the practical experience with respect to the price of sugar—and by the distress existing in the West-India Islands. He should however wait for the Chancellor of the Exchequer's explanation with respect to the financial state of the country, and the reductions that might be contemplated in taxation; before he would introduce any measure upon the subject. He would not wait for the opportunity of the annual question with respect to the sugar duties, for it came on at too late a period of the session.

Mr. *Hume* was extremely surprised at the hon. Member for Norwich declaring that he could controvert the statements that had been made. The only statements which he (Mr. Hume) had heard were, that since 1792, the prices of sugar had been decreasing, while the duty was increasing—that the consumption had consequently been diminished, and that great distress prevailed in the West-India Islands—all which statements he believed were incontrovertible. With respect to the question before the House, he thought it should be taken up, not as a colonial but as a national question, for it was one in which the people of England were deeply interested. He had always been an advocate for colonial interests, but it was his opinion that those interests could best be promoted by the abolition of the monopoly now enjoyed by the West-India planters of the home market, for it was quite in vain to attempt to keep up the price of West-India sugar above the European average. The consequence of the attempt was, that the surplus supply for the home market, raised at a great cost, was obliged to be sent to Hamburgh at a great loss, for there it would fetch no higher price than the sugar from Cuba or the Brazils. The fact was, there was no hope of an improvement for the Colonies, unless there were a diminution of the expenditure. They could not have a monopoly—it was useless to others, and injurious to the planters themselves. He would therefore advise the reduction of the duties both on East and West India sugars, and the free admission of both, whereby both would gain, as they would then have an *ad valorem* duty of fifty or sixty instead of one hundred per cent. He thought the duty ought to be the same upon all the different kinds of sugars. The next thing was, to set the Colonies free, to let them be no longer bound by those iron chains which fettered their best exertions. They ought to be allowed to purchase stores and all kinds of supplies in the cheapest markets that the world would afford them, if they could find, which he did not expect, any market cheaper than that of Great Britain; and then they ought to be allowed to export their produce wherever they pleased. If that course were pursued towards the Colonies, we should enable them to maintain themselves, instead of being, as they now were, a burthen to this country. In this way we should not only be conferring a benefit on the Colonies, but improving our own condition, by lessening the demands upon the public revenue of the country, if, indeed, we should not be able to get money from them towards assisting us in our distresses. Instead of doing this, we now followed a course of exclusion and prohibition, and the result was, that we were destroying each other. He did not mean to say, that if three-halfpence a pound duty were taken off, the whole of it would be so much less taken out of the pockets of the public, for he had no doubt that some of it would go into those of the West-India planter, but still the public would be benefited to some extent, and an important interest in this country would be relieved from much that now oppressed it.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, he should not feel himself then bound to follow the hon. Member for Montrose through all the points on which he had touched, but still it was quite true that this question did claim peculiar attention, and at a fit opportunity he should be prepared to show that by a long course of measures, Government and Parliament had given peculiar claims to the West-India proprietors to protection. He would state his conviction that great as might be the pressure and the difficulties upon other interests in this country, there was none labouring under more difficulties, and requiring more urgently that relief should be given to it, than the West-India interest.

The Petition was brought up and read.

The Marquis of *Chandos* said, that as he had no wish to take the Ministers by surprise on this subject, he had informed them more than four months ago of the nature of the petition.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE COLONIES.] Mr. *Brougham* wished to take the opportunity of asking the right hon. Gentleman opposite a question relating to the admission of Slave evidence in the Courts of Justice in our Colonies. He begged to remind the right hon. Gentleman, that when some time since he was about to introduce a Bill for that purpose, he was told that it would be unnecessary for him to do so, for that it was the intention of the Government to bring in a measure for the amendment of the present system of judicial administration, of which the admission of slave evidence formed a part. He now wished to ask whether the Government still entertained the same intentions, and at what time the right hon. Gentleman would introduce the measure?

Sir *G. Murray* said, in reply to the question put by the hon. and learned Gentleman, that he had a perfect recollection of what had occurred on the occasion to which allusion had been made. He still entertained an anxious wish to bring forward the measure he then spoke of, as he was fully aware of its importance, not only with respect to the amelioration of the slaves in the West Indies, but of the colonists generally. He begged to assure the hon. and learned Gentleman, that he was ready to do all in his power to promote the object of the admission of slave evidence in the courts, as he felt perfectly satisfied of the benefits that must result from it. The only obstacle that at present existed was, the expense that must be incurred in affording compensation to the judges, for losses that would be occasioned, in consequence of the alterations proposed to be made. On that account, and with a view to save expense, he had abstained from making out the appointments of the Chief Justice of Tobago, and Chief Justice of St. Vincent's; and he hoped that that delay would have the effect of reducing the amount to be paid by way of compensation. He hoped this statement would be considered a sufficient pledge of the intention of the Government to pursue the measures previously promised. [*hear, hear.*]

Mr. *Keith Douglas* had understood from the right hon. Gentleman that the same reason existed last year for not then bringing forward this measure. The consequence of this had been that for two years the island of Tobago had been without a Chief Judge to administer the law. He thought that was an evil of no small magnitude, since there would then be no others to administer justice to the inhabitants but the resident proprietors. In his opinion the benefit of the saving by no means compensated for the evil of thus leaving the Colony without a proper judicial officer.

Sir G. *Murray* felt called upon to say a few words in consequence of what had just fallen from the hon. Member. The hon. Member was mistaken in supposing that the situation of Chief Justice of Tobago had been vacant for two years. The fact was, that soon after the vacancy occurred, a legal gentleman had been appointed to the office; but just as he was about to take his departure for the Colony, another situation fell vacant, to which he was removed. He had already pointed out to the House the reason for the delay, and he was not aware that any practical inconvenience had resulted from it. If there had been any, he should have found means to remedy it by making a temporary appointment without filling up an office that would create a greater expense than usual to the country, in consequence of the intended alterations.

Lord *Nugent* thought the evil of having no other persons but the resident proprietors to administer justice was greater than the benefit obtained by the saving of the compensation referred to; and he trusted the delay would soon be terminated. He wished to ask whether the evidence to be given by the Commissioners, as to the state of the Colonies, had closed?

Sir *G. Murray* said, the Commission had ceased, and there was no other obstacle to carrying the Report of the Commissioners into effect but the expense.

Lord *Nugent* conceived the expense to be so necessary, that he for one would not oppose its being incurred.

The Petition was then received, and ordered to lie on the Table.

REPRESENTATION OF MANCHESTER, BIRMINGHAM, AND LEEDS.] Lord *John Russell* said, that before he proceeded with the Motion of which he had given notice, he wished to lay before the House a Petition which had been committed to his care from the inhabitants of the extensive and important town of Sheffield. The Petitioners complained, that several large, populous, and wealthy towns were at present excluded from the exercise of the Elective Franchise, whilst in very many instances that privilege was enjoyed by the inhabitants of small places of no importance, and was often exercised in an unworthy manner. The Petitioners therefore prayed that the Franchise might be extended to their town, and to such other populous, wealthy, and intelligent places.

Mr. *Marshall* expressed his cordial concurrence in the prayer of the petition.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* said, that he would not interpose any delay to the Motion of his noble friend by any remarks on the subject of the petition, if he had not been particularly requested to give it his support. He would not attempt to canvass the Question about to be submitted by his noble friend, as no doubt it would be amply discussed in the course of the evening. All that he would say respecting it was this—that if Parliament should extend the principle of direct representation to Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, he thought it ought likewise to be extended to the town of Sheffield. Indeed, in the selection of important towns for representation, he did not see why Sheffield, a wealthy manufacturing town, containing a population of eighty thousand souls, should be omitted. If, therefore, he repeated, the Legislature should deem it advisable to extend the Elective Franchise to the towns he had named, he would support its extension also to Sheffield.

The petition was then brought up and read, and ordered to be printed.

Lord *John Russell* moved that the three Orders of the Day, of March 19th, 1821, June 22nd, 1827, and 31st March, 1828, relative to Bills to transfer the Elective Franchise from Boroughs convicted of corruption, to Leeds, to Birmingham, and Manchester, should be entered as read. This was done, and his Lordship then addressed the House as follows:—Although I feel not, Sir, the smallest doubt both as to the justice and as to the expediency of the propositions which I am this night about to submit to the House, yet I do feel a considerable degree of apprehension that these propositions may not meet with that success which I should wish to see conferred upon them by a majority of this House. I am aware that there are many persons who are actuated by perfectly conscientious motives, but who have such a dread of Reform, to which the old and accustomed epithets of "wild and visionary," have often been attached, that they view with suspicion any Motion which has Reform for its object. To them I will only say, that if ever there was a proposition for Reform that was not wild and visionary, but that was practicable in its object, practicable in the grounds on which it went, and practicable in its results, it is that which I am about this night to propose to the House. [*hear, hear.*] I likewise fear that some objections may be made to this Motion in the minds of those who are connected with the landed interest of the country. I am aware that of late years there has been a strong degree of suspicion and jealousy unwisely and foolishly encouraged between the landed and the commercial interests. I hope that on this night, if not entirely laid aside, these jealousies will be suspended, and that we shall come to the consideration of this Question neither with a view to the exclusive advantage of the commercial nor of the landed interest, but of both; the more especially at a time like this, of great public distress, when it is more than ever expedient to unite, as much as possible, persons representing every kind of property, and connected with every kind of interest, in order to remedy the evils that now oppress us, and to avert the dangers that may hereafter threaten the country. I have, Sir, likewise another apprehension that this Motion will be opposed, as others of a similar kind have been, by the influence of the Government in this House. I confess I cannot but think, that if some Members of his Majesty's Government feel an objection to my Motion, it would yet be wiser on the whole, if they were not to array themselves as a body against a proposition of this nature. It is a proposition that will tend to bring into this House persons representing large classes of the population, and bearing a large proportion of the public burthens; and I cannot help thinking that it would be highly imprudent to array the whole army of Ministerial influence against so seasonable a proposal. There is an old quotation from Lord Bacon's works, which has often been heard within the walls of this House on subjects of this kind, and which says that "Time is a great innovator." If Lord Bacon had lived to the present day, he might have changed his maxim, and have said "Taxation is a great innovator." Persons who bear great burthens are apt to look into them to demand their causes, and to satisfy themselves that the Government which imposes them is carried on with the strictest integrity, and with a large and liberal purpose, which, perhaps, if they were less heavily taxed, they would not think of requiring. The people now look with more suspicion to the motives of this House than in any former times. They always do, in fact, look with suspicion on the acts of the Government when its burthens weigh heavily on them, and their suspicions are great in proportion as they have no voice in the imposition of taxes. With this notice of the reasons that induce me to bring it forward, I will now go to the Motion I have to make, and state its nature and extent. The Motion is for leave to bring in a Bill to enable the towns of Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, to send Representatives to this House. I do not intend that the Representatives thus sent shall form a permanent, but only a temporary, addition to the number of Members of this House. I intend to insert a clause in the Bill, if the House will allow me to bring it in, by which, if any borough is hereafter disfranchised on account of corrupt practices, the prerogative vested in the Crown may be suspended till three boroughs have been disfranchised, and the number of Members in this House be reduced to the same amount as at present. Such, Sir, is a simple statement of the Bill I mean to introduce. With regard to the amount of qualification I shall propose that it should be somewhere between ten and twenty pounds a-year, and I would not allow non-resident voters to exercise their franchise at the election. I should recommend this in order that elections may be as short as possible, and that the elections of Members for these towns may be in contrast rather than in conformation to the established practices of bribery and corruption that prevail so much elsewhere. The grounds on which I propose this Bill are not very difficult for the House to understand. It is perfectly well known and universally acknowledged that it was an admitted principle of the Constitution in former times that when there were any towns which did not send Representatives to Parliament, and which were yet entitled to do so on account of the property they possessed and the interest they represented, Parliament interfered, and by several Acts conferred the right on these particular places, in order (as it was said with respect to Durham the statute regulating which I have now before me)—to represent the condition of their county to Parliament. It is, therefore, evident that with respect to places totally unrepresented, Parliament has allowed the creation of new Elective Franchises whenever those places have been in a condition to call for such an Act. But there is another point to which I wish to call the attention of the House; and that is, that the Bills of which I required the entries to be read have, in fact, admitted the declaration to be true—that Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham are not sufficiently represented in this House; and that it is desirable whenever a vacancy shall occur to give Representatives to these places. I have, therefore, established two points. The one is, that where counties and places have been totally unrepresented, it is in our power, and it is our duty to give them Representatives; the other, that in case of those places being disfranchised, the House of Commons has already decided that these towns have a good right to be represented, and that when any vacancy happens it ought to be given to one of them. It will, therefore, be seen that the want of Representatives for these towns is so great, that Parliament ought to admit them at once, without waiting for the vacancy; and till we do admit them in this manner there is little hope that they will have Representatives in this House. It is now more than ten years since I proposed, that when any Borough was disfranchised on account of corruption, its place should be filled up in this House by Representatives from some of the larger Towns. That proposition was met by the Ministers of the Crown in the fairest manner, but though ten years have since elapsed, and several Boroughs have since forfeited the Franchise, not a single step has been taken for the accomplishment of that object; and on any future occasion of this kind let the House consider what are the difficulties that stand in the way of transferring the Franchise in this manner. The first difficulty is in giving proof of the corruption sufficient to satisfy the Members of the House; and when that has been done, we are met with the conundrum of the right hon. Gentleman, that when a particular county has not more than eight Representatives, we must not transfer the Franchise from that county to any other place. But suppose we have been fortunate enough to get over the difficulties in this House, and that we are able to carry up our Bill to the other, we shall find in that House numberless suspicions and fears of any measure of this kind, which, it is almost impossible to conquer. The Bill having a double object, the one to punish former delinquency, and the other to fill up a vacancy by sending Members from large towns,—those who object to the latter, as many noble Lords always do, can lay their fingers on the former and say they are not satisfied with the proof of corruption, and throw out the Bill without the appearance of opposing it on the general principle of Reform. This has already been the case; and thus that plan which I once hoped would amend the state of this House, has proved to be one which does but perpetuate the evil. Such, then, are the difficulties, almost insuperable, placed in the way of this or any other species of Reform. I look in vain for any other mode; and I therefore lay before the House humbly, but strenuously, the question, whether the claims of these large towns recently grown into opulence and power do not press so urgently upon us as to call on us to go up to the House of Lords, not with a mixed Bill of penalty and investiture, but with one in which we shall make our stand on the broad principles of general Representation which, if allowed, our object will be gained; if denied, it will appear on what ground the dispute between the two Houses really rests. [*hear, hear.*] I am afraid that in going into proof of the changes which the different great towns have undergone, I shall be obliged to trouble the House at some length, but the importance of the subject must be my excuse. I will begin with calling the attention of the House to the great increase in the population of these towns since the commencement of the last century. The population of Manchester, in 1708, was eight thousand; in 1753, it was twenty-seven thousand; in 1791, it was seventy thousand; and in 1821, it was one hundred and thirty-three thousand. That part of the environs of Manchester which I included as part of the Borough in my Bill for transferring the Franchise from Penryn to that town, if added to the other portion, will make up a population of one hundred and eighty-six thousand souls. The increase in Leeds and Birmingham has gone on in a similar manner. The population of Leeds in 1774, was seventeeen thousand; in 1801, it was fifty-three thousand; and in 1821, it had risen to eighty-three thousand. The population of Birmingham at the time of the Restoration was five thousand; in 1700, it was fifteen thousand; in 1781, it amounted to fifty thousand; in 1791, it had reached seventy-three thousand; and in 1821, it was as high as one hundred and six thousand. I ask, Sir, whether this great increase in the population does not lead the House to acknowledge that some change ought to take place with respect to the manner in which the interests of these towns are represented here? But I will go on yet a little further with respect to Manchester. Having inquired into the rental of Manchester, I have found that the county rate is raised upon a rental of 750,000*l.* I asked several gentlemen whose opportunities of information are extremely good, whether the amount of property in and about Manchester might be safely estimated at thirty millions, and I was told that that estimate would be below the real amount. Of the extent of trade and population in this town of Manchester, some idea may be formed from the annual amount of the poor-rates—that amount being not less than 54,000*l.* The sum annually paid for freight on the canal is not less than 300,000*l.* These two facts of themselves afford the strongest proof, the most conclusive evidence, of the wealth and resources of Manchester. Then we come to the rail-road between that town and Liverpool; on which there is annually expended the sum of 55,000*l.*; and it is estimated that the whole amount required for completing that great work will be about 800,000*l.* To make that a good speculation—and no one has any doubts of its being so—the trade between the two towns must be of an amount such as ought to entitle both to the highest consideration of the Legislature. But the rate at which it has been deemed advantageous to convey goods along this road, is in itself a matter of just surprise and congratulation. Sir, goods are to be conveyed along the road with three times the expedition used in the conveyance of letters by the mail. Of the science and skill with which it has been executed, it is needless for me to trouble the House.—One remarkable and interesting point about it is, that within a mile and a half of Liverpool it proceeds through a subterraneous passage; and that in other parts of it various physical difficulties have been overcome, making it altogether one of the most stupendous private undertakings of which this country has to boast. Manchester, too, has long been famous for its philosophical institutions; some most important discoveries have been made there by Dr. Bostock (we believe) in bleaching. He was a member of the Manchester Philosophical Society, and through the agency of that body were the discoveries made known, and carried into practical operation. Thus do we see how advantageously the course of philosophical discovery is made available to the purposes and conveniences of ordinary life, when the general enlightenment which belongs to large manufacturing communities is acted on by the concentrated force of minds devoted exclusively to science. Mr. Dalton, also an inhabitant of Manchester, is a name well known to science, and with many others, which it would take too much time to enumerate—add to the already strong claims of Manchester to be represented in this House. But Manchester is the centre of a great extent of country, peopled by a great commercial and manufacturing community, engaged in the most important and flourishing of the manufactures of this country, and is, therefore, the district which most wants, and is best entitled to send, Representatives into this House. I have said that the goods of Manchester are the most important of our manufactures; the goods of Manchester are seen in every part of the globe to which a ship or any other mode of conveyance can penetrate. Yes—its goods are seen everywhere; but in this House to represent it Members have never appeared. The time has at length come when I hope that reproach to our Legislature shall be removed. After having so long occupied the House with details respecting Manchester, which, as I conceive, entitle it to be represented in Parliament, as the grounds on which I desire to apply for the same privilege on behalf of Birmingham and Leeds are pretty nearly similar, though applying to a different species of manufacture, I shall not trouble the House by entering into any such particulars relative to those towns as I have thought it necessary to state in the case of Manchester. They each carry on a great and important manufacture—they are the centres and the capitals of those manufactures respectively—they are the seats of great property and of considerable intelligence. I know I shall be told that those places, though not specially represented, are still sufficiently and practically represented in this House by the County Members. I beg of the House to consider a little before it allows such an argument to have any weight with it. It is pretty well known that the County Members are generally persons of large landed property, and are returned by the Landed Interest; therefore they at least can never be said to hold their seats as the Representatives of any Manufacturing Interest, and are independent of any such. Besides they are not very dependent even upon those who return them. When once a Gentleman becomes a County Member, he generally remains so for many Parliaments; and even though he be not able to attend his duties here, he does not in consequence lose his seat, as we have an example in the case of the Member for Lancashire. But suppose the County Member had the fullest inclination to do all in his power for the Manufacturing Interests of the place he represented, how could he, and he alone, do all that might be required for his Landed Constituents, and at the same time attend to the numerous and complex interests of a large Manufacturing and Commercial Community? In practice it is seen that the County Members are never able to attend to both; and what is the consequence?—that when any great question is likely to come before the Legislature materially affecting their interests, or when they desire to bring forward anything of themselves, instead of making known through their Representatives in this House—the natural, legitimate, and constitutional mode of communicating with the Legislature—a body of delegates are appointed, who come up to town and have interviews with his Majesty's Ministers; and conferences are held upon the wool, and cotton, and iron trades, and efforts are employed to make the Ministers comprehend the interests of those parties, and bring forward such measures in Parliament as the interests or rights of the applicants require. How infinitely better would it be, that the people of those districts should be regularly and constitutionally represented in this House, that Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester, should return Members capable of advocating their interests, and explaining their views. A due Representation of those districts would also be attended with this beneficial effect, that it would prevent the alienation of the public mind of those districts from the House of Commons—it might naturally be expected to excite a feeling of confidence, and make them in times of difficulty and distress look to the calm and temperate deliberations of Parliament, rather than to any proceedings of their own. Even in the present Session there are questions likely to come on in which

Trading and Commercial Towns are peculiarly interested—that concerning the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, for example. Could a question like that be soundly discussed or wisely decided without reference to the information which the Representatives of our Trading Communities could alone supply, and without reference to those feelings of which alone such Representatives are the proper organs? How could the question of the trade with India and with China be ever properly considered without those aids? Then came the Banking question: who so fit to be heard on such a question as the Representatives of Leeds, of Birmingham, and Manchester?—who so qualified to assist the House in deciding whether the Charter of the Bank of England ought or ought not to be renewed? Having laid before the House what has appeared to my mind the chief grounds upon which I think this change in our Representation should be made, I come now to some of the chief objections which may possibly be urged against the change, with the proposal of which I intend to conclude. I possibly may be told, in the first place, that previous to the Union with Scotland and Ireland, the number of English Representatives was fixed; and that now, to increase that number, by introducing Representatives for the three towns in question, would be an infraction of the compacts formed between those countries and this. I conceive that in all questions of compact, the first thing we have to do is to inquire whether the alteration we propose to effect will do any real injury? Now I cannot conceive what injury Ireland or Scotland could sustain from the introduction into this House of six Representatives for the three towns I have mentioned. There can be no practical evil; and, in the end, I think there must be great advantage to them from such a change; for if in Scotland or in Ireland it could hereafter be shown that any great town in either country required Representation, the precedent would be in their favour. But it is absurd to talk of too scrupulous an observance of the compact with those countries; the compacts have been broken more than once, and a further infraction of their letter for the general good, and for the contingent advantage of the weaker countries, ought not to form any insuperable impediment in the way of a Legislature which has broken through them so freely in some cases that I can name. For example, the heritable jurisdictions — they have been abolished since the Scotch Union, and Catholic Members may now sit for Scotland, though for long after the Union none but Protestants were eligible. In adopting that measure Parliament was governed I conceive by the soundest considerations of expediency. I do not know whether I am at liberty to allude to what was said in another place on the discussion of the Catholic Relief Bill; but I hope I may be allowed to call the attention of the House to a speech made by Earl Grey on that occasion, in which he completely overset the whole of this argument, so far as Scotland was concerned. I never remember any thing more conclusive and satisfactory than was his reasoning; nor do I ever remember to have heard a more able, luminous and powerful speech than that of which the reasoning I allude to formed a part. I think it is impossible to bear the observations of the noble Earl in mind, and doubt for a moment that we are at perfect liberty to commit any infraction of the letter of those compacts which may be for the benefit of the whole community, as it never could be the intention of those parties by whom the compacts were framed, to enter into any obligations inconsistent with the true interests of the population of the United Kingdom at large. I shall now come to another objection—it will be said, that the admission of six new Members has the effect of sanctioning a principle which would let in thirty or forty new Members as readily as six, and that other great towns are as well entitled to be represented as Birmingham, or Leeds, or Manchester—that the line has been already drawn, and that if once passed, none can foretel the remote consequences — that the very petition presented this night from Sheffield affords the fullest evidence that the communities desiring Representation, and as well entitled to it as those I have mentioned, will not be limited to those three. Let this be examined—it deserves to be looked into, for it has something of a logical appearance though no real foundation in truth; for be it remembered, that the three towns for which I claim Representatives are under peculiar circumstances; they are the capitals of three great branches of our manufacture;

and Sheffield, though the seat, is not the capital of any great branch. Thus, the House will see, that though that objection sounds plausibly, it has no real foundation in truth; for the principle which admits Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, is not capable of extension to any other place. Not that I mean to say that either now or at some future time Representation may not be further extended; but what I contend for is, that my particular motion does not in its principle let in any but the three towns to which it particularly refers, and does not let in any others beyond that number. If Sheffield should, at any future period, attain the same rank, I see no reason for withholding from it a similar privilege. On like grounds, I would advocate the extension of this principle to any town in Ireland or Scotland which might reach such an eminence as has long since been attained by Manchester, Birmingham, or Leeds; but it is not probable that it could ever be applied, with propriety, to more than four or five towns in our whole dominions at the utmost. But looking to its former acts, I do not perceive that Parliament has been governed by such considerations of principle as those of which I have just been speaking. It was not restrained from disfranchising the Irish Forty-shilling Freeholders, from any consideration that future Parliaments would find in that proceeding a precedent for hereafter raising the qualification to 50*l.* or 100*l.* Excessively strict adherence to precedents must produce a practice of legislating for the maintenance of grievances, not for their abolition. Having thus briefly answered what I consider the chief objections to my motion, I have little more to add, except, perhaps, to advert to the supposed danger of this innovation—it will probably be denounced as an extremely dangerous innovation. I think the danger lies on the other side. [*hear*] I think the true spirit of the Constitution is in danger chiefly from those who, in their absurd apprehension of innovation, would resist all wholesome and salutary change—who are so wedded to ancient institutions, that they overlook their unsuitableness to modern times, and the altered condition of society. It is in prejudices such as these that I think the real danger will be found, I am not one of those who look upon the Constitution as a Grecian temple, perfect in all its proportions — a model of symmetry and grace, which additions would deform, and diminution destroy. I rather regard it as a Gothic structure, from which many excrescences may be advantageously removed, and many additions made, which would improve its proportions and add to the security of its inhabitants. [*hear, hear.*] But there is also danger if we do not in a wise and liberal spirit meet the augmenting disposition to regard us with distrust which prevails out of doors. One of the true modes of meeting the evil will be to collect within the walls of this House, as many as possible of the real Representatives of the people. It is then, and not until then, that we can be regarded as the true representation and image of a great and powerful and free country. The more I consider this question, the more am I persuaded that the real danger is not in the change which I propose, and which some would call innovation; but in adhering to our ancient scheme of representation and thus excluding from all those in it the wealthier and commercial towns of the country which are continually increasing in opulence and population. When I look abroad to other countries—when I see in a neighbouring country the collision going on between the royal authority on the one hand, and popular resistance on the other; and when I see here institutions which temper those heats and animosities which confidence in a true representative government can alone fully allay, I cannot bring myself to believe that the danger is to be found in any quarter, other than that which I have indicated. It is upon grounds such as these, that I intend to submit to the House a proposition for enfranchising Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham—and this I do, being, as I trust I ever shall be, an enemy to disorder, though a friend to liberty — opposed to slavery, though an advocate for peace—deeply sensible of the delicate machinery of a representative government, I am anxious to assist in procuring for this country a Legislature and Administration worthy of the respect, and deserving the affection of the people. I beg to move for leave to bring in a Bill to enable the towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, to return Representatives to serve in Parliament.

Mr. *Wilbraham* seconded the Motion. He said, that he considered those who improved the constitution as the best friends of their country. His noble friend had been engaged in that laudable pursuit for many years, particularly in improving the Representation, and he hoped to witness his triumph. He would not repeat the arguments of his noble friend, but confine his observations to answering a few of the objections which might be urged against the present Motion. Of those hon. Members who were determined to oppose every species of Reform, whatever shape it might be presented in, he would say, that if they thought their duty consisted in transmitting to posterity every institution of the country in the exact state in which they found it, they might be said to perform that duty extremely well; but let the House inquire into the ground upon which that opinion of duty rested. He confessed, he was at a loss to perceive it. If the world, both intellectually and physically, stood still, there might then be some excuse for those Gentlemen; but not only was nature and the mind of man undergoing perpetual change, but any resistance to that change was every hour turning out the most fruitless labour in which any human mind could by any possibility engage. He was much at a loss to understand the consistency of those who, having proposed and carried a change of the Jury system, could now come forward to resist a change in the Representation, on the ground that innovation was not to be tolerated. The Jury system was a most important part of the Constitution, and that the right hon. Gentleman opposite had not scrupled to change — most beneficially, he would admit — but still to change. The Representation was not a whit a more important portion of the Constitution than that which all Jurists agreed was an integral part of it, and at once the pride and the glory of the British Law. It was an institution as important, though not more important, than the Representative portion of our Government; yet the reformers at the other side of the House had not scrupled to lay their hands upon it, and to remodel it according to their own notions. The alterations so made were improvements, unquestionably; but those by whom they were made could not deny that they were Reformers. Let them act on the same principle with regard to the Representation; let them reform it, and he had no doubt that similar beneficial results would arise. The Gentlemen, called the landed interest, no doubt, were fully aware of the defects in the present state of the Representation; but it was observable, that whenever any change was proposed, they immediately endeavoured to turn that change to their own advantage, by proposing increased Representation of their own body. Every change was to be in their favour, and against their rivals and opponents. He was perfectly aware that the authority of Lord Chatham might be cited against his opposition to an increase of the Representatives of the landed interest; certainly the opinion of that noble Lord was, that the number of county representatives ought to be increased; but that was because he thought them, and justly thought them, less venal than the representatives of the boroughs; not because he did not think the commercial and manufacturing towns inadequately represented, but because he considered that the numbers opposed to the corrupt borough interest ought to be as great as possible. He (Mr. W.) was perfectly aware of the defects in the County Representation, and he should be perfectly ready to support any measure for its improvement. No measure could possibly do a greater service to the country than one having for its object to improve the state of the County Representation in various ways; for instance, in shortening the duration of elections, by improving the manner of taking the polls, and by putting an end to the infamous riot and debauchery which prevailed at almost all county elections. The effect of the present system of County Representation was to place it all in the hands of the higher aristocracy, thereby excluding many men of good education, and otherwise well qualified to represent their country in that House. It was a matter of perfect notoriety, that the landed interest was better represented than any other; and the object of wise legislation should be, to restore equality, and to put the Representation of the country upon such a footing as would make the relative situation of each interest more equable and just. It was alleged, that the towns mentioned by the noble Lord did not manifest that anxiety for the possession of Representatives which would make them worthy of possessing that advantage —nothing could be more contrary to the fact. At a meeting held at one of these towns (Birmingham), at which every class and description of persons—Radical and

High Churchman, Whig and Tory—assembled and acted with the most cordial and complete unanimity, the cry was for a Representation. But whether they desired it or not, it ought to be conferred upon them—for the power of sending Members to Parliament was not only a right and a privilege, but a sacred duty. As matters at present stood, elections were but opportunities for septennial riot, venality, and every species of abomination; whereas, means ought to be adopted for persuading the people that they had an interest in discharging conscientiously the duty which the Constitution imposed upon them. He wished, then, to say a few words to those who would have nothing but a complete and sweeping Reform. Now he was content, for the time being, with accepting what could be obtained, never at the same time foregoing what might hereafter be acquired. He would put it to the advocates of a sweeping and general Reform, whether they had advanced a single step by rejecting the practical though partial improvements which were within their reach; did they not, on the contrary, rather retrograde? What his noble friend proposed he did not accept as the full measure of Reform—as the full payment and discharge of the debt which the Legislature owed the country; but he accepted it as an act of simple justice and good policy—as one grand step in practical Reform, infinitely more valuable than the most brilliant theories in which the mind of a visionary could indulge; it was not a payment in full, but it was a first instalment, and as such he accepted it—he took it as an earnest of good intentions, as a means of averting the shock which some Members apprehended—or, at least, of diminishing its force, if it should come. He called upon the House to support the Motion of his noble friend, as they regarded the great and important duties which they were called on to perform. They were there, not alone to vote supplies to the Crown, but to maintain the principles of that Constitution, unimpaired which they had received from their ancestors, and which they were bound to transmit to posterity without that strict observance of its letter which was calculated to destroy its spirit; and, above all things, they were bound to preserve that liberty which ought to pass from generation to generation in all its original strength and vigour, in order to insure which, the first step should be to restore to the people the power of nominating their Representatives.

Lord *Sandon* said, that he was embarrassed by the Motion of the noble Lord, for while he admitted that some Reform was desirable, he thought the means taken to obtain it by the present Motion not very safe, the question then proposed for them was second in importance to none which had come before the House, since the great question of Catholic Emancipation. He could never suppose that our ancestors who were anxious to see every town represented would have been contented to allow towns superior to the London of their day, to be without a voice in Parliament. He admitted too that any measure extending the basis of Representation, was planting the Constitution more firmly in the minds of the people. Still he did not think the measure proposed by the noble Lord a safe one. It had been observed by an hon. Member "that all Reform should be founded on such principles as to present a distinct and visible limit to its operation, and be so planned as carefully to avoid leading by any necessary consequence to the adoption of other measures, and leaving all future questions of a similar nature to be discussed on their own intrinsic merits." The condition announced in this observation he should have desired to find in the Motion of his noble friend, he wished to see in it some principle of limitation beyond which it would not force the Legislature to proceed. He found in it, however, an unlimited principle of augmentation. His noble friend proposed to augment the present number of Members of the House of Commons by six, and if once the Legislature departed from the limited number established by solemn treaties, those of the Union with Ireland and Scotland, where was it to stop? Granting the Franchise to the three towns included in the Motion of his noble friend, on what grounds could the House refuse a similar privilege to many other Towns that had almost an equal claim? Looking at the Motion as tending indefinitely to augment the number of Members of that House, and as altering, if carried, the proportions now established between the Representatives of different parts of the country, he was bound though with great pain to resist the Motion of his noble friend. He would fain adopt a middle course, and in his wish to find one, he had met with the resolutions formerly moved by his noble friend, which appeared satisfactory to him, and by them he was willing to abide. Those resolutions were not indeed agreed to which he regretted, for, he thought, if they had been, they would have put a stop to, that unconstitutional innovation, giving the Elective Franchise to the Hundred, which dating only from the time of Lord North was both useless and expensive. He wished to keep alive the hopes of the unrepresented towns, and yet not allow a principle to be sanctioned, which, were it once adopted, would leave him at a loss to know where to stop. Under these impressions he should beg leave to move as an Amendment the following Resolution. "That it is expedient that all Boroughs in which gross and notorious corruption shall be proved to prevail extensively, shall cease to return Members to serve in Parliament; that the right of returning Members to serve in Parliament so taken from any Borough which shall have been proved to have been guilty of bribery and corruption, shall be given to some great unrepresented Town, or to some one of the largest Counties; and that it is the duty of this House to consider of further means to detect and prevent corruption in the election of Members of Parliament."

Mr. *Twiss* said, he could not agree either to the Motion or the Amendment that had been presented to the House, not that he was disposed to set himself in opposition to every species of reform, but because he felt that he could not adopt either of the courses proposed without compromising his own judgment. With respect to the Amendment that had been offered to the notice of the House, it was not pretended by any of the hon. Members who had preceded him, that there was any great or crying grievance to be met at this moment, and he therefore did not see why that House should pledge itself to any particular course in future. As the law of England now stood, there was not any one in this country who could not have the privilege of the Elective Franchise if he chose; and, therefore, he did not see that this question presented the great difficulties which had been attendant upon the Catholic Question. According to the arrangement which had been made at the end of the seventeenth century, it appeared to him that the Crown could not increase the number of Members in that House; and if this were the case, it became a serious question for their consideration, how far the House of Commons had any right to interfere. It was true that it was within the province of Parliament to do anything; but he very much doubted how far it would be justified in meddling with what he strongly suspected ought to be looked upon as the prerogative of the Crown, in something beyond a mere matter of form. Besides which, if the principle laid down by the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) were once admitted, they would never be able to tell where it was to stop. If Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, were to receive the Elective Franchise, why was it not to be extended to Sheffield, Glasgow, Wolverhampton, and other places which he could name? If an assembly of sixty thousand manufacturers had a right to claim the privilege of being represented, why were not bodies of fifteen thousand or of twelve thousand manufacturers to lay claim to the same privilege? Or why, if the small county of Rutland still returned two Members, were not the more populous counties of Lancashire, Staffordshire, or Middlesex, to demand the right of returning a greater number? Well, then, might the noble Lord dread that the Sheffield Petition which he presented with one hand, was giving a blow to the Bill which he held in the other! He therefore thought that the House was bound modestly, but firmly, to refuse compliance with a demand which appeared likely to be endless. The 40s. Freeholders of Ireland had been mentioned; but that it appeared to him was not a case in point, for the depriving men with so low a Franchise of their vote, did not necessarily include the carrying the step any higher, or any further. What he was most surprised at in the speeches which he had heard delivered that evening was, that no mention had been made of any evil or grievance that called for the proposed alteration. If, then, there were none of these, what danger could there be in leaving the Constitution the same as at present? He knew that it had lately been stated, and he supposed that they should hear it again that night, that the House of Commons was inadequate to express the opinions of the people. If by that was to be understood the expression of all opinions that might arise in all seasons, he was driven to admit that the House w s not adequate for that; but at the same time he would contend that it was reasonable to doubt whether it had ever been meant to express those opinions in their extreme popular sense. [*hear*] In his opinion it was not only excusable in, but incumbent upon, Parliament to vote sometimes on the unpopular side of a question; they were not there so much to represent the opinions of the people, as to watch over the welfare of the country; and it was no crime in any Member of Parliament to believe that his constituents were sometimes more prone to change and vaccillation than he was bound to be. Did it then follow, that if the people and the Parliament disagreed, the Parliament must be corrupt? He did not mean to dispute that the opinions settled by the consent of many generations were not correct; but he believed that it would be found that when points were so settled, they were generally invested in the Constitution. He fully concurred in the opinions that had so often been stated, that the great amount of our taxes arose from war; but, said some hon. Gentlemen, if the Representation of the country were made entirely popular, all this would have been avoided. Now this he entirely denied; and he believed if more popular feeling were introduced into that House, the chances of war would be greatly increased. He would not, however, waste the time of the House with arguments of his own, as he could quote to them an opinion which was at all times entitled to weight, but which on this subject, and among certain hon. Members, ought to be particularly attended to. It was the opinion of the noble Lord himself (Lord J. Russell), who, in the month of December, 1819, had expressed himself on this point to the following effect:—"I do not pretend to say (said the noble Lord on that occasion) that Reform would make our Government less inclined to war, which, it must be remembered, is the cause of our chief burthens. A fondness for war is not the fault of a monarchical, but of a popular Government." The noble Lord then went on to describe the number of popular Governments that had evinced this feeling, and added, "Such a system could hardly continue even in the most despotic State; and it is only by carrying the feelings of the people with them that a free Government can lay on greater taxes than an arbitrary King." He (Mr. Twiss), therefore, trusted, that the House would be very cautious how they voted for a popular Reform in the expectation of taxation being thereby reduced. He did not deny that it would be desirable in itself to have the larger towns of the kingdom specifically represented in Parliament; and when a suitable occasion should occur for promoting that object without a sacrifice of judgment on the one hand, or of the principle of proportion on the other, he had no hesitation in saying, that it would be the inclination of his mind to give the Elective Franchise to such towns. But though this were desirable in itself, he thought that, practically speaking, the manufacturers of the country were already fully represented. Every Member of the House considered himself as the Representative not merely of the place for which he was returned, but of the nation generally. Of the forty-two Members returned for Cornwall, only six he believed were residents in the county, and several of the remainder were connected with the manufacturing or commercial interests. For those who thought as he did, that all alterations ought to be made so as to suit the alterations that took place among the people generally, it would not be an easy task to define the particular cases or parts to which Reform might be applied without danger. It appeared to him that the cases, to be justly considered, must be taken as they arose; and he had no doubt, that when such opportunities presented themselves, they would be dealt with by Parliament as they deserved. Before the House voted for the Motion of the noble Lord, they should remember the grounds upon which many hon. Gentlemen proposed to support that Resolution. They did so—not because they were satisfied with the extent of the Motion—but because, as the Seconder of the Motion had candidly stated—he looked upon it as the first instalment of a debt, which ought long ago to have been paid by the Legislature. He thanked that hon. Gentleman (Mr. Wilbraham) for that statement; and he trusted that the House would afford it its due weight, before they came to the decision of voting in favour of a Motion so supported. The hon. Member concluded by observing, that he knew well the prejudices entertained against all those who opposed themselves to what were called popular opinions; but he yielded to no man in that House in anxiety to promote the prosperity of his country, or in sympathy for its distresses; and as he did not think the propositions of the noble Lord were calculated to advance the one or to remove the other, he should feel that he did not do his duty honestly and conscientiously, if he shrunk from the avowal of his sentiments, even although it might subject him to the severest animadversions of the friends of Reform.

Lord *Morpeth* said, the hon. Member for Wootton-Basset (Mr. Twiss) began by declaring that he thought the Government and the House were fully justified in making concessions to the Roman Catholics, because great danger was to be apprehended from refusing them; and that he was not disposed to make the concessions now required by the Reformers, because the same danger did not demand the same sacrifices. Now he (Lord Morpeth) was quite prepared to admit that the same danger was not to be apprehended from a refusal of the noble Lord's Motion; but he really must contend that there might be very great danger in refusing to take the claims of the people into consideration. The state of the country had undergone a great change within the last few years. The people were every day acquiring intelligence, and with that intelligence they obtained moral power; but it was the misfortune of the time, that while a great portion of the country was thus advancing in moral power, it was retrograding in physical power. The people were becoming more enlightened, but they were at the same time becoming more distressed; and when the House saw the population of Sheffield petitioning, and the inhabitants of Birmingham associating, he thought these were signs of times in which it was not quite safe to resist the just wishes and reasonable remonstrances of those who, being numerous and possessing wealth and influence, now claimed a participation in the advantages of a free Representation. A noble relation of his had proposed an Amendment to the same effect as that which had been carried in the year 1819. But the moment he heard those Resolutions mentioned he felt satisfied that they presented in themselves an insuperable objection to their being adopted. Since the time they were passed, the Legislature had disfranchised Grampound and Penryn, and was tardily proceeding to legislate with respect to East Retford; but ten years had passed away in the interval, and he would ask, where were the Representatives of Leeds, of Manchester, and of Birmingham? In his opinion the adoption of the Amendment of his noble relation would lead to fresh delays and fresh disappointments; and the great question of a Reform of the Representation which in the present instance—

—— *In decimum vestigia rettulit annum,*

would probably be allowed to rest altogether, or return under their consideration in the course of another ten years. For his part, he was satisfied that the propositions of his noble friend involved nothing new in principle, or inconvenient in practice, and he was determined to give them his entire concurrence. No honest man could lay his hand on his heart, and, looking at the amount of Taxation in the fifteenth year of peace, and the manner in which all reductions were resisted, declare sincerely that such things could have taken place, if the Representation had been reformed. The character of that House, it should be recollected, did not stand very high in the opinions of the people. There was nothing in its principles or conduct which could justify a refusal of the claims of the Petitioners; and, in his opinion, a temperate and timely reform of the Representation, while it formed a safeguard against any virulent expression of popular feeling, was at the same time recommended by every consideration of justice, policy, and prudence. For these reasons he gave his cordial support to the noble Lord's Resolution.

Lord *Valletort* began by observing, that he looked at men as well as measures [*hear, and a laugh*]; and, when he saw the noble Mover of the Resolution vote only three days ago for a general measure of Reform, he could not avoid having some suspicion of the proposition the House was then considering. He looked, indeed, on the Motion of the noble Lord, as the advanced guard of those Reformers, who had with very little address made a violent and ill-directed assault on a former evening, against all the political institutions of the country. [*some impatience was manifested on the Opposition side of the House.*] He perceived that the advocates of free discussion were at all times disposed to exhibit their love of it, by silencing all those who were disposed to differ with them; but he was not to be put down in that manner, and the attempt, he could tell his opponents, would fail. Those who came there as the Representatives of the people, required a something to tickle the ears of their constituents, and if they had not this question they must get some other. He did not mean to say that there would be no benefit derived from satisfying men's minds; but he would contend, notwithstanding all the fine-spun arguments they had heard, that Reform would produce no practical good. They had heard the sufferings of the people of Birmingham and Manchester ascribed to a defective Representation; but he would ask, what difference was there between the condition of the manufacturers of Nottingham and Norwich, which had been represented from time immemorial, and those workmen and manufacturers of towns which were not represented? In his opinion, individual interests were sufficiently represented by the general mass of the Representatives; and looking at the House as a body, he could not but think it presented an union of interests quite sufficient for the discharge of all the duties of the Representatives of a great people. Adverting to the declaration of the hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. Hobhouse), that he liked a weak Government, he must say that he liked a strong one, although those who wished to sail on the popular stream might have no objection to a weak Government which they might bear along with them in their course. He repeated, however, that he liked a strong Government, and he liked equally well a strong and consistent Opposition, and he hoped to see the House return to that state, instead of being divided into a number of parties, each party pursuing a different object. The noble Lord concluded by observing, it was the duty of the House to choose a good Government, and which they considered well calculated to carry on the public business. When they found such a Government, it was equally their duty to support it. Such a Government he thought the present one to be; and although there might be blots in the Representation, [*hear*] they were blots which after ages would confirm, and for which we were more than compensated by the advantage of an energetic and efficient Administration.

Dr. *Lushington* said, that an experience of twenty-four years in that House had strengthened all his early impressions respecting the propriety of Parliamentary Reform. Let any man look at the miserable condition in which the Government of this country was placed—with a House of Commons constituted like the present one. Whether it were convinced of the propriety of conceding the Catholic Claims, or disposed to yield to the necessity of economy, it was obliged to rely, not on the reasons or arguments which could carry conviction, but on the number of Borough-holders whom they could by any means induce to lend them support. The time, however, was come when no man could assert the antiquity of an abuse as a reason for its continuance. Alterations had been made in the whole system of our laws; and was the House to be told that a system of Representation, framed three hundred years ago—that abuses which had been acknowledged in the time of James and the two Charleses—and when at the same time not a borough or city remained the same it was then, was to remain untouched and unaltered? It must be admitted either that the Representation was then or is now inefficient, if it be contended that it should remain as it is at present; for how could it suit two periods so different? The hon. Member for Winchelsea (Mr. Brougham) had told them in one word, more powerful than thirty sentences, that the schoolmaster was abroad. Could they send him home again? Could they blind the people now? His course was as certain as that of the arrow from the bow, and as irrevocable. It had been said in favour of our system of virtual representation that it had sent many able men to Parliament, but it had also sent thither a horde of needy adventurers ready to prostitute the little talent which God had given them to purposes of corruption. There was no greater evil in the present state of the Representation, than that it had deprived the great landholders of the country of the just and legitimate influence which they ought to possess in proportion to their property, and had driven them to corrupt boroughs. Were it not for that, they would have the influence which they ought to have. Although they would not return mere nominees to the House, their recommendation in the representation of Counties would have the weight to which it was entitled. The noble Lord had referred to the influence possessed by Government in that House during the Administration of Lord North. But let it be recollected to what a dreadful state of degradation and ruin the Administration of Lord North, by the aid of that influence, brought the country. It was true, that the means by which corruption was effected had been changed. Formerly it was effected by payments in cash; of late years it had been effected by payments in places. It had been asserted that no practical inconvenience had ever been suffered by any great town, from its not being specifically represented in Parliament. But was that true? Was it true that neither Birmingham, nor Manchester, nor Leeds, had ever suffered any inconvenience from not being represented in that House? He was old enough to remember the time when the town of Birmingham suffered a great and direct inconvenience from not having any Representative in that House. He alluded to the year 1812, when, in consequence of the Government measure of the Orders in Council, the trade of Birmingham was reduced to the last stage of degradation and suffering. Of the Members who represented the county of Warwick, he wished to speak with the greatest respect; but they were wholly incapable of comprehending the real merits of the question. One of them, indeed, distinctly said in the House, that while he was anxious to state the distress which Birmingham was suffering, he was utterly incapable of explaining the cause of that distress. But it was not Birmingham alone. Any town in England having an hundred thousand inhabitants had a right to have some individual in that House on whom they would have a just claim to attend to their complaints, and endeavour to obtain for them redress. It was well known that the inhabitants of populous but unrepresented towns were frequently compelled to go from one Member to another, and beg that he would take up their cause; well knowing that although the Member for the county might lay their petition on the Table, he would be unable to explain their wants and wishes to the House. After all the consideration which he had been able to give to the subject, he was persuaded that the House would not be able long to withhold a reform of the Representation, in some shape or other; gradual, if they pleased—guarded, if they liked—limited at first to such cases as those under consideration, but proceeding on the same principle as that which was the principle of his noble friend's Motion, and applying equally to every town in the country entitled by its population to the privilege of the Elective Franchise. There could be no better criterion of the right to that privilege than large numbers and great wealth. "Sir," continued the hon. and learned Gentleman, "I am in my conscience convinced—and I do not speak it in hostility to his Majesty's Ministers—to whom, on the contrary, I am deeply grateful for more than I expected from them—but I am in my conscience convinced that a pressing time is rapidly coming upon us. What was once an inconvenience, has now become so grindingly oppressive to the people that measures more efficacious, taking a wider range, and of much severer character than any hitherto proposed, must speedily be adopted. If the right hon. Gentleman opposite wishes to assume a bold and defying aspect in the midst of the difficulties which are approaching, he must appeal by his conduct to the intelligent, to the well-educated, to the moral portion of the community to support him in his necessity; and if, divesting himself of all ancient and inveterate prejudices, he will look the truth in the face, and, disregarding all other considerations, will make the good of the country at large the sole guide of his actions, he may retain his place in his Majesty's Councils with infinite advantage to the people, and with infinite honour to himself; and notwithstanding all the obstacles which may present themselves in his way, and in the greatest extremity to which he may be reduced, he may rely in perfect safety and confidence that the intelligent part of the community will bear him up triumphantly against all the efforts of disappointed corruption and iniquitous ambition; and enable him to confer the most inestimable advantages on the land whose destiny is intrusted to him." [*hear.*]

Lord *Valletort* said, in explanation, that words had been put into his mouth, which he had not used, and that he meant to impute no improper motives to the noble Lord.

Sir *George Murray* said, he would not detain the House long. He was sure they would agree with him that, however various opinions might be with regard to the principles advocated by the noble Lord whose Motion was under consideration, the tone and temper with which the noble Lord had brought the subject forward could not be too highly praised, nor too frequently imitated. He was obliged, however, to differ from the noble Lord's conclusions, The noble Lord had said that the British Constitution was not a Grecian temple—perfect at once in all its proportions, and incapable, therefore, of improvement,—but a Gothic structure, to which additions and improvements might at any time be made with advantage. He (Sir G. Murray) rejoiced that it was a Gothic structure; he rejoiced that it was in the style of architecture which was the favourite of our ancestors. He was no great admirer of modern edifices; and he rather believed that the noble Lord himself had been as disgusted as himself at the efforts of a neighbouring nation to erect a Grecian temple, which, however, when completed, was found to be far inferior in beauty and durability to the old English Constitution. [*hear*] He was no enemy whatever to legitimate Reform. He opposed no barrier against real improvement of any kind; nor did he draw a line of demarcation between any two points which he had sworn never to pass. On the contrary, he was quite willing to admit that, from time to time, some amendment was necessary—some repair of the Gothic structure. It was upon that principle that he supported the measure of the last Session, by which a body of men were brought back within the pale of the Constitution who were pushed out of it in unfortunate times. He was quite ready to admit the justice of the principle of the noble Lord, that it was expedient to give Representatives to the great towns of the kingdom; but he could not agree to carry that object into execution in the way which the noble Lord proposed. He was perfectly ready, on the occasional disfranchisement of any corrupt borough, to transfer the right of Representation to a great town; but he had a great objection to augment the number of Members of that House, and thereby to destroy the proportion which existed between the different interests which it represented. It had been said that there was a disinclination in another place to disfranchise boroughs. Whether that were the case or not he did not know; but he was satisfied that if any such disinclination did exist, it would be increased in the event of the adoption of the noble Lord's proposition; and on this ground—that having increased the number of the Representatives of great towns, the Representatives of boroughs must be retained, in order to serve as a counterbalance. As to popular opinion, he had a great respect for it; he believed that the people were generally, if not always, disposed to do right; but they sometimes fell into bad hands, and then, what was called popular opinion was, in fact, only individual opinion, and that not of the most praiseworthy character. He was at a loss to understand what the hon. and learned Gentleman meant by the recommendations with which he had concluded his speech. He was at a loss to see what complaint the hon. and learned Gentleman could make against his right hon. friend. His right hon. friend had but a few nights ago brought forward a measure for improving the judicature of the country, by which, however, a large sacrifice was made of Government patronage. The expressions of the hon. and learned Gentleman would imply, that his right hon. friend was not pursuing the course of public benefit. But the conduct of his right hon. friend, both in the last and in the present Session of Parliament, was precisely that which the hon. and learned Gentleman had recommended.

General *Gascoyne* said, that he had, last Session, voted for a proposition, similar to the one then before the House, and he had not heard anything since that time to induce him to alter his opinion. He certainly did not agree with the proposition to confer the Elective Franchise at once upon the towns in question; but if the Bill were introduced in the Committee, the Franchise of East Retford might be given to one of the proposed towns, and the others might obtain the Franchise, as boroughs, against which corruption was proved were disfranchised. He was quite opposed to the principles which the hon. Member for Aberdeen and other hon. Members had broached, with respect to Universal Suffrage and Radical Reform; but were it only to avoid such rash innovations, he would recommend a concurrence in the noble Lord's Motion. It was undoubtedly notorious that if any interest in the country were worse represented in that House than any other, it was the manufacturing. Large towns ought unquestionably to have distinct Representatives. In the thirteen years during which he had been returned for the place which he had the honour to represent, he had brought in and carried above two hundred local Bills. He might confidently refer to his right hon. colleague that the representation of a populous town was no sinecure. All the great questions which his

Majesty's Government had adopted for some time, among which were the question of Free Trade, the Currency question, and the Catholic question, had originated on his (General Gascoyne's) side of the House. He trusted they would persevere in that course of adoption, or the right hon. Gentleman opposite might be assured that his (General Gascoyne's) prediction that after Catholic Emancipation was disposed of, the right hon. Gentleman would find but lukewarm friends on his side of the House, would be verified. He strongly recommended to the noble Lord by whom the Amendment to the Motion had been proposed, to withdraw it.

Lord *Sandon* observed, that the recommendations to him to withdraw his Amendment, had proceeded on such inconsistent grounds, that he did not feel it to be his duty to concede to the recommendations.

General *Gascoyne* said, he merely gave his opinion but the noble Lord must use his own discretion.

Sir *G. Murray* explained, that he by no means pretended to depreciate the objects either of the noble Mover, or the noble Lord who had moved the Amendment.

Mr. *Wynn* regretted, that notwithstanding the temper and moderation with which the noble Lord had brought forward his Motion, he must vote against it. He was obliged to look not only at the immediate object of the Motion, but at its remote and inevitable consequence, and if he consented to it, he did not know how much further he might be obliged to go. If he acceded to the Motion, he should accede to a Motion for increasing the number of Members in that House without limit. Such a measure would be highly dangerous. The country might never be satisfied, and never convinced that the House of Commons should not consist of as many Members as any Gentleman should choose. He thought, therefore, that it would be less inconvenient to postpone the introduction of additional Members for these populous places, than to open the door to an indefinite increase of the number of Members of that House. The actual increase proposed was only six Members added to six hundred and fifty-eight, and was not in itself important; but how could he, how could the House, resist the next Session any Gentleman who might propose that Sheffield or Halifax, which was more populous than Leeds, should be represented—how could he then resist such a Motion? If it afterwards were to be proposed to extend the principle to Huddersfield, to Stockport, to Rochdale, to Wakefield, or to any other of the large towns of the neighbourhood, on what principle could he oppose such a proposition should he concede the present question? Could the House resist such a proposition? It would always be asked what evil could result from adding two Members to the Representation? and to add only two would not be an evil; but the indefinite increase occasioned by adding two for every town would be an intolerable evil. Let the House look at what had happened since the Union with Ireland. Ready as he was to do justice, at all times, to the talents, ability, and eloquence of the Gentlemen who represented that part of the empire, he must say that since that augmentation the House was much less adapted to carry on business than before its numbers were extended. He had sat in the House before the Union with Ireland, and he never had given any vote that he regretted more than the vote he gave against Lord Grey's Motion when that event took place, to withdraw from that House as many Members as would be equal to the number added for Ireland, and to make room for them by disfranchising boroughs when an opportunity offered. He regretted much that he had opposed the Motion of the noble Lord, for much more benefit would have accrued from his proposed arrangement than the one which had been followed. The towns he had alluded to had as many claims to be represented as the towns to which it was now proposed to give Representatives. He did not mean to argue that the provisions of the National Union with Scotland might not be revised by the Legislature, but it was part of that Union that no change should be made in the Scotch Burghs, as secured at the Union. If any thing was sacred in that Union it was that the proportion of Representatives then established should be maintained in favour of the weaker party, which had merged its own Parliament in the general Representation of the country. The proportion of Representatives for Scotland then fixed was settled by a reference to the proportion of taxes then paid by the two countries, and the proportion of their respective population and wealth. Had not, then, the progress of Scotland in wealth, in population, in trade, in the amount of its contributions to the public, and intelligence, been as great as the progress of England since the Union? He thought that it had, or even greater than that of England; and if he looked at the towns of Scotland he should find them as deserving of additional Representatives as the towns of England. There was Glasgow with only the fifth of a Representative, and Paisley, with other towns, that had stronger claims than Leeds. He could not, therefore, accede to the proposition of the noble Lord At the same time he felt a difficulty in voting for the Amendment. He saw no objection to the House recognizing the principle in the first instance, that great towns suffered under a grievance from wanting Representatives, and stating that the House would take the earliest opportunity of remedying it. He knew that no resolution of theirs could bind a future Parliament but he thought if some such resolution were come to, it might in future strengthen the hands of those who contended that great towns should be represented. He should approve of a resolution of that description; but he should feel it necessary to vote against the Motion of the noble Lord, particularly on the ground stated by the gallant General opposite. He would oppose it, because he thought it would add to the tumultuousness of the House.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, he would detain the House for a very short time on this occasion. He did not wish to go at length into the discussion of the question; at the same time he could not give a silent vote on the Motion. His noble friend who proposed the Amendment had said, that he had come to the view which he had taken on the subject, with considerable difficulty and after much consultation with his friends. He (Mr. Huskisson) would also say, that in like manner he had come to the view which he had taken on the subject after considerable deliberation and reflection, and he was sorry that he did not take the same view of it as that adopted by his noble friend the mover of the Amendment. His noble friend's Amendment, if he (Mr. Huskisson) understood it, went, in the first place to state that it was most desirable that these great manufacturing districts should have a direct Representation in this House. His noble friend thus commenced by admitting the existence of the grievance; and so far he (Mr. Huskisson) went along with him in his view of the case. But he next found that his noble friend instead of applying a remedy to this great practical and acknowledged evil, came forward with the proposition, that whenever three boroughs should be guilty of a great crime, their Franchise should be transferred to those large manufacturing towns. The remedy, therefore, which the noble Lord proposed for this great evil depended upon the detection of a great crime. He would beg to remind the noble Lord, that upon this very question, as to the detection of guilt in a borough, and which he made anterior to the application of a remedy to the existing evil,—that upon that very question this and the other branch of the Legislature had never been able to agree. Therefore, if the House should vote that the non-representation of those great towns was a great practical evil, and that the remedy was to be found in the detection of guilt on the part of delinquent boroughs, it would be hopeless for the House ever to seek for a remedy. It was proved by the cases of East Retford and Penryn, that this mode never would enable the noble Lord to remove the practical grievance which he acknowledged to exist. It was upon these grounds that he, (Mr. Huskisson) could not go with the Amendment proposed by his noble friend. He did not think the observations of his hon. friend below him (Mr. Wynn) possessed much weight; for the principle on which he insisted would prevent the House from exercising its judgment and discretion in all future time. He did not conceive it necessary to go into the details which had been dwelt upon by his hon. and learned friend the under Secretary of State (Mr. Twiss) in his very elaborate speech, which were grounded principally upon the great danger of innovation, and which consisted of arguments that might be found in any speech made of late years, either against Reform in Parliament or upon the Catholic question. Neither did he conceive it necessary on that occasion to travel into the wide question of Parliamentary Reform. He could not avoid observing in reference to the arguments which had been drawn from the Union with Scotland against the Motion of the noble Lord opposite, that such arguments were deserving of but little notice; recollecting, as he did, that upon every occasion, when it was obviously necessary for the good of the country and for the essential interests of the State, to depart from the mere letter of the Act of Union, Parliament always did so, and it would indeed be contrary to common sense to follow a different line of conduct. The same arguments had been applied to the great measure of last Session, which was charged as a departure from the Act of Union with Scotland, and they had been then triumphantly refuted. His right hon. friend, when he laid so much stress upon the arguments drawn from the Union with Scotland, should bear in mind that that Act would not be near so much departed from by the proposition of the noble Lord to night, as it had been long since, by the introduction of one hundred new Members into that House in consequence of the legislative Union with Ireland. This question, then, ought to be determined by its justice and fitness, and he should say that the House in deciding it ought to ask itself what injury or injustice it could inflict upon Scotland by conferring benefit upon England. By the admission of the noble Mover of the Amendment, and of all who had spoken in support of it, the House was called on to deal not with a fanciful and imaginary, but with a real and ascertained evil. Now, by giving Representatives to those great manufacturing districts, the House would at once provide for the evil under which they were at present suffering, and which materially affected their interests, and concerns, and pursuits. To such a measure of Reform he (Mr. Huskisson) should give his cordial support. As to a more extensive Parliamentary Reform,—a measure founded upon the principle of a general revision, reconstruction, and remodelling of our present constitution,—to such a general revision, and change of our Constitution he (Mr. Huskisson) had been always opposed; and while he had a seat in that House, he should give it his most decided opposition. He conceived, that if such an extensive Reform were effected, they might go on for two or three Sessions in good and easy times, and such a Reformed Parliament might adapt itself to our mode of Government, and the ordinary concerns of the country; but if such an extensive change were effected in the Constitution of Parliament, sure he was that whenever an occasion arose of great popular excitement or reaction, the consequence would be a total subversion of our Constitution, followed by complete confusion and anarchy, terminating first in the tyranny of a fierce democracy, and then in that of a military despotism, these two great calamities maintaining that natural order of succession which they have been always hitherto seen to observe. He was therefore, opposed to such an extensive change and revision of our representative system. It might be easy to raise objections to the boroughs, and by separating the representative system into its various constituent parts, to point out evils and abuses in several of them: but it was a waste of time, and a perversion of common sense, to look at it in that way. He would take it as a whole, and, regarding our present system as one aggregate, he was opposed to any material change in it. It might be easy to take to pieces all the parts of such a complicated system, but he doubted that it would be equally possible for human skill to unite its component parts again; and it appeared to him still more doubtful, even if put together again, that it would ever work as well for the country as it had hitherto done. [*hear, hear.*] He therefore wished not to be misunderstood when he gave his vote in support of the Motion of the noble Lord opposite, and he wished to be understood as being opposed to the substitution of any system of Representation in lieu of the present system. He should be better pleased to commence if that were possible with the transfer of the Franchise of East Retford to Birmingham, and he should have been glad if the decision of the House on a late occasion had enabled them to do that. The right hon. Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when that subject was before the House on a former evening, had represented that as a measure full of danger, and had kindly advised him (Mr. Huskisson) not to stand in the swamp and rotten hollow of East Retford, but to arise out of it by extending the Franchise to the neighbouring hundred of Bassetlaw; he was sorry that he could not adopt the view of his right hon. friend, who had prevented the noble Lord from having it in his power then to move for the transfer of the Franchise to Birmingham, by bringing up his regular troop on the former occasion, and by defeating the Motion then brought forward had rendered it necessary on the part of the noble Lord to bring the question before the House in its present shape. The question was, whether greater danger would accrue to the Constitution and to the existence of a good feeling on the part of the people of this country towards the House of Commons, by giving the Representative Franchise to these extensive manufacturing districts, than by withholding it. Would any one contend that the want of Representatives, with whom they could be in daily communication, and who would effectually watch over and protect their important interests in the Legislature, was not a great hardship upon the population of those districts? Surely the granting such a necessary privilege to them could in no way endanger our liberties or our Constitution. To say that the interests of these important districts were better attended to in Parliament in consequence of their not having Representatives in this House, was a paradox which he was sure no hon. Gentleman would propose or defend. His right hon. friend near him (Mr. Wynn) was opposed to the transferring the Franchise to these three great towns, the capitals of their respective manufacturing districts, until we should have the same number of corrupt boroughs disfranchised; and he said the district of Halifax was superior in amount of population to any of those towns; and he asked, why should not a call be made for a Representative for Sheffield upon the same principle as that upon which this Motion was founded? But it should be recollected that Leeds was the capital of the woollen manufacture, and therefore might be justly taken as the Representative of that interest; that Sheffield, though with a large population, and an extensive hardware manufacture, would be fully represented by Birmingham, which was the head of all that manufacture; and that Manchester was, in a certain degree, justly regarded as the capital of the cotton manufacture. Thus, by giving the Franchise to these three great towns, all those different interests would be represented in that House. His right hon. friend the Secretary of State had given the House to understand, upon a former evening, that upon some future occasion, he might acquiesce in granting the Franchise to these towns. He conceived that if they were to give Representatives to these manufacturing districts at any time, it should be done now: this was the occasion for giving them that privilege, if the Legislature were to give it to them at all. But he was afraid, that whatever this House might do, it would be disappointed in its efforts by an opposition in another place. He fully concurred in the opinion expressed by a noble friend of his (Earl Dudley) who was well acquainted with the manufacturing districts, who had been once Secretary of State, and who was no Reformer but who, when a Member of that House, said that the greatest blot in the history of this country in the eyes of all intelligent and well-informed persons was, that such an important class of persons as the great manufacturing population of this country should be almost completely without Representatives in Parliament. In the same manner Lord Liverpool, when a Bill was sent up from that House, transferring the Elective Franchise from Grampound to Leeds, stated that it would be desirable that the words "Leeds and Yorkshire" should be omitted in the Bill, and the selection of the place left to the prerogative of the Crown; and what did his noble friend, (the noble Earl) add upon that occasion? He said, that if it were left to the prerogative of the Crown to select the place, it would be understood that the Franchise should be given to some large and populous town. It was upon such principles that he then supported the noble Lord's Motion. They should not allow technicalities to stand in the way of real practical improvements. He did not think it very safe for Government never to come down with important measures to Parliament until they had been driven to do so by overpowering majorities in that House. The noble Lord who proposed the Amendment was young, and he would yet live to see the day when the Representative Franchise must be granted to the great manufacturing districts. He (Mr. Huskisson) candidly confessed he thought that such a time was fast approaching, and that one day or other, his Majesty's Ministers would come down to that House to propose such a measure, as necessary for the salvation and safety of the country. He thought there was little chance of extending the Franchise to these towns by the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, and he would recommend the noble Lord, if he should obtain leave to bring in a Bill, to provide by it that a Committee of this House would be competent to decide the question in future; and that whenever it had sufficient evidence laid before it that a borough had been guilty of corruption, it should report the same to the House; that the subject should then be referred to a second Committee, as a Committee of Appeal, which should again take all the facts of the case into consideration; and if that second Committee should confirm the conviction made by the first, the disfranchisement of the borough should forthwith take place, without rendering it necessary to submit the privileges or rights of the Commons of England, to the judicature of any tribunal elsewhere. That would be the best way to proceed, instead of going before an unwilling jury, and before parties who would thwart all the efforts of the Commons to assert their privileges. There was nothing new in this principle; it was acted upon by every Election Committee in that House. He would only mention the instance of the Bath Election Committee, which when corruption was proved against the corporation, decided that every person paying scot and lot in that city were entitled to vote; thus establishing a principle which, if acted upon in other places in England, would introduce a far greater change in the representative system than ever could be effected by the measure which he recommended. He despaired of ever seeing the Representative Franchise transferred from a rotten borough to a populous manufacturing district, unless in some such way as that he had mentioned. He was anxious that the fair claims of these great towns to have Representatives should be strongly impressed upon the Legislature. It was upon such grounds that he supported the Motion of the noble Lord. The noble Lord's Motion would certainly have been more satisfactory to him if it had gone, as he (Mr. Huskisson) had the other night recommended the House to do, to transfer at once the Franchise from East Retford to the populous and important town of Birmingham: but he hoped that however he and the noble Lord might differ in some details on the road, they might arrive together at the end of their journey.

Lord *W. Powlett* said, that having always voted against Reform, he was anxious to state the reasons why he should vote for the Motion of his noble friend. A distinct grievance had been brought before the House for which a remedy was proposed that was at once safe and in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. Mr. Justice Blackstone stated, that as trade is of a fluctuating nature and not long fixed in a place so *pro re nata* it was formerly left to the Crown to summon the most flourishing towns to send Representatives. While he was on that account disposed to admit the claims of Birmingham, Leeds, and Manchester, they being the three chief seats of the three great manufactures of iron, wool and cotton, he did not think that a valid reason for conceding a similar privilege to other towns nearly as wealthy and populous perhaps as these, but having with them an identical interest. Thinking, too, with Lord Chatham, that the corruption of boroughs was the infirmity of our Constitution to which there was a necessity to submit, he, for one, was not disposed to deform the Constitution by the abolition of a single borough. He was afraid that by attempting to amputate this limb though he admitted it was mortified, he might be the death of the patient. The House of Commons was destined to represent all classes, and he knew not how the members of the Law and of the Army and Navy could ever find their way into that House unless by means of the boroughs. But for them he was afraid the Representation would become a conflict between the popular and the aristocratic interests, and the middle classes possessing much of the wealth of society though diffused among many individuals, would be excluded from all share of the Representation. Thinking it right that the great trading towns it was proposed to admit into the Representation deserved that favour, seeing, too, that they had grown into existence since the scheme of Representation was formed, protesting however, against the admission of their being made a precedent for admitting any other towns to the same favour, he would heartily support the Motion of his noble friend, as a means of staying all plans of wild and visionary Reform.

Mr. *Bright* said, that though he had always opposed every project of general Reform, he had always felt that when any case of practical grievance in the representative system was brought under the notice of the House, it was the duty of the House to endeavour to apply a remedy to it. He contended that the plan of amending the Representation, which had that night been proposed by the noble Lord, was no innovation on the Constitution, but in strict conformity with the plan upon which the House of Commons had been formed, and by which the number of its Members had been gradually increased until it had become what he honestly believed it to be—the real representation of the people. After taking an historical review of the mode in which the Representative system had sprung up in counties, cities, and boroughs, and showing its consistency with the project of Reform proposed by the noble Lord, he proceeded to express his regret that the noble Lord who had proposed the Amendment should have introduced any division of opinion on a Question where unanimity was so desirable. He hoped that those Members who had influence with that noble Lord would exert it in inducing him to withdraw his Amendment. As to the assertion that the large manufacturing towns were adequately represented by the county Members, he could by no means agree to it. The education of county Members was not in general directed to those minute details of commerce with which it was incumbent that the Representatives of manufacturing towns should be intimately acquainted. The argument that if they granted the Elective Franchise to those three large towns they could not refuse to grant it to other unrepresented towns of equal population was, in his opinion, deserving of little attention. When such towns rose up in the country, the proper time would arise for considering the propriety of extending the Elective Franchise to them also. Let the House, by the experiment of that night, try whether it could not gain the confidence of the manufacturing population, by giving to these three large manufacturing towns the right of electing representatives, who should at once know their feelings, and be able to make known their wants and wishes.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, that he should follow the example of the noble Lord in that path in which alone he knew that he should be able to follow it successfully—he meant the moderation with which the noble Lord had approached the discussion of this important Question. The noble Lord had brought it forward with a temperance and ability which were calculated to conciliate assent to a doubtful proposition in as great a degree as it was possible to conciliate it. Long as he had been in Parliament, and frequently as he had been present at discussions upon Parliamentary Reform, it so happened that it had never been his lot upon any occasion to take any part in the great debates to which he had listened upon it. He had felt the subject to be so completely exhausted on both sides by the preeminent ability which had been devoted to it, that he had always contented himself with giving a silent vote, and thus he approached the present discussion unfettered by any opinions except such as had been expressed by the votes which he had uniformly given against Parliamentary Reform. Though he had not taken any active part in prior debates, he had maturely weighed the arguments which had been advanced both in favour of and in opposition to Reform, in the spirit of a witness of the contest rather than in that of a partisan; and having maturely weighed those powerful arguments which were first brought forward by Mr. Burke, and afterwards no less ably by his late right hon. friend Mr. Canning, he confessed that they had established to his mind conclusive proof of the great danger that there was in tampering on slight grounds with the Constitution. He thought that the argument of those two great men, that we were not to seek the principles of the Representation of the House of Commons, either in any fine-spun theories of democracy, or in any of the institutions of the free republics of ancient times, and that we could not find, in any portion of the history of England, any trace of any principle of democratic representation to serve as a model for a reconstruction of the Representative system; he thought, he said, that those arguments were decisive upon the points for which they were advanced. His late right hon. friend, Mr. Canning, had argued that the constitution of the House of Commons was founded on prescription—that we lived under a limited Monarchy—that we had a House of Lords, and a King—that the House of Commons was only one branch of the Legislature—and that if we admitted a democratic principle of Reform we should give to the House of Commons that overwhelming power which would render it inconsistent with the existence of the House of Lords or of a limited Monarchy. As to the effects produced by the House of Commons, and the operation of that assembly upon the country, he must say that he saw nothing in either which led him to think that an alteration in the mode of its construction was necessary. For his own part, he completely distrusted the prophecies which had been uttered respecting the beneficial results of such an alteration. It had been said that the adoption of a scheme of Reform would, by the infusion of a greater portion of the popular voice into that assembly, discourage the expenditure of public money and the embarkation of the country into improvident votes for war. He believed that the doctrine of Universal Suffrage would find but few advocates in that place; but if hon. Members were to be rendered infinitely more subservient to the will of the people than they were at present, he doubted much whether the House would be a whit the less inclined to war than it had hitherto shown itself. The examples of the ancient republics of Rome and Athens, and also those of the republics of more modern times—he meant Genoa and France,—which all for a time had possessed popular governments, would not by any means favour the inference, that because the Government was popular there was a disinclination in the people to involve their country in war and its concomitant expenditure. Looking at the history of our own country, he must say, that he did not think that the commencement of the various wars which England had waged during the last century, had ever been against the inclination of the people. He knew that in many cases the ratification of peace had been unpopular; but in no case that he was acquainted with, had the commencement of the war been unpopular. That there had been periods in which the people had shown themselves tired of the continuance of the war, he readily admitted; but nothing was more different, as the House would agree, than the commencement of a war and the bringing of it to a conclusion. He had lately had occasion to read the able and eloquent speech which Mr. Burke made in the year 1780 to the electors at Bristol, —on the occasion of an election, of which the result as every body knew, was unfavourable to his wishes. What was the cause of his unpopularity? One of them undoubtedly was his attempt to dissuade the House of Commons, first, from embarking in the American war, and afterwards from continuing it. At the commencement of the speech Mr. Burke stated manfully to his constituents that he had done all he could to persuade the Legislature not to sanction the war. He recollected that Mr. Burke said, that at the first outbreaking of the war Bristol was divided in opinion as to its fitness and propriety; that the unfortunate victory, which we obtained at Long Island, altered the state of that opinion; that the whole nation was excited by it to almost universal phrenzy; and that being so excited, he was unwilling to present himself to his constituents, so unpopular was he aware that he had become. With regard to the war which commenced in 1793, it was impossible to contend that its commencement was adverse to public feeling. He recollected that almost immediately after it broke out, Mr. Fox moved in that House a resolution condemnatory of it. He found only forty-six members of the House inclined to support that resolution; whilst the number of those who declared themselves in favour of the war was two-hundred and seventy-eight. It might be said that, at that time, no more than at the present, was the House of Commons the Representative of the people. To meet that argument, he had taken the trouble of dissecting the division, and so far was it from being the fact that the Representatives of the most populous places all voted with Mr. Fox, that in Mr. Fox's minority there were only to be found six county Members, and thirteen Members representing any towns which deserved to be called populous. He therefore inferred that if the Representative system had been more popular than it was, there would not have been any disposition, either in the House or in the people of whom it was the Representative, to discourage war. Neither could he come to the conclusion that it was necessary to make a Reform in the construction of the House of Commons to encourage hon. Members to make useful Reforms in our civil institutions; and if any thing had been wanted to confirm him in that opinion, he had found it in the speech which had that evening been delivered by an hon. and learned Gentleman. The greater part of that hon. and learned Gentleman's speech was founded on the assumption that there was an improper control exercised over the House by the Minister of the day, and a want of the proper control which ought to be exercised over it by the people. And yet what did the hon. and learned Gentleman say? "Matters," said he, "are very different now from what they were in the years 1806 or 1807. Then we should have been unable to carry any species of Reform in any branch of the public service. We should have been met with the cry of innovation, and have been borne down by large majorities; but the case is not so now; let any useful reform be proposed, either in the Army, or in the Navy, or in the law, and that reform is sure to be adopted." If, then, the House of Commons were so constituted as to adopt all useful reforms which were proposed to it in other cases, surely the hon. and learned Gentleman had not established the existence of a necessity for its reforming itself, because upon all occasions it had come to the conclusion that a reform of itself was neither useful nor necessary. The very circumstance which the hon. and learned Gentleman had quoted as a proof that a Reform of the House of Commons was necessary, was to his (Mr. Peel's) mind a convincing proof that it was not necessary. He did not believe that, under any other constitution of the House of Commons, there would be a greater desire than there was under the present calumniated system to do every thing to promote the happiness and to secure the true glory of the country. The adoption of the wild scheme of Universal Suffrage would not, in his opinion, incline the House more than it was inclined at present to protect the people from oppression, and to give every facility to the exertion of their energies and industry. Speaking of Universal Suffrage, he could not help being struck by a circumstance which had come to his knowledge in consequence of a question which had been put to him on a former evening by the hon. and learned Member for Clare, respecting the law of a country, which had the benefit, if benefit it were, of acting on the system of Universal Suffrage. He was anxious at all times to speak of the United States with respect, and it was not from any feeling of ill-will or dislike that he was now going to draw a contrast between their institutions and our own, which was not very favourable to the former. It would be in the recollection of the House, that the hon. and learned Member for Clare had asked him whether he had heard of a law which had been passed by the Legislature of one of the United States—he meant Georgia—by which, under pretence of erecting a guard against infection, all vessels coming into the ports of that State having a man of colour on board were put under quarantine for forty days, and which otherwise contained some strange enactments against men of colour. Since that question had been put to him, he had had an opportunity of referring to the law of which that enactment undoubtedly formed a part. In Georgia, where the plan of Universal Suffrage was in full perfection—

Mr. *O'Connell.*—No, no; there is in that country a slave population.

Mr. *Peel* apprehended that every freeman in Georgia had a right of voting, and therefore, as far as the whites were concerned, the Legislative Assembly of Georgia owed its origin to Universal Suffrage. Now, making all allowances for the feelings which were naturally generated by the possession of slaves, he did not think that any House of Commons elected under the present system would, even if it had possessed a slave population, have passed an Act which contained two such clauses as were now in the Act passed by the Georgian legislature. It was enacted, "That if any slave or free person of colour should circulate, or cause to be circulated, or should aid in circulating or in causing to be circulated in the State of Georgia, any written paper exciting slaves to insurrection, that person should be punished with death." That enactment was extraordinary enough; but the second enactment was still more extraordinary. It enacted, "That if any negro, free person of colour, or white person, should teach any negro to read or write any character, either printed or written, the said negro, free person of colour, or white person, should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and punished by fine and whipping, or by fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the Court, the fine not to exceed 500 dollars, but the imprisonment to be at the discretion of the Court." Making every allowance, he repeated, for the feeling which in Georgia must naturally be excited by the possession of a slave population, he must again repeat that he did not think that we, with our election system, and without any system of Universal Suffrage, should ever have passed a law which would sentence to fine and whipping those who might have been kind hearted enough to teach a negro to read. No; that could never be the case, even in our own West-Indian Islands. On these grounds, looking both at the ancient constitution of the House and at the practical effects produced upon the country by our existing Representative system, he could find no reason for running the risk of losing the actual advantages which we enjoyed, for the hypothetical and contingent good which some hon. Members anticipated, he thought without sufficient foundation, from the accomplishment of Reform.

With respect to the proposition of the noble Lord, he could not help remarking that it appeared to him that great objections existed against the adoption of his limited plan. Some of those objections had been ably pointed out by the noble Lord who had moved the Amendment; and here he would remark, that nothing could be more unfounded than the hon. and gallant General's insinuation, that the noble Lord, in proposing it, had acted in concert with his Majesty's Government. For his own part, he could safely affirm, that until he heard it that evening in the House, he had not received the slightest intimation that any such Amendment would be moved. To return, however to the consideration of the original Motion. The noble Lord who brought it forward, proposed that they should add to the House of Commons six fresh Representatives, who were to represent three large towns, whose names he had mentioned: and in order to get rid of the objection which naturally arose to his plan of adding to the numbers of the House, the noble Lord further proposed to get rid of the additional number which he thus created, by cutting it off whenever any dereliction of duty should hereafter be proved against any corrupt boroughs. The noble Lord's proposition had been met by the objection that it was contrary to the Articles of Union with Scotland and also with Ireland, to make any addition to the representation of any part of the United empire; and though he (Mr. Peel) had listened to the various answers which had been given in the course of the debate to that objection, he had not found any of them to deserve any weight. He believed that the House, by acceding to the noble Lord's proposition, would commit an infraction of the Act of Union with Scotland,—an infraction which there was nothing in the Act of last Session to justify. Every Member who had yet spoken had taken it for granted that the Act of last Session was a violation of the Act of Union. He had contended last Session that it was no such thing, and if so, it could be no justification for the Motion of the noble Lord. As forty-five Members were fixed by treaty as the number of Representatives for Scotland, with reference to the number for England, he held that to add six Members to the number of Representatives for England, without making a proportionate addition for Scotland, would be a direct infraction of that treaty. He agreed with the noble Lord that they were not compelled to go back to Acts passed in the year 1706 to control their deliberations, or even their Act for the present benefit of the country; but what answer, he would ask the noble Lord, could he make to Scotland, if she were to ask him, "Why, when you are adding to the representation of England, do you not make a corresponding addition to my representation?" It would shake the confidence which the people of Scotland felt in the House, if the House agreed to this proposition [*cries of "Oh no!" and laughter*]. He maintained that it would shake that confidence. Scotland, he admitted, had no right to deprive us of any benefit on account of the Act of Union; but then Scotland had a right to demand that the same measure of justice which we meted out to ourselves should at the same time be meted out to her. The noble Lord's proposition was therefore objectionable, not merely because it would add six additional Members to the representation, but also because it would render it necessary to add a proportionate number to keep up the comparative equality of the representation for Scotland and Ireland. He had also another objection to it. The number six, which the noble Lord had selected as his limit of additional Members, was an arbitrary number. It proceeded on no fixed principle, and if the House consented that night to adopt it, they would soon have similar applications to the present, showing that Sheffield and Halifax had as good a right to be represented as Manchester and Leeds; and having given up the principle, they would have great difficulty in returning a proper answer to such applications. It likewise appeared to him that the proposition of the noble Lord was not altogether consistent with the dignity of one branch of the Legislature. He had heard of supernumerary knights of the Bath, and of supernumerary commissioners at some public boards; but he had never before heard of that which it was now proposed to give to the House, six supernumerary Members of Parliament, to be provided for, according to the phrase of his hon. and gallant friend, as casualties might arise,—a plan which was novel in principle, and have no benefit to countervail the evil to which it might give rise. Look at any public establishment in which supernumeraries were allowed, and see what was the consequence. Where the number of commissioners was fixed, it was only necessary to state that fact, and there was an end to applications; but if the Board admitted supernumeraries, each applicant thought that he had particular grounds on which he ought to be appointed, and thus applications were made without end. Thus it would be with regard to the Representation if the House should assent to the noble Lord's proposition. Why fix on six supernumerary Members? Why not have more? With respect to the operation of the Elective Franchise as a safety-valve, he did not think that those places which were not represented were more open to disturbances than those which were represented,—that Manchester and Leeds, for example, were less tranquil than Nottingham and other places, which possessed this safety-valve. The noble Lord had stated that nothing could be more extraordinary than the growth in wealth and importance of Manchester; but whilst he (Mr. Peel) admitted as a general principle that popular representation was necessary, Manchester and the other towns had not suffered by the absence of it. Again, although Sheffield had not been perhaps quite so prosperous as Leeds and Birmingham, that was no reason why it should be excluded. Although he dissented from the Motion of the noble Mover, he could not vote for the Amendment of the other noble Lord, because the assumption of six additional Members would be inconsistent with the Act of Union of England and Ireland, and because it opened the door to constant inroads. He would also remind the noble Lord, that one of the first appeals that would be made, after the adoption of the measure, would be for an addition to the landed interest in the House. Because if in the number of Members there were forty commercial Members to sixty county Members, and therefore six to four, if the noble Lord now added a proportion of six to nothing, the proportion was not equal. On these grounds he opposed the Motion; and he thought the Amendment open to objection. The noble Lord (Sandon) proposed that the House should punish corruption and bribery wherever it should be found to exist. But it was the duty of the House to do so, and he was prepared to co-operate with the noble Lord in so doing. But before the House had a case to consider, why should it tie up its hands as to the appropriation of the vacant Franchise? How did the House know what might be the circumstances of the next case? The noble Lord proposed that the House should pledge itself as to its future intentions, either to give the privilege to counties or to large towns. The Motion was exceedingly vague, and he (Mr. Peel) saw no object that could be gained by it; but he did see a great objection in principle, in the House tying itself down to a measure, without a knowledge of the circumstances of the case. Bribery might exist in a small borough, which might be properly punished by throwing the votes into the hundreds. But before the privilege was transferred to a county or a great city, the proof of the crime should be entire and complete. At all events it was exceedingly inconvenient for the House to tie down its hands by a measure of this kind; and on this ground he must oppose the Amendment. The course he should take would be the same as on the other night. If the Motion of the noble Mover were negatived, the noble Lord might propose his Amendment as a substantive Motion. One word in reply to what fell from the hon. and gallant General (Gascoyne), who stated that the Government had not the confidence of the country, and that he differed from Ministers not only on the Catholic Question, but on other points; and the hon. and gallant General had been severe upon his (Mr. Peel's) political conduct. But *cuique suum;* when the hon. and gallant General taunted him with deserting his former course, he should have selected some better occasion of doing it, than when he was about to desert his own previously avowed principles in supporting the Motion of the noble Lord (Russell). With respect to the remark of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Dr. Lushington), he agreed with him that it was not right or consistent with the duty of a Minister of the Crown, so to tie himself down to a party as to be a mere instrument for effecting the objects they had in view. It was utterly inconsistent with the duty of a Minister thus to act; and whatever temporary sacrifice he might be called on to make, he (Mr. Peel) should continue to act rather as his conscience dictated than as either the populace or a party demanded. When the hon. and learned Gentleman spoke of pursuing that line of conduct which should scorn popular applause, whilst it promoted the interests of the country, he must say that there were temptations on the other side, which were to be guarded against—he meant deferring too much to the applause of the populace. He believed that the true course was the medium,—that the Ministers should not be the servants of a party, nor, by consulting popular applause, lose sight of the interests of the country.

Mr. *Brougham* commenced by declaring himself highly gratified by the candid and manly manner in which the right hon. Secretary had addressed himself to the discussion of the Question. He hailed it with delight, as a circumstance auspicious to the great cause he had so long advocated, that he had heard a Minister of the Crown give his sentiments with a degree of candour and temper which he had never before witnessed coming from that quarter on such a question. [*hear !*] He trusted, therefore, that in the few observations with which he proposed to trouble the House, he should not deviate from that course which it had given him such high satisfaction to see pursued by the right hon. Gentleman, or stray from that feeling he (Mr. Peel) had expressed, in the hope he might not lose sight of the moderation observed by the noble Lord who had introduced the Question, if he (Mr. Brougham) stated his objections to the opinions which were so ably and temperately supported by the right hon. Secretary. And if, in following the right hon. Gentleman through the line of argument he had adduced, he (Mr. Brougham) should advert to the grounds upon which that right hon. Gentleman had fixed their foundation, if he should find it necessary to advert to the general question of Parliamentary Reform, instead of confining himself to the question immediately before the House, he begged to be considered as doing so unwillingly. The noble Lord, who brought forward a Motion confined and specific in its object, had yet deviated into that general question of Parliamentary Reform; but he would rather a great deal that he had confined himself to the specific proposition, which a man might support, although he were opposed to the general question of Parliamentary Reform, as he believed was the case with the hon. Member opposite and the noble Lord the Member for Durham, who had declared their adhesion to the present Motion because they were opposed to a sweeping alteration. But since the question had been broached in its generality, he could not refrain from following the right hon. Gentleman. He was not one of those who believed that if a larger portion of popular opinion had been infused into the councils of that House by means of a more popular representation, that a perfect security would be afforded against that most enormous of all calamities — that calamity which was boundless in its extent, and unmeasurable in the evils it entailed—that calamity, in short, which involved every form, degree, and species of public injury—he meant a state of war. [*hear*] But if he could for a moment be led to believe that bringing a greater quantity of popular feeling to bear upon that House would have the effect, by making even that slender alteration, which was all it could produce, of weakening the security now possessed against that most horrible of all calamities, he would not say that he would decide by that against the measure of Reform, but it certainly would make him pause and review that which had been the opinion of his life. He freely confessed that this security might not be increased by the change contemplated, but he contended that principles and practice alike might satisfy them, as they had satisfied him, that this security would not be lessened. He agreed that the American war and the French war were not simply and merely the work of the then existing Parliament. He said not this so much in praise of those who had preceded them, as out of common justice. No; he allowed that that criminal love of the false phantom which was worshipped by its silly votaries under the title of National Glory, then pervaded all classes of the people. He allowed that all men then looked with a feverish anxiety for those trophies which were to be purchased by the tears, and blood, and treasures of their country, and by the enduring woes of the existing generation, while those miseries which know no end—those curses which never die—were inflicted upon their children, who were now in sorrow, in sadness—in all but hopelessness—reaping the bitter fruits which had been bequeathed to them by the folly, or madness, or criminality of their ancestors. [*loud cheers*] He acknowledged that the crimes of both these wars—the American and the French war—were not confined to the Parliament; but were shared by those who returned the Members to that House, and by those who were neither representatives nor constituents. The common cry and the general feeling urged them on, and so forsooth, the community was implicated in the crime and folly of those wars. But there was a remark to be made upon this subject; why did not the representatives of the people, though they were not the sole originators of these wars, impose some restraint upon the delusion of the nation? Why did not they, in whom such pure wisdom was presumed to reside, look with a more philosophic eye upon the state of things? Why did not they, who were influenced by no popular feelings or opinions, who, as they were told, were the representatives of the talent and learning of the nation, why did not they interfere to check the delusion of the day, and convince the unfortunate people of their error? [*hear, hear*] In the various panegyrics which he had read upon the House of Commons, if he remembered rightly, there was one which applauded it as being partly composed of popular Members, who were returned by the voice of the multitude; and of others not so chosen, who represented the wisdom, the knowledge, and the intelligence of the country. Why, then, he would ask, did they not check that irregular motion upon the part of the people—that motion which in their infallible wisdom they ought to have seen must have entailed upon them the most direful effects? But did they do so? No, all that could be urged in their favour was, that the people were as bad as the parliament; but they could not deny that the parliament was as bad as the people. There was another point on which he wished to touch—a point which, to his great surprise, had escaped the right hon. Gentleman and his hon. and learned friend. In the beginning he freely confessed that the parliament was backed and incited by the people, and that therefore there must have been a war whether the parliament fancied it or not. Now the assertion was at least a hundred years old, that in some cases the rabble were right, and in some cases they were wrong; here they were wrong It was true that in the years 1776 and 1777, the people were wild for war—it was also true that Mr. Burke had fallen into some disgrace with his constituents for advocating contrary measures; but this, he wished to observe, arose in a great measure out of local circumstances; without meaning to offer any offence to the hon. Member for Bristol, he might take leave to remark that the good city of Bristol was particularly interested in the question [*hear, and laughter*]: but the people in general, after the French had taken part in the American war—whatever might have been the feeling of certain contractors and jobbers in particular parts—did certainly see their error; and he could decidedly say that, generally speaking, the American war had outlived its popularity—that the French war had also outlived its popularity was a proposition so clear that it could not be denied. The people who suffer from the calamities of a war were always those who first wished to have an end of it, rather than their rulers, who, in the discharge of their splendid duties, and in the compromise of their high honour, were too apt to forget the sufferings of those beneath them; therefore, though both wars might have been produced under a more popular representation of the people, yet would they have been brought to a more speedy conclusion. The right hon. Secretary, in alluding to the Americans, (and he (Mr. B.) was disposed to concur in that feeling of respect, and even to add, esteem and friendship for that people, so far as their conduct would allow); the sentiments, however, of the right hon. Secretary were not always those which he had heard from that Bench—he, therefore, hailed them with much pleasure; he regretted with the right hon. Secretary that so disgraceful a set of regulations should exist upon the Statute-book of any country; but he denied, as strongly as possible, that they proved anything against the great question of Parliamentary Reform. Now, he maintained that they would not afford the slightest iota of a reason even against that species of reform which was usually designated Universal Suffrage, and proceeded to an extent he had never advocated. No, the cruel, the disgraceful, the inhuman statute of Georgia did not afford the shadow of a shade of argument against reform. He said, on the contrary, that if he were disposed to maintain the expediency of Universal Suffrage, he should rest his foot on that disgraceful page, and declare that it was because the Representation was restricted—because there was not in the whole body that law affected, one single voice raised in the choice of the Legislature; and for this reason was it that the page referred to blackened and condemned the code of Georgia—Was it true that they had there enacted the most cruel and revolting penalties—against themselves? against their constituents? against the Members of the Legislature?—No; but against those whom they never once allowed to raise their voice in the choice of a representative. These were cruel statutes enacted against those who were there the coloured population, wherein one made it a capital offence against any one who should teach a slave to read or write—a law which it was quite clear could never have been passed, had these slaves been capable of admission to the Legislature or Representation. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the House would not do so—that the Legislature of this country would never enact such statutes. He had a very high respect for that House, and should be extremely loth to offer it the least offence, but he doubted if he could trust it were such a proposition laid before it in the regular way, and if it were in the same situation with respect to the people as the legislature of Georgia; for it was most specially to be taken into consideration that in Georgia there was a race stamped with a marked difference, and that by a municipal law, coexistent with the very law of nature itself, and prohibited from all interference in the Legislature and Government of the country, that House, were it placed under such circumstances, it might be inferred, would act as he could show it had done on other occasions. Let the House only remember Ireland; he was reluctant, however, to rake up recollections that might be better forgotten, or to state anything bordering upon a personal allusion. He wished merely to refer to matters of history, and looking thus, what law did he find in our oldest English Colony—in Barbadoes, which was called Little England? The law was this—that if any white person should by inadvertence or so forth (enumerating all the varieties of chance-medley and manslaughter) kill a person of colour, he should go free, but if he should kill him under those circumstances which constituted a murder, that he should be fined in the sum of 11*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* [*hear, and laughter.*] Now he should boldly take upon himself to say, that in all the North American States no such law disgraced their Statute Books—a law produced under those most unfortunate of all circumstances, when a passion of fear mastered deliberative legislation. He felt that it might be tiresome to the House to argue those questions which had been so often discussed before; but he could not avoid feeling that they had acquired a sort of fresh interest from the temperate manner in which they had been that night considered. One of the last points on which the right hon. Secretary had dwelt was, the excessive influence which would be given to the House of Commons by a truly popular Representation. The argument was one, which, if not originally Mr. Burke's, had at least been rendered his by the genius with which it was applied; and it went to this:—the influence of the people over the Commons would become so great, and the strength of the House, from its being really as well as nominally a representation of the people, would be so excessive, that there would be no security for the House of Lords, or even for Majesty itself. But he would ask, what was it that really supported the Crown and the Aristocracy, but the circumstance that the majority of the people preferred a Government composed of King, Lords, and Commons? What security was there even with the corrupt boroughs in their present state; even if no popular voice could be heard in that assembly, what was in fact, practically, soberly, and calmly speaking, that which gave security for the permanency of the present institutions, not only of the Aristocracy and of the Crown, but of that House itself, except that the great bulk of the people, however they might be for the moment discontented and dissatisfied, were a loyal and orderly people; and, if even tolerably well treated, were not desirous of revolutions? In his conscience he believed that that was their best security; and he had no desire to see a people so attached to kingly government—so attached to the aristocracy that he would venture to say no man who might have seen all the world besides, would ever have seen any people under the sun more attached to them—he said he had no desire to see such people treated with indifference. Those who were in favour of reform hoped to see not these institutions attacked, or their influence diminished, but the influence of the people more regarded. They wished to substitute influence by force, love for fear, and confidence for distrust; and by so doing they should confirm the stability of existing institutions, but weaken the popular attachment to them. He felt that in thus going into the general question he had been drawn away from the proper topic of the discussion, which was, whether the three great towns mentioned by the noble Lord should have the privilege of sending representatives to Parliament. He would not deny that popular opinion and feeling had found their way into that House, but his objection was, that they were too long in getting there; and in proof of this he would mention, not a recent subject—for he wished to avoid creating uneasiness in the minds of any men—but one which had long gone by, and which remained long enough to be the greatest disgrace upon the Legislature — he meant the African Slave Trade, which had been condemned by the whole country twenty years before it was abolished by Parliament. His honourable friend, the Member for Tregony, had alluded to the practical evils felt by the country in consequence of Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, having no Representatives in that House. He would refer them to one strong instance of these evils. During the discussions in late years upon commercial distress — discussions in which these towns were so deeply interested—they sent up deputations, who held a sort of Parliament of their own on the other side of Palace-yard, and were obliged, as they had no representatives of their own, to apply to Members for other towns, and to intrust to them the task of laying their opinions and wishes before Parliament. They were obliged to rely on strangers for that which should have been done by their own Representatives. These towns felt the pressure of this evil, and that single circumstance made them change their opinions on Parliamentary Reform; and from the friends of things as they were, and the opponents of any change, they swerved round to the other side, and were now in the van of those who called for a temperate but a practical Reform. This Motion seemed to him to be almost without objection. It was not, as it had been supposed, an infringement of the Treaty of Union with Scotland; for he did not hesitate to assert that that Treaty, while it asserted the right of Scotland to send a certain number of Peers and Commoners to Parliament, did not limit the number that England was to have. But the Treaty did affect to protect heritable jurisdictions; yet in 1746 they were abolished, the argument being the *salus populi*, to the conviction of which the Scotch Peers and Commoners had yielded, and the heritable jurisdictions, for the safety of England and the well-being of Scotland, were abolished. But after that, what was the Union with Ireland but a Parliamentary Revolution, not a Reform; it added one hundred Commoners, and he did not know how many Peers, to the Parliament—and yet, though that Union was strongly debated in Ireland and gravely discussed here, the Scotch Representatives did not object to it as an infraction of the Treaty of Union with Scotland. From the terms of that Treaty and the practice of both countries, there was certainly no objection to the present Motion, which was a restoration of, not an innovation upon, the Constitution. There was one topic more against which he hoped the House would be on its guard. It was included in the question, "Where will this end?" Such an answer to a Motion would preclude all improvement. Arm him with that topic, and find him men simple enough to be misled by it; and then, if he had no other principle or doctrine, provided he were backed by men timid or thoughtless enough to be scared by such a maxim, he would desire no better security for things as they were, the whole of things as they were, and nothing but things as they were. They would never see improvements of any kind—never see Reform—nor would abuses ever be attacked with the slightest prospect of success. He hoped and trusted better things, both from the right hon. Gentleman and from the House. He said, with the right hon. Gentleman, let the Ministers proceed on their own principles, and towards their own good purpose—let them not be deterred, on the one hand, by fears of the doctrines which that right hon. Gentleman had already proscribed and repudiated; but let them not, on the other hand, be attracted by the silly, groundless, chances of that popularity which had no charms, when it was not founded upon reason, information, and sound principles—let them indeed love that popularity which ever followed good deeds when it was not sought after—and let that right hon. Gentleman respect the feelings of the people when they coincided with the dictates of reason and of his own good judgment; if he did that there was no doubt that he would be found among the warmest and most sincere supporters of the Motion; and he would find that the confidence and approbation of the country would ever follow the adoption of measures such as that now proposed. [*loud cheering.*]

As soon as the honourable and learned Gentleman had resumed his seat, the cry of "Reply!" arose; but it was quickly drowned in the still stronger cry of "Divide, withdraw!" and the Gallery having been cleared, the House divided, when there appeared—

For the Motion 140; Against it 188; Majority 48;—Adjourned.

List of the Majority and also of the Minority.

MAJORITY.

Alexander, J.
Alexander, H.
A'Court, Captain
Astley, Lord
Astley, Sir J.
Apsley, Lord
Antrobus, G.
Atkins, Alderman
Arbuthnot, hon. C. L.
Arbuthnot, Colonel
Acland, Sir T.
Belfast, Lord
Bankes, H.
Bankes, W.
Bankes, G.
Beresford, Sir J.
Beresford, M.
Balfour, J.
Bastard, Captain
Bastard, E.
Beckett, Sir J.
Byron, T.
Baillie, Colonel
Burrell, W.
Barnes, Col. M.
Brudenell, Lord
Bell, M.
Barclay, D.
Boyle, hon. J.
Baker, E.
Bridges, Sir J.
Castlereagh, Lord
Cholmondeley, Ld. H.
Courtenay, rt. hn. F. P.
Cecil, Lord W.
Clerk, Sir G.
Cockburn, Sir G.
Calvert, J.
Carrington, Sir E.
Capel, J.
Clive, hon. R.
Clive, H.
Cotterell, Sir J.
Calcraft, hon. J.
Corry, hon. H.
Corry, Lord
Campbell, A.
Campbell, J.
Cole, Sir C.
Cartwright, W.
Cocks, J.
Chaplain, Colonel
Chaplin, C.
Chandos, Marquis
Croker, J. W.
Cooper, R. B.
Downie, R.
Dundas, Hon. W.
Douglas, W. K.
Doherty, J.
Darlington, Lord
Dick, H.
Dowdeswell, J. E.
Downes, Lord
Dalrymple, Colonel
Dottin, A. R.
Drummond, H.
Dawkins, H.
Daly, J.
Eastnor, Lord
East, Sir E. H.
Eliot, Lord
Encombe, Lord
Estcourt, T. H.
Estcourt, T.
Ellison, C.
Egerton, W.
Fane, J.
Farquhar, J.
Freemantle, Sir T.
Foster, L.
Fane, General
Fleming, J.
Graham, Marquis
Graham, Colonel
Goulburn, hon. H.
Gilbert, D.
Grant, Sir A.
Gower, Lord L.
Hardinge, hn. Sir H.
Hastings, Sir C.
Hay, Lord J.
Hay, A.
Herries, rt. hon. J. C.
Hill, Lord A.
Hill, Sir R.
Hill, hon. Sir G.
Hodgson, F.
Holmes, W.
Hope, H. T.
Hulse, Sir C.
Innes, Sir W.
Irving, John
Jones, J.
King, Sir J. D.
King, hon. R.
Knox, hon. T.
Knox, hon. J.
Leake, W.
Lindsay, Colonel
Lowther, Viscount
Lucy, G.
Lushington, Col. J.
Lygon, hon. Colonel
M'Kenzie, Sir J.
M'Cleod, J. N.
Maitland, hon. Capt.
Manners, Lord C.
Manners, Lord R.
Martin, Sir T. B.
Moore, G.
Morland, Sir S. B.
Mundy, F.
Murray, hon. Sir G.
Meynell, Captain
Noel, Sir G.
North, J. H.
Norton, G. C.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Brien, L.
O'Hara, J.
Owen, Sir J.
Owen, W.
Peachy, General W.
Peel, rt. hon. R.
Peel, W.
Perceval, S.
Petit, L.
Philipps, R. B.
Phipps, hon. Gen.
Powell, Colonel
Prendergast, M. G.
Pringle, Sir W. H.
Palmer, R.
Rae, Sir W.
Rogers, E.
Ross, C.
St. Paul, Sir H.
Sanderson, R.
Sandon, Viscount.
Scott, H.
Seymour, hon. —
Spottiswoode, A.
Shirley, J. E.
Sidney, P. C.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerset, Lord R. E.
Sotheron, Admiral
Stewart, J.
Stopford, Lord
Sugden, Sir E.
Thompson, G. L.
Thynne, Lord J.
Thynne, Lord W.
Thynne, Lord H.
Townshend, hn. J. R.
Trench, Col. F.
Twiss, H.
Ure, M.
Valletort, Lord
Van Homrigh, P.
Vernon, G. G.
Wallace, T.
Walpole, hon. Col.
Walrond, B.
Ward, W.
Warrender, rt. hon. G.
Wigram, W.
Williams, T. C.
Willoughby, H.
Wilson, Col. J.
Worcester, Marquis of
Wortley, hon. J.
Wynn, Sir W.
Wynn, rt. hon. C.
Wood, Colonel

TELLERS.

Dawson, G. R.
Planta, J.

PAIRED OFF.

For	*Against*
Harvey, D. W.	Fane, J.
Cruden, hn. Col.	Arkwright, R.
Lushington, Dr.	Nicholl, Sir J.
Western, C. C.	Peel, Colonel
Baring, A.	Smith, Alderman
Rickford, W.	Cust, E.
Manning, W.	Newport, Sir J.
Macqueen, T.	Portman, E.
Whitbread, S.	Trevor, R.

MINORITY.

Althorp, Lord
Batley, C. H.
Baring, Sir T.
Baring, B.
Baring, F.
Birch, J.
Bright, H.
Bradshaw, Capt.
Brownlow, C.
Blandford, Marquis
Burdett, Sir F.
Beaumont, T. W.
Byng, G.
Brougham, H.
Brougham, J.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Benett, J.
Blake, Sir F.
Buller, C.
Bernal, R.
Callaghan, G.
Clive, E.
Carew, R.
Corbett, P.
Colborne, R.
Crompton, S.
Cradock, Col.
Calthorpe, Col. A.
Calvert, N.
Calvert, C.
Carter, B.
Cavendish, Henry
Cavendish, Wm.
Davenport, E.
Denison, W. J.
Dundas, hon. Sir R.
Dundas, hon. G.
Duncombe, T.
Davies, Colonel
Dawson, A.
Ewart, W.
Easthope, J.
Ebrington, Lord
Euston, Lord
Fazakerley, J. N.
Fortescue, hon. G. M.
Fergusson, Sir R.
Fergusson, C.
Fitzgerald, M.
Fitzgibbon, hon. R.
Fyler, T. B.
Gascoyne, General
Greene, T. G.
Gordon, Robert
Guest, J. J.
Grant, rt. hon. C.
Grant, R.
Guise, Sir W.
Graham, Sir J.
Heneage, G. F.
Hobhouse, J. C.
Heron, Sir R.
Howard, R.
Howard, H.
Honywood, W. P.
Huskisson, rt. hon. W.
Hume, Joseph
Hoye, J. B.
Hutchinson, hn. C. H.
Howick, Lord
Jephson, C. D. O.
Kemp, T. R.
Kekewich, S.
Langston, J. H.
Leslie, B.
Littleton, E.
Labouchere, H.
Lennard, T. B.
Lambert, J. S.
Lamb, hon. G.
Martin, J.
Morpeth, Lord
Maberly, J.
Macdonald, Sir J.
Macauley, T. B.
Marshall, J.
Marshall, Wm.
Marjoribanks, S.
Marryat, J.
Milbank, M.
Monck, J. B.
Nugent, Lord
O'Connell, D.
Ord, W.
Pendarvis, E. W.
Protheroe, E.
Palmerston, Lord
Ponsonby, hon. G.
Ponsonby, W. F.
Philips, G. R.
Poyntz, W. S.
Palmer, C. F.
Pallmer, C. N.
Powlett, Lord W.
Robinson, Sir G.
Rice, T. S.
Ramsbottom, J.
Robarts, A. W.
Robinson, G.
Rumbold, C. E.
Stewart, Sir M. S.
Smith, hon. R.
Sefton, Earl of
Sykes, D.
Slaney, R. A.
Smith, W.
Smith, V.
Sebright, Sir J.
St. Paul, H.
Stanley, Lord
Stanley, E.
Tennyson, C.
Thomson, C. P.
Thompson, Ald.
Townshend, Lord C.
Vernon, G. R.
Villiers, T. H.
Waithman, Ald.
Williams, J.
Westenra, hon. H.
Wall, B.
Whitbread, W.
Whitmore, W. W.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wood, Ald.
Wood, J.
Wood, C.
Wyvill, M.
Wells, J.
Wilson, Sir R.
Warburton, H.

TELLERS.
Russell, Lord J.
Wilbraham, G.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, February 24.

MINUTES.] Mr. DOHERTY gave notice, that his noble friend, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, would to-morrow move for leave to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the Laws for regulating Juries in Ireland.—The Consolidated Fund Bill was read a second time.—The Property in Infants Bill, the Lunatics Property Bill, the Liability of Real Property Bill, and the Contempt in Equity Bill, were severally passed through a Committee.

DRAMATIC WRITINGS.] On the Motion of Mr. Lamb, the Bill for Amending the 54th Geo. III., c. 156, relating to Dramatic Writings, was read a first time.

ILLUSORY APPOINTMENTS.] On the Motion of the Solicitor General, the House resolved itself into a Committee on the Illusory Appointment Bill.

Mr. *Bernal*, after complimenting the Solicitor General on the trouble he had taken to reform this part of the Law, said, that he thought a measure so important as one affecting the whole landed interest of the country which that did, ought not to be hastily passed. One of the topics which would come under the consideration of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Law, was this of Appointments, and it would be better to wait till they had finished their laborious task; they should recommend something different from the Bill of his hon. and learned friend, and to place the House in a situation of embarrassment, and bring the Law into additional confusion. His hon. and learned friend proposed to assimilate the rule of Equity, to the rule of Law. A person might give property, over which he had a power of Appointment, as he chose, giving 100,000*l.* to one child, and passing over another, and such an Appointment would be valid. But, if it appeared that the share was not substantial, but Illusory; relief might be obtained in Equity. The Bill of his hon. and learned friend did away the power of so obtaining relief, for it enacted that the Illusory or nominal Appointment should be valid in Equity, as well as in Law. He could have wished too, in framing so important a measure that technicalities had been avoided, and the rule laid down in plain and comprehensive language. He thought he perceived on this point a difference between the Bill of his hon. and learned friend and a recommendation of the Commissioners he had before alluded to, which induced him to think it would be better not to hurry forward the Bill. His hon. and learned friend had another Bill before the House, making real estates liable for the payment of debts, which as it might be said to remodel the whole Law of property, was a most important measure. He did not understand that the Commissioners he had already twice alluded to, had recommended any such measure, but only that they thought it a fit subject of investigation. He was not himself averse from the principle of that Bill, indeed he highly approved of it; but he knew from the opposition Sir Samuel Romilly had formerly encountered on introducing a similar measure, how much it was likely to be opposed, and therefore he should wish his hon. and learned friend to arm himself with all the authority of those Commissioners, before he pressed it to a decision.

The *Solicitor General* observed, that the Bill then before the Committee had been introduced to the House last Session, but it had been allowed to stand over, and owing to that circumstance it had become generally known, and he was happy to say, was generally approved of. It had been his object not unnecessarily to alter the Law, but to give facilities for administering it. At present if a man left 1000*l.* to his brother, devolving on him the duty of sharing it among his children, instead of sharing it amongst them himself, that might be not a substantial, but an Illusory Appointment. The brother might give to one child 500*l.*, and to another only 100*l.*, and therefore it was, that he thought such general and Illusory Appointments ought not to be sustained. He wished by the measure before the Committee to induce persons to point out specifically how their property should be applied. That was the object of his measure, and it was one to which he felt himself bound to adhere, and which he thought his hon. friend must approve of.

Mr. *Trant* objected to the measure being pressed forward in so thin a House, and recommended the hon. and learned Gentleman to postpone it to some other day.

Mr. *Tennyson* said, he approved of the measure being then discussed, and expressed his approbation of the exertions of his hon. and learned friend in giving up so much of his time to effect improvements in the law,

Mr. *Doherty* also recommended that the measure should be immediately proceeded with, as all those were present who were at any time likely to take part in the discussion.

After a few words from Mr. Tennyson and the Solicitor General,

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that he had an Amendment to propose. They were then speaking in a language that was not generally intelligible; and as the law was made to be obeyed by all, he thought that the first reform ought to be in its language, so that all might understand it. He should be glad, therefore, that what was meant by a substantial share, and an illusory share, both in Equity and Law, should be more clearly defined. Passing from that, however, the Amendment he had to propose, would prevent any person having the power to make an Appointment after the passing of the Act, unless he gave to every child a substantial share. His object was, to make it obligatory on the father to provide for each of his children. It might be said, that he was taking from the parent the power of distributing his property, and he admitted that he meant to limit that power, because he knew that it was sometimes put up to auction, as it were in families, and otherwise much abused. He should prefer seeing it so settled on the child, that this could not occur. He was aware that he should differ on that point from the hon. and learned Gentleman, who was probably attached to the law of primogeniture, but he believed that the public would go along with him, in desiring rather to see an equal diffusion of wealth, than an accumulation of it in enormous masses. He gave the hon. and learned Gentleman credit for his intentions, but having himself reflected much on the subject, he was convinced of the propriety of his own Amendment, and he should propose it, though it might not be carried, in order that it might be entered on the Journals of the House, as he thought it well calculated to put an end to needless litigation.

Mr. *Courtenay* said, the clause of the hon. and learned Member compelling, as he understood it, a parent to divide all his property equally among all the members of his family would prevent him from apportioning his property according to the wants of his children, and would be an unnecessary and unfair restriction. It might be tolerated if the power of a parent were always exercised from whim and caprice; but because that was sometimes the case, the hon. and learned Member would not allow this power to be exercised under the influence of reason which it was in the great majority of cases.

Mr. *O'Connell* admitted that the inconvenience stated by the hon. Gentleman would sometimes occur; but he thought there was only a choice of evils, and that the Amendment he proposed by getting rid of much litigation, would be the least evil of the two.

The *Solicitor General* said, he disapproved of the hon. and learned Gentleman's Amendment which would take away all power from a parent. His own Bill allowed the parent to give either a large or a small sum. One child might be sickly or a cripple, and therefore requiring a larger provision than others. Another might be already provided for by other means, and the clause of the hon. and learned Member would prevent the parent from providing for the wants of his feeble offspring, and would compel him to add to the wealth of a child already rich; because a power of disposing of property might be abused by individuals that was not a sufficient reason for depriving all men of its enjoyment. The same argument would justify every possible restriction, for there was no liberty or power which a man might not and which some men did not abuse. Believing that to adopt the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Clare would be a great calamity, he should resist it.

Mr. *O'Connell* said his object was to prevent abuse by giving aliquot portions of property to each child.

Mr. *Tennyson* agreed with the Solicitor General. He supposed, he said, that the hon. Member for Clare wished to assimilate our law to that of France, which he believed would be a great and even vital injury to the people of this country. There could, perhaps, be no greater evil than to make children independent of their parents. The latter might sometimes abuse their power, but it was the gift of nature and ought not to be destroyed by the law. The Amendment proposed would destroy the aristocracy and dislocate society. It would have a most prejudicial effect, he also believed, on the industry of the people. Parents would not labour and accumulate to be the mere slaves of their children, and to deprive them of the power of disposing of their property would paralyse all their exertions, and be a more serious blow to our national prosperity than all the commercial restrictions that were ever invented. He should certainly oppose the Amendment, both then and afterwards, should the hon. and learned Member submit it to the House as a substantive proposition.

Mr. *Trant* again objected to their proceeding with so important a measure.

The *Attorney General* supported the Bill, and said he was convinced that no Gentleman acquainted with the subject could object to the Bill.

Mr. *Alexander Dawson* also supported the Bill. He said he considered it as tending to remove doubts without making any alteration in the law. At present a lawyer could take his fee, but he could not give an opinion on a case of powers which was entitled to any confidence. It was high time, therefore, that the law should be defined and settled, and in doing that, he did not know that it would be of much importance to the community, whether property were equally or unequally divided. The measure merited his support, because it went to remove the doubts in which the subject was involved, and he, in common with others, felt that the country was deeply indebted to the hon. and learned Gentleman who had brought in the Bill.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, that he thought the Solicitor General had pursued a most praiseworthy course by bringing in a Bill to remedy a particular evil, and not proposing any sweeping measure of Reform. The Bill only went to fix the *minimum* to which any one share in the distribution of property should be reduced, which would prevent litigation and put a stop to Illusory Appointments. At present, if a parent were to divide a sum, say 100,000*l.* among his children, and was to give one child so small a sum that it bore no proportion to the shares of the other children, the law would hold such an Appointment to be Illusory. When the *minimum* was fixed every man might at least know, which he could not do as the law now stood, whether or not he were making an Appointment which the law would not sustain. He thought it very undesirable that the clause limiting the power of parents should be introduced. There were various reasons why the parent should retain the power of making a distribution of property suitable to the wants of his children.

Mr. O'Connell's Amendment was then put and negatived.

Mr. *O'Connell* then proposed another clause as an Amendment, leaving half his property at the free disposal of a parent, and compelling him to divide the other half in aliquot parts among all his children. He did not wish, he said, to deprive a man of the power of disposing absolutely of property which he had acquired by his industry. His plan, however, was consistent with the ancient custom of Gavel-kind, which he considered to be a very rational practice. Nor did he think that the inconveniences dreaded by the hon. Member for Bletchingley (Mr. Tennyson) from the equal distribution of property would be very great. Already a large portion of the property of the country was personal, which was generally so distributed and no inconvenience arose.

After a few words from the Solicitor General, opposing the clause on the ground that no rule could be applied with justice to all families, the Amendment was negatived without a division. The Bill then went through the Committee, and the Report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, Feb. 25.

The Jews.] Lord *Bexley* said, he had been requested to present to their Lordships a Petition from certain British-born subjects, called Jews, praying to be relieved from the disabilities under which they at present laboured. The Petitioners represented that in loyalty and good conduct they yielded to no portion of his Majesty's subjects. The noble Lord observed, that in ancient times, under several Christian monarchs, a system of persecution and cruelty had been adopted against the Jews, in which our ancestors had their share. For three centuries they were nominally excluded from this Island. When they were allowed to return, they did not, it was true, suffer the same degree of persecution as before, their condition was gradually ameliorated, but they still laboured under this difficulty, that their rights were undefined. The laws affecting the Jews were so obscure and uncertain, that the greatest lawyers differed as to their application. This was particularly the case with respect to the question of their right to hold landed property. He would not longer occupy the time of the House, because he understood a proposition was about to be made in the other House of Parliament on the subject. He would merely express a hope that their Lordships would reflect gravely upon the question, and endeavour to shake off the hereditary prejudices which prevailed regarding it, prejudices which he had once entertained in common with others, though he had now brought his mind to think that the claims of the Jews ought to be conceded. He concluded by presenting the Petition.

Welsh Judicature.] Lord *Dynevor* presented a Petition from certain Freeholders, and other inhabitants of the County of Carmarthen, against the proposed alteration of the Welsh Judicature.

Lord *Cawdor* said, he would take that opportunity of alluding to a subject which concerned himself personally. Since his arrival in London, he had seen some observations in the last number of a Review, of considerable circulation, with reference to a statement contained in a letter which he had written to the noble Lord on the Woolsack. The noble Lord then proceeded to explain the circumstance to which he alluded, but in so low a tone that he could with difficulty be heard. As far as we could collect, the matter stood thus:—He had written to the Lord Chancellor to inform him that no money had been paid into the hands of the Accountant General of the Exchequer, under the provisions of an Act which had been passed for the purpose of improving the Courts of Judicature of Wales. His ground for making that statement was, that he had moved for a Return of the money which had been paid under those circumstances, and the Return, when presented, was *nil.* It appeared, that since the Return was made, one solitary sum had been paid into the Accountant-General's office. The Reviewer having knowledge of that fact, had accused him of being incorrect and uncandid, and remarked, 'this is a specimen of the fairness and accuracy of Lord Cawdor.' He trusted that the explanation which he had offered would satisfy their

Lordships that he had neglected no means within his power to obtain correct information. The mistake arose from the Return not being correct.

The Earl of *Eldon* said, that no person who was acquainted with the noble Lord's fairness and integrity upon all occasions could for a moment suppose that he had entertained any wish to deceive. His object in rising was to call the attention of their Lordships seriously to what were called the Improvements of the Welsh Judicature. He was the rather induced to do so, because he had had very great experience with respect to the administration of justice in this country. He believed, then, that it would be a very great grievance to the inhabitants of Wales to take away from them their Equity Courts. He would mention some facts which would make their Lordships understand how he came to entertain that opinion. The inhabitants of Wales had, if they chose to avail themselves of it, the opportunity of coming to the Court of Chancery of England and instituting their suits there. It would, he believed, be found on examination, that during the twenty-five years in which he had had the honour to hold the Great Seal, the inhabitants of Wales had not thought it expedient to apply very frequently to the English Court of Chancery. They also had the opportunity of appealing to their Lordships if they thought the decisions of their own Courts wrong; and he thought it would be expedient to have an Account laid before their Lordships of the number of Appeals which had proceeded from the Welsh Courts of Equity. How many Appeals did their Lordships suppose there had been in the course of twenty-five years? He spoke from memory which, perhaps, was not so good as it had been some years since, but he recollected only one appeal during that time, and on that occasion the judgment of the Court below was affirmed. As temporary Chancellor for the county of Durham for a short period, he had obtained some experience on the matter, and he was persuaded, that to destroy the Equity Courts of Wales, and of the counties of Chester and Durham, would be productive of great mischief.

TERCEIRA.] The Marquis of *Clanricarde* said, he wished to ask a question of the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government. The other evening, during the Debate respecting the affairs of Portugal, the noble Duke stated that he had a high legal opinion in favour of the conduct which had been pursued by Government with respect to the affairs of Portugal, and more particularly with regard to the firing which took place off Terceira. He wished to know whether that opinion were an official document in the possession of Government, and if it were, whether there existed any objection to its being laid before Parliament? Such a proceeding was not, he believed, very unusual, and certainly it was not unparliamentary; and he thought that the Government must be anxious to support the view it had taken of a question with respect to which serious differences of opinion were entertained.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that he certainly was in possession of the opinion which on a former evening he stated to have been given to Government on the subject to which the noble Lord referred; but he believed it was the invariable practice of Ministers not to place such opinions before Parliament.

Lord *Holland* observed, that if it were the invariable practice of Ministers not to furnish Parliament with certain official papers, it was equally the invariable practice of every Minister not to quote such papers. He did not understand what the noble Duke meant. He came down with a legal authority—an official document, the purport of which he stated to their Lordships, but now he told them they must not judge of all the bearings of that document, because it was the invariable practice of Ministers not to furnish Parliament with such documents. He was not certain that the practice was as the noble Duke represented—at all events, he could state an exception to it. It would doubtless be in the recollection of the noble Duke, that about eight or nine years ago Lord Sidmouth, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, issued a Circular, which excited considerable sensation at the time. When his Lordship was called upon for an explanation of his conduct in regard to that Circular (motions were made on the subject), he laid on their Lordships' Table the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor-General in support of what he had done. In conclusion he must repeat, that if the document could not be produced, it was unfair to quote it in order to influence their Lordships' minds.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he was entirely responsible for his own acts, and the other members of his Majesty's Government were equally responsible for their acts. He had stated in argument that he considered the acts of the Government justified by the legal opinion which Ministers had received on the subject, and which of course they had felt it their duty to call for. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack knew perfectly well what the practice was on the subject, and he appealed to him whether it were not the practice to refuse to give up the opinions which the law-officers of the Crown had, when called upon, communicated to the servants of the Crown. The servants of the Crown must take on themselves the responsibility for their own acts.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that whilst he had the honour to hold the offices of Solicitor and Attorney General, his attention had been at different times directed to this point, and though he did not mean to say, that in no one instance had the opinions delivered confidentially by the law-officers of the Crown been communicated to Parliament, he had always understood that it was not the practice to apply for such opinions, nor to lay them before Parliament when applied for. They were considered to be confidential communications from the law-officers of the Crown to the members of Government, for the purpose of guiding their judgment on matters of state. With respect to the particular instance to which his noble friend had alluded, he believed that the opinions of the law-officers were communicated to Parliament by Lord Sidmouth without any application from any Member of either House of Parliament. It was his voluntary act, and he not only made the communication to Parliament, he circulated those opinions through the country at large for the purpose of regulating the conduct of the people.

Lord *Holland* said, he understood from the explanation of the noble and learned Lord, that these confidential papers might be communicated to the public, but not to Parliament. This certainly was the most extraordinary description of confidential papers he had ever heard of. [*a laugh*] An individual might come down to the House, and state the contents of certain papers, in order to influence the judgment of the Members; but when their Lordships asked to see the papers, in order to ascertain whether their contents had been correctly quoted, all at once a mystery was assumed. The papers were secret; they contained confidential communications which must not be known. Lord Sidmouth, it seemed, could not communicate his papers to Parliament until he had first sent them before the public. He supposed that the only chance their Lordships had of getting at the noble Duke's papers was, by his being so good as to confide them, in the first instance, to the public and all Europe. He considered the conduct which was pursued upon this point unparliamentary and unconstitutional; and he hoped that some noble Lord would move for the papers, in order to afford their Lordships an opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the subject.

The Earl of *Eldon* could state, without any difficulty, that thirty years ago, when he had the honour to hold the office of Attorney General, it was not the practice to lay before Parliament the opinions given by the law-officers of the Crown. He remembered it being related of Sir Fletcher Norton, when Attorney General, that in consequence of a motion for the production of an opinion which he had given to the Government, he declared that he would never give a written opinion again, as long as he was Attorney General. If a motion were made for the production of the opinions in the present instance, he would vote against it. But he thought if papers were not to be produced, they ought not to be quoted. That the opinions of the law-officers of the Crown must have considerable influence with the House, was beyond all question. The practice he believed to be, that these opinions ought not to be called for, and that being the case, that they ought not to be quoted. He hoped what had passed would put a stop to the practice of quoting opinions of this nature.

STATE OF THE NATION.] Earl *Stanhope* said, that in rising to submit to the consideration of their Lordships the Motion of which he had given notice some days ago, he deeply regretted that the task had not been undertaken by somebody better qualified to do justice to the subject. It would have been more satisfactory to him, and he was sure more agreeable to their Lordships, if the subject had been brought before them by some person whose abilities, eloquence, information, and experience would have commanded attention, instead of that duty devolving on the humble individual who was now addressing them, whose opinions could be recommended only by the independence and the integrity of his character, and by his ardent desire to promote as far as possible the welfare and happiness of his country. He was aware that motions of the nature of that which he should have the honour to submit had been frequently misrepresented by those who supported any existing Government, and by those who were the advocates of any and every administration, however composed and however carried on. It had been stated by such persons, that his motion for an inquiry into the state of the country was in substance and effect, though not in form, nothing more nor less than a motion to establish a new administration. Had such been his intention, he should have had no hesitation in avowing and defending it, but in that case he should have thought proper to submit a motion of a nature totally different—he should have moved an Address to the King, entreating him to remove for ever from his councils the Ministers by whom his confidence had been abused. It appeared extraordinary that an observation of that nature should have proceeded from such a quarter. Those who called themselves the supporters of Ministers cast upon them a censure the most severe, an imputation the most dishonourable, by representing that a motion for an inquiry into the state of the country would, if successful, have the effect of removing Ministers from office. Was it then admitted by those persons, that error was so plain and palpable, mismanagement so gross and glaring, on the part of Ministers, that their dismissal from office must be the result of inquiry? What would be thought of any officer in a public department, who, being charged with mismanagement, should say, 'For Heaven's sake don't enter upon any inquiry, I shall be dismissed?' If inquiry should confirm the statement made in that extraordinary document, the Speech of the Lords' Commissioners, at the opening of the Session, and recapitulated also in the speech of the noble Duke, to the effect that the distress of the country was partial and temporary, arising from unfavourable seasons, and not caused by Legislative enactments, such a result far from being injurious or embarrassing to Ministers, would be extremely gratifying to them. If Ministers were sincere in the opinions which they expressed, —if they conscientiously believed that the Speech delivered from the Throne gave a true exposition of the present state of the country (which could not be the case unless they were entirely ignorant on the subject), it would be their interest, as well as their duty, to enter upon an inquiry, rather than to shelter themselves behind a majority, which would be possessed by any other individuals holding the same situations and enjoying the same patronage. He thought that the friends of the noble Duke, from the personal veneration which all entertained for him, must most heartily desire an inquiry into the present most awful and alarming situation of public affairs, which brought disgrace on his administration, and destruction on all the interests of the country. The illustrious name of the noble Duke would be conveyed to posterity as the warrior by whose great skill the deliverance of Europe had been accomplished: he hoped it would not also be conveyed to posterity as the name of the Minister under whose guidance the ruin of the country had been consummated. The situation of the country was such as no man could contemplate without horror and dismay. The sufferings of the agriculturists excited no sympathy, probably because their complaints had been uttered in respectful language; for recent experience had shown, that if they had formed associations, collected rents, and adopted the language of menace and intimidation, they would have been carefully attended to. What, he would ask, was the situation of the agriculture of the country at present? The rents, which were still paid in some parts of the country,—for they were by no means paid in all parts of it,—were paid, not from the profits of the farm, but from the capital of the farmer. Let not such of their Lordships as had been fortunate enough to receive their rents at their last audit lay the flattering unction to their souls that they would be equally fortunate at their next. They must be aware, that already had many tenants been driven from their farms, and consigned to bankruptcy and beggary,—that the capital of others was daily extorted from them to meet their current expenses, and that when that capital should be exhausted, their ruin, as well as that of the landowners, would be consummated. He knew that there were many landowners who possessed incomes from the funds, from houses, from canals, and from various other sources,—he knew that their situation was therefore different from those who had no other means of support than those which they derived from land; he knew that they might, therefore, be indifferent to the continuance of the distress in which the landed interest was at present involved. To such persons he would say, that, whatever they might be inclined to do with their own rents, they had no right to dispose of the capital of their tenants. He was well aware that it had been said, that the remedy for the existing distress of agriculture was to be found in a reduction of rents, a species of advice which was daily given by those who had no rent to receive, and, indeed, no rent to pay save that of house-rent. He would admit to those persons that when every species of agricultural produce was diminished in value, a reduction of rent was not only just but necessary: but then he would bid them recollect that such a reduction would only transfer the pressure from the land-occupier to the land-owner; and that as such pressure would compel the land-owner to reduce his establishment, and to cast out of employment many of those who at present depended upon him for subsistence, it would only tend to aggravate the distress which arose from want of work. But the reduction of rents was talked of as if it were a new system. Was that the case? Certainly not. Rents had been already reduced fifty per cent; and it was not to be supposed that the process of reduction could be continued *ad infinitum*. Besides, in some cases no rent was paid at present; and where no rent was paid, he should like to know how it could be reduced. He would remind their Lordships that, according to a statement which had recently been made at a large public meeting, and which had hitherto remained uncontradicted, the expenses of an acre of arable land, exclusive of the rent, exceeded by 6*s*. the returns derived from it; so that the owner lost his rent, and the occupier the labour which he bestowed upon it. Was this the result of unfavourable seasons? It was a curious circumstance that the noble Duke referred the source of our present distress to the prevalence of unfavourable seasons, and that the late Earl of Liverpool had attributed the agricultural distress of 1822 to a long continuance of favourable seasons, which had created what he was pleased to call a superabundance of produce. Curious as the contrast between the opinions of these noblemen was, it would be most ludicrous, if the subject were not in its results most lamentable. One of the worst consequences of the existing agricultural distress was the constant increase of the Poor-rates, which bore upon the landed interest with a pressure which was almost incredible, and quite intolerable. He knew that in that fertile district of England, the vale of Aylesbury, the Poor-rates were in the proportion of 30*s*. an acre. What, then, could remain to be divided as profit between the landlord and the tenant? Their Lordships would also recollect the statement which had been made on a former evening by a noble Viscount (Torrington), respecting the condition of the parish of Mereworth, in which he resided. It appeared from that statement—he quoted from memory, for he had not a copy of it—that the amount of the local assessments in that parish reached within 40*l*. of the amount of its whole rental. He himself was acquainted with a parish in Sussex, where all the proceeds of the land in the parish did not suffice to maintain the poor, and where they had been obliged to apply to neighbouring parishes to give them relief. He therefore implored their Lordships to look at the course in which the country was advancing, and to consider what was the first stage on their road to ruin. The first stage—a stage which he was afraid that they had almost reached—was, that the landed proprietors were not the real possessors of their own estates, but held them as trustees for a large and increasing number of fundholders. The next stage, which was not far distant from the first, was, that the class of persons, supported at the public expense, and unable from a defalcation of the rents paid to the landed proprietors to obtain the comforts to which they had been long accustomed, would demand, and by their superior numbers would endeavour to force, a partition of the land. Their Lordships were already acquainted with the deplorable state of the labourers in more than one district of the country. Their Lordships must have seen that they had been degraded to the level of beasts of burthen, and had been yoked like cattle to the wain, to draw loads from one place to another. Was that a situation to which their Lordships wished to see labourers reduced in England,—in that country which boasted of its free Constitution, and which looked down with an eye of compassion on the condition of its neighbours? These evils were not, however, confined to England; they extended also to Ireland, as he would prove by an extract from an old and valued friend of his, who resided in the county of Cork. He had been informed that a Minister of the Crown, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had expressed himself in another place to this effect:—"It was not to be denied that there was a great and severe pressure of distress in the manufacturing and agricultural parts of the United Kingdom; and if he excepted some portions from that description, it was because he believed that there were parts which so far from being visited with such a calamity were enjoying a comparative state of ease and comfort. It was observable that the hon. Baronet (Sir E. Knatchbull) had confined his statements to England only, but he omitted noticing that part of the United Kingdom which at all times had commanded much of the care and attention of the House, he alluded to Ireland. If the hon. Baronet had investigated the state of the agricultural produce of that Kingdom, he would have found that great prosperity and comfort were existing, and he would have found that there were parts of this country in which much of the distress that existed had arisen from the free introduction of Irish produce; so that in proportion as one part of the kingdom was depressed, at least another portion was benefited and advanced."* It was said, that this statement had been made in a certain patriotic assembly where a hundred Irish gentlemen had seats, every one of whom must have known that the statement was false. The noble Earl then proceeded to read the letter to which he had before alluded. The writer of it stated that in Bantry the wages paid to the labouring population did not exceed 6*d*. a-day, and that out of a population of twelve thousand persons a great number were destitute of employment, and four thousand were in a state of starvation; that in Cork nine thousand persons were in a similar situation; and that the distress in that place and neighbourhood was daily increasing. The writer likewise described the deplorable condition of the agricultural interest in Ireland, owing to a fall in the prices of different articles of agricultural produce, which he enumerated, varying from 30 to 45 per cent, and stated that in consequence of this depreciation the cottiers and shopkeepers were compounding their debts, seldom offering or paying more than 2*s*. or 3*s*. in the pound. All the labouring classes, it was stated, were in the greatest distress, and their misery was augmenting daily. The writer likewise added, that he had received several notices from his tenants of their intention to surrender farms, on which fines had always been paid thirty years ago. The noble Earl, after he had finished the perusal of this Letter, proceeded to say, that if such a state of things was not speedily remedied, it must inevitably terminate in anarchy and ruin. He would then advert to the condition of the manufacturing population. Did any man exist, asked the noble Earl, with a heart in his bosom, who could contemplate without sorrow to which no sound could give expression, the situation of those manufacturers who were unable to earn more than 2*d*. a-day? It behoved their Lordships, and it behoved the Ministers of the Crown too, to consider how long it would be practicable to preserve tranquillity among so many distressed and suffering individuals who had little to lose, and little, he might add, to fear. Their Lordships would also find that the manufacturing labourers who were employed, were employed at a rate of wages which, compared with the value of the article on which they were employed, was quite deceptive. He knew, that at Birmingham one of the staple articles of its manufacture had fallen in price to one half of its former value; but the wages of the workmen employed upon it had fallen in a still greater proportion, and did not now exceed one-fourth part of their former amount. The noble Duke might perhaps say that this arose from the application of the powers of steam to machinery. He was aware of the effect which the application of steam to machinery had produced upon the labouring classes. He was aware that it had deprived thousands of them of employment—and he was likewise aware that it had not been attended by all the benefits to the master-manufacturers which were generally attributed to it, in consequence of the great addition which, by throwing men out of employment, it had made to the Poor-rates. But their Lordships had been talked to upon this subject, just as if the application of steam to machinery had only been introduced into our manufactories since the close of last Session. How stood the fact? Why, power-looms had been introduced years ago, and therefore the noble Duke was not justified in attributing the existing distress to that source. Besides, the noble Duke, if he had taken the trouble of seeking for proper information, would have found out, that of late years the employment of power-looms had not been much in favour even with the master-manufacturers. One would likewise suppose, from the noble Duke's argument, that though the labourers were suffering distress from the extensive introduction of machinery, the master-manufacturers would derive benefit from it. But how stood the fact? The master-manufacturers were greatly distressed, and in many instances were unable to realize the slightest profit from the most unwearied employment of their skill and capital. A great deal had been said of late about excessive production. Now, when their Lordships found there were large classes in the community deprived of the comforts of life, which they would gladly purchase if they had the means, he thought that the distress should be attributed, not to an excess of production, but to a deficiency of consumption. He knew that there might occasionally be a glut in the market, but to suppose that manufacturers would go on producing articles for which there was no demand, and no sale, was to suppose that they were ignorant of the ordinary rules of business, and that they were without any prudence to guide their conduct. The noble Duke had informed their Lordships, in that elaborate production which had lately been read to them,—he meant the Speech from the Throne,—that the export in the last year of British produce and manufactures exceeded that of any former year. Now the noble Duke should know that this test of the prosperity of the country was extremely fallacious. He did not mean to deny that the quantity, as declared by the official value, had increased; but he meant to contend that the quantity, as measured by its real value, had very considerably decreased. He trusted that the noble Duke would agree with him that the profit of the merchant depended upon the quantity and the price. [The Duke of Wellington nodded assent.] If so, the noble Duke ought to have shown, if he wished to make any just impression upon the nation, that not only the official, but that the real value, also, of the export had increased. Now the manufacturers of England were ready to prove, if need were, at the bar of their Lordships, that not only the external, but that the internal trade of the country, was conducted at present without profit. He believed that the noble Duke would not deny that goods which had been sent to another hemisphere, and which had been offered there in vain to sale, had been reimported into this country and sold here at immense loss. [The Duke of Wellington intimated his assent.] How could such a fact be reconciled with that prosperity which the noble Duke had stated to be prevailing in certain parts of this great commercial community? It was easy for any man to say, that it was not possible for Parliament to prevent competition with our manufacturers in foreign markets. He admitted this to be the case—but what then? The Legislature ought to encourage, and not depress the home-market, which was at once the most secure and the most extensive of all the markets we could command, consuming goods estimated by some at nine-tenths, and never estimated at less than four-fifths of the whole amount of our manufactured goods. With respect to the foreign trade of the country, he wished their Lordships to turn their attention to the state of our trade with our Colonies in the West Indies. According to information which he had received lately from a great West-India proprietor—and which might or might not be correct (he had no means of deciding on it; but a noble Lord opposite who was a West-India proprietor might be able to inform their Lordships whether it were accurate or not), according to information which he had lately received, the tax on the higher description of Sugar was upwards of one hundred per cent of its value, which left a profit of only 2*s.* per cent on the higher Sugars, and no profit at all on the inferior Sugars. What was the state, he would ask, of the Shipping-interest? The ship-owners found it impossible to carry on their business, for not only did they not realise any profit, they could not keep their ships at sea without incurring a loss; and many of them of late years had preferred parting with their ships at a sacrifice of forty per cent, to continuing to hold them at the risk of incurring a loss still greater. To this lamentable state was that interest reduced to which our ancestors attached so much importance, which was essential to our maritime commerce and greatness, and to our insular protection and defence. He had thus placed before their Lordships the existing condition of our agriculture, our manufactures, and our trade; and in surveying the situation and circumstances of all these important interests, they would find no ray of hope or comfort to remove the general gloom in which they were all involved. The noble Duke, however, had discovered one topic of consolation for their Lordships. He had found out that there had been an increased traffic upon our canals, and that the tonnage employed upon them in the last year had exceeded the tonnage of former years. When the noble Duke referred to such topics of consolation as that, he must himself have been in a state of great distress for want of arguments. He did not know whether this amount of tonnage was proved by official returns, or whether it merely rested on a memorandum of the noble Duke's own; but let it rest on what grounds it might, one thing was at least clear—that no satisfactory inference or conclusion could be drawn from it. The noble Duke would not deny that the same effect would be produced if the goods had been shipped upon speculation, and had been hawked about for sale from one part of the country to another. That would give the semblance of increased traffic, but would not be a criterion of increased prosperity. Then, said the noble Duke, "look at the new houses which are springing up on all sides of you; those who pay rent for them cannot be distressed." One would suppose from such an argument that the noble Duke, who had travelled in the course of last summer through a large portion of the country, had not travelled beyond the Bills of Mortality. New houses might have been built, but they had not been built by the productive classes. He had not heard of any new mills having been erected,—of any new manufactories having been formed, — of any new buildings having sprung up, which were connected with the industry of the productive classes, or were useful in promoting their welfare; and till he did hear of such a desirable consummation, he should deny the validity of the noble Duke's argument on the number of new houses which had been erected in the metropolis. But then, said the noble Duke, "the retail dealers throughout the metropolis are not distressed." He (Earl Stanhope) would admit that there were many retail dealers in London who were not distressed; but if the question were put to him as to their condition throughout the whole country, he would reply that it could be proved beyond a shadow of doubt, that the retail dealers were in great distress, and especially in Ireland, where they were compounding their debts at the low rate of 2*s.* or 3*s.* in the pound. But to what did the argument of the noble Duke amount at best? It never was contended by any person that every man in the country was in a distressed situation. If such were the case, he much doubted whether those whom he was then addressing would be sitting in that place as a House of Lords. Who had ever said that the fundholders and the annuitants were distressed? They might continue to flourish like rank and noxious weeds among the general ruin which surrounded them. But even the fundholders and persons with fixed incomes, were injured by the prevailing distress; not that the value of their incomes was not at present increased, but that the security of those incomes was materially diminished. That security depended on the state of the Revenue, and that Revenue it was said, in the Speech from the Throne, was on the decrease. The words of the Speech were—"The national income during the last year has not attained the full amount at which it had been estimated." Would it not have been fairer to have stated that it had fallen short of the amount of former years.

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* See the Debate on the Address.—p. 89.

The Duke of *Wellington.*—No; for such is not the fact.

Earl *Stanhope* contended, that if the statements which were periodically published of the Revenue were to be depended upon (and the noble Duke knew better than he did whether they were to be depended on or not) there was a falling-off of the Revenue of the last year as compared with that of the former, of 1,300,000*l.* The Speech, however, expressed an opinion that "the diminution was not such as to cause doubts as to the future prosperity of the Revenue." Now, whatever doubts there might be upon that point three weeks ago, those doubts must be much increased now, if the information which he had received was correct, that the Revenue was decreasing week by week, and particularly in the Excise, which was generally considered to be the best criterion of the prosperity and comfort of the nation. It was impossible that the Revenue should do otherwise than decline, as it was founded upon a consumption which was daily decreasing. He would therefore ask noble Lords whether, when they saw in the country a general state of distress, affecting every branch of industry,—affecting the security of annuitants, and of those who derived their incomes from the funds,—affecting the public Revenue to a great extent; he would ask noble Lords, whether, when they saw this distress, they were not to inquire as to the causes from which it originated? Was it to be attributed, as it had been attributed by the noble Duke, to some epidemical disorder, new in its nature, and tremendous in its ravages, which affected at one and the same time all the interests of the country? It was said in the Speech from the Throne that the distress was only partial,—that it prevailed only among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom—such was the language of the Royal Speech: but he should wish to know where that part of the country was, in which no distress was to be found. He contended that the distress was nearly universal, and that its tendency, unless it should be checked was, continually to increase. The effects of a general distress such as now afflicted this country became, under such circumstances, causes of its aggravation. He conceived that there was no hope so fallacious as the supposition that the great and intolerable distress under which this country at present suffered, could be remedied by being left to itself, and that it would not go on progressively increasing and becoming more and more intolerable every day, if some means were not adopted to arrest its course. The present situation of things in this country was the most alarming, he would say, that had ever been witnessed in any period of our history. He would not except times that had passed by, and which he was himself old enough in some degree to remember,—not even the period of the French Revolution; and if called upon to do so, he was quite confident that he should be able to prove to the perfect satisfaction of their Lordships, that the state of the country was more perilous at present than it had been then or at any former period. The times to which he alluded were those when extensive conspiracies were formed throughout this country—when a rebellion was actually raging in Ireland—when a mutiny had broken out in our fleet, and when revolutionary doctrines were industriously circulated throughout the country. But, with all these appalling circumstances in the state of public affairs, there was one peculiarity then in the condition of the country which unhappily did not now characterize it. The great majority of the industrious classes of this country were then prosperous, happy, and contented; and not, as now, afflicted with intolerable distress, which naturally exciting general discontent, might unhappily hereafter, should no means be adopted to remove the cause of it, break out into general disaffection. Never, he would say, was there a period of our history in which more painful consequences were likely to arise than the present. It, therefore, materially behoved their Lordships to endeavour to ascertain the causes of the prevailing distress, with a view to its removal. In the Speech from the Throne, to which he had already referred, in that clear and luminous document, they had been informed that this distress was attributable to unfavourable seasons, and to other causes over which Parliament had no control. Now, he would contend, on the contrary, that it was their bounden duty to endeavour to ascertain what the real causes of the distress were, in order that they might be enabled to judge how far it was possible for them to apply a remedy to it. It was their duty to institute an inquiry into the causes of the distress with which the people of this country were afflicted. Such an inquiry was called for in order to satisfy the people of England; and he would tell their Lordships, that the people would not, and ought not to remain patient under such intolerable sufferings as they now experienced, if no inquiry should take place, and if no attempt should be made to grant them relief. It was also necessary for their Lordships to enter upon the inquiry which he proposed, in order to ascertain what remedies were applicable to the present appalling state of things. As to the nature of those remedies, he should abstain from giving an opinion at present. All he asked for was, an inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining them; and such an inquiry appeared to him the more called for now, as the Speech from the Throne made it evident that there existed no intention on the part of his Majesty's Government to propose any remedy whatever for the consideration of Parliament. In that Speech, though not in words, at all events in effect, there was an admission on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, that they had no remedy to propose. He knew he might be asked, what good would result from such an inquiry? To that he would answer, that the good to result from it must depend upon the mode and spirit in which such an inquiry should be conducted; and he would ask in return, whether the evils which at present existed might not be increased if such an inquiry should be refused?—whether it might not appear to the people of this country that, in refusing such an inquiry, their Lordships were deserting their duty, and neglecting the interests of the country?—and whether by such a refusal they would not be likely to incur the well-merited reproaches and even hatred of the people of England? He was not about to propose the appointment of a Select Committee for the purpose of making this inquiry. Whatever advantages might result from the appointment of Select Committees upon other occasions, in the present instance the case was of two pressing urgency and too paramount importance, to admit of the delays incidental to such a mode of inquiry. The great minuteness of investigation, such as was now carried on before the Select Committee upon the East-India Trade, he conceived would be totally impracticable, and was besides quite unnecessary in this instance. Some mode of affording immediate relief was indispensably required, and a minute and detailed inquiry would only waste the time with unprofitable investigations which ought to be employed in administering relief. If a Select Committee were appointed, what would be the consequence? The noble Duke opposite (the First Lord of the Treasury) would of course take the selection of that Committee into his own hands, and he would take care who should and who should not be named upon it. Many of the noble Lords appointed upon such a Committee might never attend its sittings, while the noble and official Lords opposite, who would be carefully included amongst the Members of that Committee, and who would not fail to be punctual in their attendance, would, no doubt, by the weight and authority attached to their situations, control the opinions and guide the decisions of such a Committee. Much useless discussion would be gone into; witnesses, probably, would be called from all parts of the country, and examined day after day, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, and a mass of evidence would be collected which nobody would ever read. The final result would be, that, after a minute and uselessly protracted investigation, the Committee would terminate its labours by the production of a voluminous report, perhaps establishing the fact, of which all persons had been previously aware, viz. the universality of the distress under which the country suffered, and concluding with the statement that the Committee had no remedy to propose for its relief. It was necessary that such an inquiry should be conducted fairly, openly, and publicly; and it was with that view that he meant to propose that it should be conducted before a Committee of the whole House, who might consider the resolutions which would be offered, discuss their various details, have evidence laid before them as to any facts that admitted of doubt, and have any practical question, with regard to which it might be desirable to obtain additional information, elucidated by the evidence of persons practically acquainted with it. In that way he conceived that great advantages would be derived from the discussion of the various resolutions which might be laid before them. All the various causes of the distress would be investigated and ascertained, and in that way they were more likely than by any other mode of proceeding to arrive at the real source of the distress and at the proper remedy for its removal. If he were asked what specific remedy he had to propose, he would reply, that his first object was to have the inquiry instituted, and that he would leave the suggestion of the remedy to emanate from the Committee itself. But if his proposition should be unsuccessful, and if no inquiry should take place, then it would be his duty, as well as that of other noble Lords, to lay such suggestions as should appear to them best adapted to the present state of affairs before their Lordships in the shape of a series of resolutions. If he should, however, succeed in his present Motion, he trusted that the noble Duke opposite would not object to the discussion of such resolutions where they could be most conveniently and advantageously discussed, in a Committee of the whole House. If his Majesty's Ministers should oppose this Motion, such opposition would manifest a desire on the part of Government to object to a full and fair investigation of this important subject. He knew it would be said by many who spoke without thinking, and who appeared to be totally unconscious of the meaning of what they said, that a proceeding of this kind would only encourage false hopes among the people of this country. He could assure their Lordships that the people of this country had not that degree of confidence in Parliament which would induce them to form either false or well-founded hopes in consequence of any thing that their Lordships might do. He would ask, if it were dangerous to encourage false hopes, would it not be still more dangerous to tell the people of this country that no hopes whatever existed, and that his Majesty's Government had no intention to propose any measure for their relief, or for the redress of the grievances under which they suffered so severely? If any one thing more than another was to be deprecated, it was, that the people of this country should be led to suppose that an indisposition existed on the part of Parliament, or the Government, to enter upon an investigation of their grievances, with a view to redress them. But it had been said, that the disease of the body politic, if left to itself, might work its own cure. He certainly believed that, sooner or latter, it would do so. He believed that the evil, if left to itself, would work its own cure—a complete radical cure, and one most agreeable to all Radicals; for he was convinced it would finally terminate by uprooting the foundations, and levelling in the dust all the institutions of the country. The noble Duke opposite had said upon a former night, that this country was in a rapidly advancing state, and he (Lord Stanhope) perfectly concurred in that observation; but what was the state to which they were advancing? They were rapidly advancing to a state of general depression, to a state of national bankruptcy, to a general disorganization, and at no distant period to a total dissolution of the body politic. It was to arrest the progress to such a frightful state of things that he called upon their Lordships to enter upon inquiry, and then to examine what were the causes of the present distress, and whether or not they were beyond Legislative remedy or control. The question was shortly and simply this—whether or not it was the duty of Parliament to enter upon an investigation of the present state of the country? He was convinced, that by investigating the state of the country properly, and by examining into the real causes of the distress, it might be in the power of Parliament to effect much immediate good, and in the end to apply an effectual and permanent remedy to evils under which the country had long suffered. It was upon such grounds that he moved for this inquiry. In doing so he had done his duty; it now remained for their Lordships to do theirs; and for the discharge of that duty their Lordships were answerable to their consciences, and might, perhaps, hereafter be also answerable to their country. The noble Earl concluded by moving, That the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to take into consideration the internal State of the Country.

Viscount *Goderich:* In the opposition which I shall have to make to the Motion of the noble Earl I feel that I have to perform an ungracious, and, perhaps, an unpopular task; and certainly I am under no obligation to be the first to offer any remarks in opposition to this Committee, as that would rather be expected to be the part of some member of the Government. If I had consulted my own ease, I should have abstained from the course which I am pursuing; but if, before the House entered on the consideration of this measure, I felt considerable doubt as to the propriety of concurring in the proposition of the noble Earl, I must confess that the speech we have just heard has most materially confirmed that resolution. I must confess, also, that I did not at all expect that the noble Earl would have confined himself on this occasion to the description of a state of things which no one can attempt to deny—I mean the general distress which prevails in the country, and the duty which lies on your Lordships to do the best in your power to alleviate and relieve that distress. I expected that he would have proceeded to state something as to the causes which, in his view, had produced that distress, and something of the notions which he entertains as to the practicability of finding a remedy for it. I do not say that it was incumbent on any individual to submit to your Lordships a specific remedy; but when the noble Earl has proposed a course of proceeding so inconvenient in itself, and so inadequate to bring the subject fully under discussion —superficial as the noble Earl makes that out to be—I think that, before we consent to such an inquiry, we have a right to know what it is we are to inquire about. In the course of his speech, the noble Earl has taken occasion to treat with contempt the principle of Select Committees, and has particularly noticed one which is now sitting.

Earl *Stanhope:* I beg pardon. I particularly said, that for such an inquiry as that into the affairs of India, a Select Committee might do.

Viscount *Goderich:* Just so; but then the noble Earl proceeded to describe the proceedings of such a Committee in a somewhat contemptuous style; and though he has complained that the conduct of this House is not such as to command the respect of the country, I must say that the noble Earl's own description is not calculated to raise us in the estimation of the public. It, however, strikes me that it would be easy to describe the proceedings of a Committee of the whole House in terms as ludicrous as those which have fallen from the noble Earl with respect to a Select Committee. It has not been my fortune, since I have been a Member of this House, to attend a Committee of the whole House on any important subject; but do not the King's Ministers sit in a Committee of the whole House? Are not the followers of Government on the same benches, then, which they always occupy? In short, I have heard no objection against a Select Committee which may not be urged with ten times the force against the plan proposed by the noble Earl. Surely, then, no imputation of want of feeling is to be brought against any one for objecting to the mode of proceeding proposed by the noble Earl. According to my view of the case, it has one remarkable objection. He tells you that a Select Committee would go into minuteness of detail, but that a Committee of the whole House would only look at general features. But if we suppose that the people of England are to be satisfied with such a superficial inquiry, little do we understand either of their interests or their feelings. When the noble Earl says that if we refuse this inquiry, the people of England will conclude that we reject their prayer, and that we have shut our eyes, our ears, and our hearts to their sufferings. I say that such is an unjust imputation; and I shall endeavour, before I sit down, to shew that although I dissent from many of the noble Earl's doctrines on this subject, I do not believe that the Parliament is incapable or unwilling to effect, to a certain extent, the direct and immediate relief of the people, and of laying a foundation of great and permanent good to the interests of the country. In saying this, I am not arrogating to myself the merit of any new discovery or plan; but I think that I am able to point out a mode by which immediate relief may be afforded, and a foundation laid for great permanent advantages hereafter. I am willing to admit that my views on this subject may be wrong, and that I may be too sanguine in what I am looking forward to; but at least I have a right to claim for myself and for Parliament, an exemption from that censure and reproach which the noble Earl has cast upon us; and I am ready to place myself at the bar, not only of this House, but of the country, demanding an acquittal of the charge of having been neglectful of the interests of the country. I admit that the distress of the country is general; I admit that it is more severe in some respects than at any former period; and when I reflect on one circumstance to which the noble Earl has alluded—the exemplary patience and resignation with which the people have borne their sufferings—I know not what feelings can have possession of a man's mind, if he do not feel it to be a duty—outweighing and transcendant to all others—to apply his best and most earnest energies to relieve this distress. But there are considerations out of which may arise the possibility of applying some degree of alleviation of our present sufferings. And first as to the causes. It is not my intention to fatigue your Lordships by entering into any learned dissertations on the infinite variety of causes which may have tended to cripple the industry of the country, and to inflict poverty and wretchedness on its people. There are some of them, no doubt, which are beyond the reach, as the Speech from the Throne expressed it, of

Legislative interference. This country, was for upwards of twenty-five years, in a most singularly artificial state; and indeed every country during the same period was more or less in the same state. It was totally impossible, therefore, when that artificial state ceased, that all the interests of the country should not partake of the revulsion which was the consequence; and I believe that this country, having been affected more than any other by those artificial circumstances, has felt this revulsion the most severely. The universal peace after a long continuance of general war, tended directly and necessarily to produce an equality of price for all articles of common consumption throughout the commercial world. Prices having been more artificially raised here during the war than elsewhere, sunk in proportion. One of the consequences thus produced was, that the country no longer enjoyed and could not maintain those high prices, of which so many persons appear to be enamoured, and which appear to be in great favour with the noble Earl. But, besides this, there are two other causes—the state of the currency, and the state of taxation which affect the country; and I cannot but think that it is possible for Parliament to apply—not perhaps an instantaneous—but at all events a material relief. First, then, as to the currency. Though I never entertained a doubt that the safety of the country depended on the restoration of the metallic currency, I never for a moment concealed from myself that such a course would be accompanied with great pressure upon the people. I always looked upon it as choosing the lesser evil rather than the greater. But there are some circumstances connected with the currency which ought to lead us to conclude that it is not yet in the state in which it ought to be. I allude to the state of the metallic currency, exclusive of the paper of the Bank of England. The noble Duke, the other night, stated that the amount of this currency now in circulaiton was equal to what it had been at any former period. It may or may not be so. But it appears to me to be difficult to come at any positive conclusion on the subject. But, at all events, I think that this matter does not depend on the actual quantity of the circulation, but on a great variety of other considerations, owing to a change in which, the circulation, which was at one time too little, may at another time be too much. In the statement on the currency made by the noble Duke the other night, I think he counted one portion of it twice over; that is to say, I think, when he mentioned twenty-eight millions of gold, he did not apprehend that a certain portion of that must be in the coffers of the Bank of England.

The Duke of *Wellington:* My statement of the amount was independent of what was retained by the Bank.

Viscount *Goderich:* I am glad to hear that, for I then have to give the Bank credit for a more judicious management than I otherwise think it would have deserved. But, setting aside that part of the question, I think that the currency is not only insufficient, but that it is unnecessarily limited, and that it might be increased without the slightest danger to the country. I know no criterion by which we are so well to judge of the proper amount of the circulation as by the state of our foreign exchanges. For the last eighteen months those foreign exchanges have been highly in favour of this country, and till the exchanges shall be against us, it appears to me that the currency cannot be too full. The maxim we should adopt on this head ought to be, to keep it, "without o'erflowing, full," and I think that it is desirable to have in this country as large a supply as may be consistent with this principle. The view which I take of the distresses of the country leads me, I confess, to the opinion that those distresses are in part to be attributed to the imperfect system of banking which prevails out of the metropolis. In my judgment, the issues of the country bankers are not regulated by those principles which are likely to prove advantageous to themselves or beneficial to the country. When times of difficulty arrive, the issuers of the country paper immediately take alarm, and contract their circulation with a timidity unfounded and ruinous; and when the prospects of the commercial world undergo a change they immediately begin to issue on a scale so extended as well deserving to be described as rash. If I am asked what remedy I would recommend for this evil, it is this, give increased facility to the establishment of banks. It must, of course, be in the recollection of your Lordships, that after the panic in the year 1826—a panic, the grounds of which were much exaggerated, and the effects not fairly represented—I say, my Lords, that after that panic, the two measures his Majesty's Government, with which I was then connected, proposed to Parliament were, first, an earlier suppression of the one-pound notes than had been assigned by law; the second was, an Act for facilitating the formation of new banks, under the regulations and the principles of Joint Stock Companies. Previous to that time the law had restricted the number of partners engaged in private banking concerns in England to six; but Lord Liverpool, who had well considered the subject, and who, above most men, was well qualified to form a sound judgment upon questions of that nature had come to a different conclusion, and the decision at which he arrived was, to recommend to your Lordships, as it was mine to recommend to the other House of Parliament, a bill for facilitating the establishment of Country Banks upon the principle of Joint Stock Companies. That measure was necessarily imperfect, and for the simple reason, that we could not induce the Bank of England to relax its privileges to the degree that was necessary for giving a fair opportunity for trial to the plan proposed by Government at the period to which I advert. Since then we have been brought within three years of the period when the Bank Charter will expire. Now, though nothing can be further from my mind than pretending to say anything of the mode in which Parliament ought to deal with that subject, I will take the liberty of saying, that it will be impossible that your Lordships should ever agree that the Charter of that Corporation be renewed, unless it give greater facilities than heretofore to the formation of Joint Stock Banking Companies. It is utterly impossible that the Bank of England should supply all the currency of the country; and the proof that it cannot do so is to be found in this, that it has done all in its power for that purpose—it has established branch banks, and done every thing else it could, but without success. My persuasion is, that nothing will better supply the existing vacuum in the currency, than the establishment of banks upon the Scotch system. I do believe, that the extensive adoption of that system would have the effect of safely and instantly filling the vacuum. Such banks would proceed upon principles very different from those which govern the present class of country banks. No one bank knows anything of the manner in which other banks carry on business. The whole of them again, know nothing of what is going forward in the Bank of England, and the Government remains in perfect ignorance of the operations of all. Hence arise the most complicated and monstrous difficulties; but of the sort of banks of which I speak, publicity would be their essence; and, from the number of persons concerned in them, the fullest information would be possessed, and the whole would thus be directed, respecting the course they ought to adopt by the variations of foreign exchanges, and the vibrations of that golden chain upon which so much depends. A body so formed could easily discern the earliest approaches of danger; and from them such contractions of their issues might be expected, as a sound and broad acquaintance with the subject might be expected to supply, their conduct being corrected and canvassed by a numerous proprietary. At all events, whatever be adopted, the Banking system must be put upon a footing safe and substantial, such as will, on the one hand prevent over issues, and on the other guard against unwise and dangerous contraction. It was with views of this sort that the measures of 1826 were proposed; but, as I have already said, they were rendered inefficient by the Directors of the Bank feeling it to be their duty to refuse their assent to any relaxation of the privileges of which their Charter had put them in possession. Notwithstanding that this refusal acted so prejudicially upon the establishment of Joint Stock Banks, seven or eight were set up, and, I believe, at the present moment are doing considerable business; but the number is too small to be productive of any extensive benefit, and this disadvantage is obviously owing to the existence of those restrictions which the privileges of the Bank of England impose. In making this statement, I by no means wish to convey any censure upon the conduct of the Bank of England. I have had much communication with the Directors of that Corporation during the few years that I was connected with his Majesty's Government; and the results of that communication, combined with other circumstances, have left the fullest conviction on my mind of the earnest desire which they entertain not only to discharge the obligations they owe to their constituents, but to do all in their power to promote the public good, in fulfilling the difficult, serious, delicate, and at times awful duties, which they are called on to perform. I should do them great injustice if I did not state, that even when I thought them in error, and looked upon their conduct as injudicious, I still saw most palpably manifested a disposition, an earnest desire, to do justice to their own proprietors and the public. The next subject to which I desire to direct your Lordships' attention, is that of taxation. It will be remembered that at no time have I joined in those indiscreet attacks which at different periods have been made upon the King's Government to reduce taxation. Perhaps it will be said, and not unnaturally, that the situation which I held for some years rendered me the least likely of all men to join in those attacks; indeed it was my duty for some years to resist them; but I think that resistance was not carried beyond the proper limit. During a short period of my connection with Government, it was my fortune, as its organ in the other House, to propose the repeal of 9,000,000*l.* of taxes; and now I will call your Lordships' attention to the practical effect of that reduction. If the consumption of the taxed commodities had remained the same, the Revenue of the country would have been reduced to the amount of 9,000,000*l.* What, however, was the fact? The accounts of 1827 showed that there was a loss of only 3,000,000*l.* and the succeeding year was only 2,000,000*l.* below the income of 1827. I need scarcely, then, my Lords, praise the wisdom of those reductions; the more especially when I state the fact that the Revenue did not suffer to the extent of the reductions—nay, that the loss to the public income bore no proportion to the relief given from taxation. It was all along stated that there would be a certain loss, and it was foreseen that that loss would not equal the reduction; but there were few beyond those by whom the measure was proposed who anticipated so large a reduction with so small a diminution of income. To this I have to add, that in some branches of the public revenue, so far from lowered duties producing diminished receipts, the direct reverse was the effect produced—increased income followed upon reduced imposts. I allude particularly to the alteration of duties affecting Scotch and Irish Spirits. When those alterations were first proposed, they were immediately objected to on the ground that the people would then have increased facilities of indulging in intemperance—that they might drink in the streets *ad libitum*—and that the change, though a pecuniary relief, would be a moral injury; facts, however, falsified this prediction. The parties who made it overlooked the circumstance that the change did not make legal spirits one whit more accessible than illicit spirits had previously been. On reference to returns, your Lordships will see that if consumption had remained the same, the loss to the Revenue would have been 800,000*l.* But not only was there no loss to the Revenue, but it was actually found to exceed former years, though the reduction of duty was as much as fifty per cent. Thus was there gain without loss—pecuniary advantage without any corresponding sacrifice. Upon such data as this, then, I might say to your Lordships, if you could spare 1,000,000*l.* of the public income, you might repeal 9,000,000*l.* of the taxes. But I cannot recommend such a large repeal at present. It appears however, from the papers presented to the other House of Parliament for the year 1828, after making the necessary deductions from both sides—from the one the reduction effected by means of the contract with the Bank of England for the payment of half-pay and pensions; and from the other side—the side of payments—the arrangement made with the Trustees of those annuities, we perceive that the balance is 3,231,000*l.*; that in 1829 it was 1,711,000*l.*, making a total of 4,942,000*l.* The average of those two years being 2,471,000*l.*; and taking that average of 2,471,000*l.* as a fair criterion of the present year, we may assume for 1830 a balance of at least 2,470,000*l.* Now I think the circumstances of the country require that vigorous efforts should be made by the Government to reduce the taxes. In saying this, however, I beg to be understood as not undervaluing the reductions which have been made. I think those reductions are worth a great deal. The Estimates have been reduced 1,300,000*l.*; now if we add to this the estimated average reduction of 2,470,000*l.*, it gives us in round numbers a sum of 3,700,000*l.* If I am asked what I should recommend to be done with that sum, I say, first, there are three modes in which it may be disposed of: 1st. That surplus of 3,700,000*l.* may be applied to the reduction of the public debt—2nd. It may be applied solely to reduce taxation—3rd. It may be applied in a manner that shall form a combination of both modes. The last of these is that which I should think it adviseable in Parliament to adopt. While I was connected with his Majesty's Government there was at one time a surplus of 7,000,000*l.*; of that sum 2,000,000*l.* were applied to the reduction of taxation, and 5,000,000*l.* to the liquidation of debt. I am aware that debt and taxation cannot now be interfered with in any degree approximating to the same proportion; but I think that a reduction of taxes might be effected to the extent of 1,700,000*l.*, leaving 2,000,000*l.* as a surplus to guard against contingencies, and to save the Government from the risk of being obliged to borrow money in time of peace [*hear, hear, hear! from the Duke of Richmond, and one or two other Peers*]; but I conceive that an estimated surplus of 2,000,000*l.* will prove quite sufficient to prevent any necessity of going in debt. I should certainly be the last man in your Lordships' House to recommend so large a reduction of taxation, did I not believe that the situation of the country makes it a duty in his Majesty's Ministers to attempt that reduction. When I consider the various ways in which the taxes press upon the community, and when called upon to consider of the propriety of repealing some of them, it seems that I do no more than discharge an imperative duty in calling your Lordships' attention, first to some of the various ways in which taxation operates. It diminishes the actual amount which a consumer can afford to enjoy of the several articles taxed. In manufactures it diminishes the quantity of capital, skill and industry which can be applied to the many branches on which it directly operates, to say nothing of the encouragement which it affords to illicit practices. There is one most absurd and mischievous tax, of which I earnestly desire to see the repeal—I mean the tax upon hops. All objections to all other taxes combine themselves against the tax upon hops. Directly and at once it interferes with the produce of the soil. You might as well tax apples and pears while they are growing, or rather before they have grown to maturity, and while they are in the field, for the duty is levied upon hops before the proprietor has realised a single shilling on them. There is no produce of the soil so much affected by the variations of the weather as hops. One year the duty on them may be as high as 400,000*l.*—the next it may suddenly drop down to 40,000*l.* It is for that and other reasons the most unfit object of taxation that can easily be conceived. Who can point out in our system anything more objectionable than bringing an Excise-officer into a garden? I find that the average amount of the tax on hops is 250,000*l.*; the repeal of that would give a positive and direct relief to a part of the country on which it peculiarly presses, and which suffers severely from the present distress. The Hop Duty, too, is so local and limited in its operation, that its severity is felt with increased force. The duties on printed cottons too are very heavy, press most unequally, and yield a revenue, the collection of which is extremely expensive. Ireland is not affected by them—they press solely on England—and this consideration is of much importance, seeing that Ireland is exempt from 12,000,000*l.* of the duties which press upon England. Then, besides this, the duties on printed cottons are levied by Excise-officers with all the cumbrous machinery of the Excise, and with all the oaths by which the collection of Excise duties is usually attended. The average amount of this duty is about 2,000,000*l.*, of which 1,500,000*l.* or 1,600,000*l.* is annually paid back on exportation: thus the whole of these cumbrous and troublesome operations are gone through for the sake of 400,000*l.*, for that is the average amount received by the Exchequer out of the 2,000,000*l.* levied. I know that there are those in this House, as there are out of it, who have no very friendly feeling towards the cotton trade, and who regard it as a monstrous evil, preying upon the vitals of the nation. But the giant has now grown up, and if not supported in full health and vigour, will consume the resources of the State, and, perhaps, ultimately bring it to the brink of ruin. As it stands at present, however, it is the staple article of our manufactures, diffusing wealth among all classes; our duty therefore is, not to allow the continuance of any tax which interferes with its prosperity, especially when that tax is so unproductive in amount and so expensive in collection. There is another tax to which I shall now advert—I mean the tax upon leather. Certainly that tax is not very large in amount as compared with the value of the article taxed—it is only three-halfpence a pound upon the leather, while the value of that leather is above 15*s.* or 16*s.* a pound. But the nature of the trade causes great inconvenience to arise from this impost of which no one can form any idea who does not make himself practically acquainted with the details. He who is a tanner cannot become a currier—he must carry on his business in a particular way, he must keep his hides a certain time in the vat—so long, and no longer—he must try no experiment—he must disregard all the discoveries of modern science—chemistry becomes of no value to him—he must go on in the same beaten routine—improvement is shut out from his trade, and endless vexations imposed upon it, for the sake of a paltry tax, from which the Revenue derives but little advantage. But, repeal it, my Lords, and you will serve every class of the community as consumers; you will relieve the agricultural class in particular, as producers of the article taxed. The taxes on leather, hops, and printed cottons, amount to somewhat upwards of a million. The removal of the tax on sea-borne coals, which yields about 600,000*l.*, would also be a great public benefit. I should also recommend a modification of the duties on beer, so as to give encouragement to the production and consumption of strong beer. The effect of the present system is, to render the operations of the Excise, as respects beer, extremely complicated, and most inconveniently to divide the business of brewing. Thus the man who brews strong beer cannot brew intermediate ale or small beer; and here, as everywhere else, comes in the whole cumbrous and objectionable machinery of oaths and penalties. The modification that I should recommend would have the effect of increasing the consumption of malt, and affording relief to the agricultural classes. In the particular cases, then, my Lords, to which I have adverted, I would say that relief can be afforded to the amount of 1,700,000*l.*, and as far as that sum goes, it would be a substantial and beneficial relief, and might be safely ventured on. I deplore as deeply as any man, the public distress, but the conviction of the prevalence of that distress does not lead me to entertain those gloomy, miserable, and hopeless views which the noble Earl endeavoured to impress upon the House. I doubt the prudence of telling the people that their condition is hopeless—I doubt the prudence of rooting out from their minds all confidence in the Legislature. When in danger I should candidly confess the amount of it; but I think there is equal folly and unfairness in telling them, on the present occasion, that their case is hopeless. All that the noble Lord recommends is inquiry, and at the same time he would have us believe that there exists in the people a disposition to treat with contempt the deliberations of the Legislature, and to place confidence neither in its wisdom nor good intentions. Neither in the course he recommends, nor in the opinions he entertains, can I bring myself to concur. There is one other point to which I have not yet adverted—I mean the expected proceedings with respect to the Charter of the East-India Company. I am the furthest in the world from wishing to anticipate the opinion of Parliament upon this great question, but it cannot be settled in any manner without great advantage to the public. Again, the present condition of Ireland is such as awakens the most brilliant hopes, and teaches us confidently to anticipate, that we shall get through our present difficulties with more ease than through any former crisis of a similar description. Formerly, when looking to that country, we saw nothing but clouds and tempests, but now the sun of liberty has arisen and the gloom of former years has passed away—and though the influence of the long continuance of bad government may yet keep back the fulness of Ireland maturing, as in the natural seasons the evil influence of the atmosphere may retard the genial progress of summer, yet the tremendous barrier which impeded her advancement has been removed, and that country—no longer unhappy Ireland—is in a fair way to establish her own prosperity, instead of being a clog upon the operations of Government, and upon the improvement of the empire at large. In the condition in which Ireland at present stands, we may soon expect to see her the seat of industry and the depositary of capital. When I state that the contribution of Ireland to the taxes of the country is only 3,800,000*l.*, I think it will be seen that there is much room for advance; and when I call your Lordships' attention to the change which has taken place in its condition, you will perceive that there is every prospect of improvement. I am not prone my Lords to indulge in a spirit of prophecy, not fond of flattering predictions, though never dealing in threats of future woe; yet I cannot help now asserting that ere long the time will come, when Ireland, hitherto a source of weakness, will administer profusely to the wealth and strength of the empire. In making these few remarks, my Lords, I have had no other motive but a desire to contribute my humble suggestions for the good of my country. If I could suppose that the Motion of the noble Earl were calculated to effect this, he should have my hearty support; but conceiving that there are other and more practical remedies within our reach, which may be, as I have stated, immediately applied by his Majesty's Government, I feel bound to oppose the Motion of the noble Earl, in the full confidence that his Majesty's Government will apply their best energies to lighten the existing evils.

The Duke of *Richmond*, after apologising to the House for addressing them at so early a period of the Debate, said he had never heard a more convincing speech than that of the noble Earl by whom the present Motion was brought forward. He would not follow the noble Viscount who had spoken last through all the minute details into which he had entered, but he would beg the House to remember that that noble Viscount had admitted the general pressure of the distress, though the Speech from the Throne, on the first day of the Session, had distinctly stated that that distress was partial. Taxation was a self-evident cause of the distress, and the distress was acknowledged to be universal; yet the very noble Lord by whom that universality was admitted told Parliament, in 1825, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the financial condition of the country was placed upon a rock, the foundation of which could not be undermined. He was very glad to find that the noble Viscount had gained something by experience. The Government did not seem to have profited in the same manner; for it seemed even yet not to believe that the distress was felt in every part of the country in every branch of business, and felt with unparalleled severity. He thought, for his own part, that the distress was very general, and he was convinced that if they did not join together to find out the causes of that distress and the remedies that ought to be applied to it, the result would be fatal to the tranquillity of the country. Several causes had been stated by different noble Lords. First, it was stated that the rents of land were too high—if upon inquiry that which he did not believe should appear to be true, namely, that high rents were one of the causes of the present distress, they might depend upon it that the country Gentlemen would maintain their high character, and would cheerfully sacrifice their own interest, and be the first to show themselves ready to serve their country at their own cost. He did not wish to use strong expressions; but as he had been in many parts of the country a witness of the distress, he might speak strongly without being liable to be supposed desirous of exciting a spirit hostile to the Government. He would assert that the condition of the people was most deplorable, and he would ask any man in that House whether their condition could remain as it was—and he would say as a Peer of Parliament that it ought not to remain as it was. In the part of the country with which he was more particularly acquainted, he could assert that men did not get remunerated for their labour as they ought. In that part of the country the labouring men were employed upon the roads at 4*d.* per day in some instances, and in others at 3*d.* per day, and were besides obliged to find their tools. Were their Lordships prepared to say that such things could go on? That was the case in Sussex; but was it the case there alone? Was it not the same in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, and indeed throughout all the agricultural districts? He did not believe that the distress of the labouring men was owing to the farmers, who were themselves nearly crushed by the difficulties of the times, by the taxes, by the Poor-rates, and by the county-rates, all of which they were hardly able to pay, and which were increasing every day by general causes and by Legislative enactments. These men were loyal to their King, and obedient to the laws, and they sought not to intimidate, but they asked from their Lordships that inquiry which it seemed to him they had an actual right to demand. Who was there that had not read, and having read, who did not feel deeply, those facts which were seen every day in the newspapers—that peasants, guiltless of any crime, were harnessed to waggons, and degraded to the labour of brutes? [*hear*] This cruel occurrence was frequently witnessed, not only in Chester, but in the very county in which the noble Duke at the head of the Government was one of the principal land-owners, and the Lord-lieutenant. The distress, however, was not confined to the agricultural districts. The manufacturing interest was in the same state of distress. It was impossible to read the newspapers without being convinced that the manufacturers were suffering to a very considerable extent. He would, however, give some proofs of the existence of that distress; for he was sure that if the noble Duke at the head of the Government believed in its existence as he did, the inquiry now sought for would be at once granted. He would read a few extracts that would show the noble Duke that the distress was greater than the hangers-on at Downing-street were likely to admit. The statements he was about to read were from a newspaper most likely to contain good information on such a subject, and one more disposed to underrate than exaggerate the amount of the distress. He found it there stated that at a public meeting at Birmingham a short time before, it had been asserted in the presence of twelve thousand, or fifteen thousand people, and not contradicted, that the manufacturing interests of that town were at the very lowest ebb, and that trade for the last fourteen days had been as it were entirely suspended. This was confirmed by the agreement amongst the iron masters of Staffordshire, in the beginning of the last month to blow out fifteen blast furnaces; but though the trade had come to this resolution, in order to prevent the further increase of a manufacture for which there was no market, it was much to be doubted whether the measure would relieve the distress; for what was to become of the poor labourers thus thrown out of employment? Of course, they must be left to starve. The accumulation of distress at Manchester was spoken of in alarming terms in the month of May last. The cause of distress then was attributed to reduced wages which did then cause a considerable disturbance. It was then stated by a correspondent in one of the public papers (the Times) not likely to overrate the distress, that things were in a very bad state. "As far as I can learn, he says, there is this important distinction between the present riots and those of 1826. In that year a sudden and violent suspension of trade threw tens of thousands of workmen out of employment. In the present time the prevailing distress of particular classes of operatives as they are called, has been gradually accumulating, until labour no longer furnishes the means of human subsistence. The prospect from such a state of things is both gloomy and appalling. The absolute extinction of large bodies reared to a particular trade, cannot be contemplated without horror from which humanity shrinks, and yet it would appear that 'to this complexion it must come at last.'" But things it appears were not much mended several months afterwards, for in the month of September, at its very close this is the picture that was drawn. "For many weeks the state of trade has afforded nothing worthy of remark, for there have been no striking changes. There has, indeed, been a constant downward progress of prices; but this, unfortunately, of late, has been the rule instead of the exception, and therefore was not a thing to be noted as news. A panic occasioned by the breaking of our banks, or the bankruptcy of our principal spinners and manufacturers, which would at once have thrown thousands out of employment, would, no doubt, have drawn the attention of all the kingdom to us; but there has been such a monotony in the sufferings which have been endured here, that their very existence is probably doubted in other parts of the kingdom." It is the general property of distress to be clamorous; and under other circumstances our working population would have been clamorous, and probably riotous. That was the state of Manchester in the month of September last, their Lordships had seen that in the previous month of May, the inhabitants of that town were in no better condition, and it did so happen that a public meeting had been called for that day at Manchester, to take into consideration the extreme distress now prevailing in that town. In Macclesfield too there was great distress. The Committee there for the relief of the poor report to the London Committee: "that in the year ending November 1828 twenty-two poor-leys were levied in the township of Macclesfield, and produced

4,571*l.* In the year ending 1829 forty-two poor-leys were levied and produced 7,227*l.* The difficulty of collecting the rate has compelled the overseers to reduce the weekly allowances generally from 2*s.* to 1*s.* per head. This circumstance might account in some places for a diminution of the amount of poor-rates, and if any noble Lord should in the course of the evening refer to such a fact, he should say look at Macclesfield and ask if it is not because the allowance of each pauper has been reduced. It had been stated, indeed, that at Manchester such a diminution had taken place, probably because the practice of Macclesfield had extended thither, and aggravated the distress, and the sufferings of the poorer classes. He had been informed also that in Blackburn in February last, eleven thousand three hundred and sixty persons required relief, the average of their incomes being 1*s.* 7*d.* per day. In January, at Preston, one third of the population, or ten thousand persons received assistance they not having 2*s.* a-week. He might quote similar cases from almost all parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, particularly from Huddersfield where the people did not earn on an average, more than 2*d.* per day. In answer to all this they were told that the exports had increased; he did not know whether that were true or not, but if it were, it did not appear to him that the manufacturer was much bettered in consequence of it. The manufacturer could not make a profit upon the exported article, and under such circumstances every one must be aware that the trade would be little benefitted by an increased amount of exports. The consequence of this low state of wages, which only afforded the labourer a bare existence, was, that it disinclined him to labour, since he was in no better condition by the most industrious exertions than he would be by throwing himself upon the parish; and paupers had lately expressed this feeling in saying that they preferred being paupers without work to being paupers with it. He was not one of those who would encourage the use of such language. He knew the duties of a Christian and of a subject of this and of every other realm, and he knew that such language did not become any man. He did not defend it; he only stated that existing circumstances had occasioned many men to use it. He was sorry to say that the distress was not partial—it was daily getting worse and worse. The agriculturist, the manufacturer, the merchant, and the miner were all affected by it; and under these circumstances he thought inquiry, and immediate inquiry, most necessary. One word to the right Rev. Prelates before he sat down. On this occasion he hoped they would vote in favour of the Motion. If they had, as he believed, communications with their parochial clergy, whose duty it was to visit the cottages and hovels of the poor, they must know from those communications the miseries and privations to which that class of men, the labouring population of this kingdom, supposed to be the strength and pride of a country, were reduced. They must know that the want of every comfort had converted these poor men from the once free and happy peasantry of England, to the condition of wretched and abject slaves. If he wanted any proof of this, he might find it in the charge of one of the right Rev. Prelates to his Clergy, recently delivered, in which it was said that "The Legislature never could have contemplated this extensive system of pauperism, which, whether legally or otherwise, was now eating like a canker into the vitals of the country." The numerous County Meetings, the Petitions to Parliament, and the Memorials to Government, proved that the country experienced the existence of this wide-spread distress, and thought there was sufficient ground for an inquiry as to the best and most effectual means of preventing those mischiefs which must follow if the miseries of the people should drive them to acts of violence. Under such circumstances, he was happy to have, in favour of inquiry, the opinion of one of the most upright ministers that ever presided over the affairs of the country—Lord Liverpool—who, in the year 1822, upon a statement of the existence of great distress being made, said, "If what I have heard be founded in error, which I believe, the best and most effectual means of dispelling the error is that which the practice and constitution of your Lordships' House allows and prescribes—a full and fair investigation of the subject." Those noble Lords who had looked up to Lord Liverpool as their guide, must still be inclined to adhere to his opinions, thus deliberately expressed; and on them he called for their support to the present Motion.

Nothwithstanding the weight and number of those who ranged themselves round Ministers, he hoped that inquiry would not be refused. The people asked for that in their Lordships' legislative capacity, which, in their judicial character, they never denied—a full and fair investigation: and he trusted that their Lordships would not allow the Parliament to be prorogued without showing that they had made some efforts and did something to meet the wishes of the country, to alleviate its distresses, and to place its happiness on a better and a firmer basis. He felt it contrary to his duty to let this occasion pass without doing his utmost to prevent the extension of distress, and the recurrence of those evils which of late, and even now, preyed on the country.

The Earl of *Rosebery* felt it necessary to say a few words upon the subject of the present distress, which, if not equally general as that in 1816, was somewhat of the same character, and existed under a similar combination of circumstances. How it happened that, in 1815, 1816, in 1821, 1822, in 1826 and in 1829—great and general distress had occurred in this country, was a question that, no doubt, had much occupied the attention of Ministers and was one to which it would be of great importance to give a clear solution. That during a period of fifteen years of profound peace, times of distress should so often have occurred, was most painful; and the first care of the Legislature was to inquire into the causes of their recurrence; and the first duty, both of the Government and the Parliament, was if possible to provide for it a remedy, or at least a corrective. To him the most painful circumstance in the recurrence of the state of distress during peace, was its frequency. It was like the return of a wasting disease, which undermined the constitution, and at each attack left the body with less strength to resist the next occurrence of the disorder. He would first enumerate the causes which, in his opinion, had brought this country into its present state; and next he would refer to those remedial measures which were within the sphere of the Legislature to apply. He must begin that enumeration with the question of the currency. Though like the noble Viscount he was in favour of a metallic currency, yet he could not disguise from himself the fact that much of the evils now existing had been produced by the change to it from a paper currency. He believed that if that question now came before the House for the first time, their Lordships would be of opinion, either that the standard ought not to be altered, or that a longer time ought to be given the country to prepare for it; but as we had gone through the ordeal, he thought Parliament could not be guilty of a greater dereliction of duty than to depart from the standard it had then established. He attributed some of the distress to the calling in of the small notes throughout the country; he had been a party to that measure by the vote he gave in favour of it; he regretted it, but as the resolution had been passed and acted upon, he would not now consent to retract it. He thought that the immense and rapid improvement in machinery had been one of the causes of distress in the manufacturing districts. He knew that others differed from him in that opinion; but he had heard the noble Duke state the same opinion, and he thought it might be proved by carrying the opposite argument to its extreme length. Although no man was more convinced than himself of the necessity of machinery, yet in this country, which was so thickly peopled its rapid increase must of itself, if pushed to an extreme, produce distress among the labouring population. If their Lordships could fancy (what he knew to be impossible) that all the manual labours of the country could be effected by machinery, the greatest and most overwhelming distress must be produced among the working classes. The redundancy of the population in this country (a circumstance much connected with the rapid increase of machinery, which had thrown out of employment many who otherwise would have had their share of work) was another cause of distress. But there were two other causes which materially depressed the labouring population of England and Scotland, particularly of the former. The first was the immense influx of Irish labourers; and the second, the mode in which the Poor Laws of England were administered, especially in the Southern Counties. The influx of Irish labourers, who would work for much less than the peasantry of this country, injured the latter very considerably; while the Poor Laws, as they are now administered, were no better than a premium on improvident marriages. The mode of paying the labourer out of the Poor Rates, and that of making a scale of payment according to the numbers in each family, appeared to him to be only a bounty upon early and inconsiderate marriages, and on the propagation of the species without the means of providing for their support. The next cause of distress was the unequal distribution of wealth, which was accumulated in a few hands, causing a great diminution of consumption, so as materially to affect the state of the country. If that accumulation of immense capital by a few could be prevented, and if it could be more equally distributed (which he feared, and almost knew to be impossible), the means of consumption of all the articles of life would be more widely extended; and, in proportion to their increased consumption, the distress of all classes would be diminished. Another cause of the present prevailing distress was taxation. He believed that it was in the power of Government and Parliament to relieve the country to a great degree by the remission of taxation, and also by a commutation of some taxes. The next subject to which he wished to call the attention of the House was the imperfect state of banking in England. He conceived that, if proper means were resorted to, banking might be made a much more secure and perfect system in this country. Confidence would then be restored—loans more easily negotiated, and a great deal of the difficulties of commercial men diminished. To these causes he must add the bad crops of the two last years, which had undoubtedly contributed much to agricultural distress. He could state, from his local knowledge, that this cause had operated in the districts with which he was acquainted. It did not, however, appear to him, that if there had been an abundant crop, the agricultural interest would have been much improved, for the prices would then have been so low as not to afford remuneration to the cultivators. He would then venture to state what he thought were the remedies for this state of things. He thought the question of the currency ought to be considered with respect to a proper system of banking. The noble Duke had allowed that the circulation was greater now than the years of depreciation; it was now sixty-five millions, whereas, in years of depreciation, it had only been sixty-four millions; and, if he remembered well, amongst the items of this circulation, the noble Duke had stated there were twenty-eight millions of gold, and he believed the noble Duke had that night said across the table, that this sum of twenty-eight millions was exclusive of what was deposited in the coffers of the Bank of England; but then it was not stated to be exclusive of the gold in all the other banks in England. He would now come to a point which bore strongly upon the question of the currency, and which had not been touched by any of the noble Lords who spoke upon the subject that night. It was to make a joint gold and silver currency, by which they would be returning to the currency of those times during which England had enjoyed the longest period of prosperity. He thought that such a proceeding would be attended with great advantage to the country; and in suggesting it he felt himself supported by the authority of Mr. Locke, who stated that gold was not generally used as a measure of commerce; and by that of the late Lord Liverpool's father, who, although he himself advocated a gold standard of currency, yet allowed, that while gold and silver were jointly the standard currency of the country, no objection to it had been made. He accordingly submitted to their Lordships, that by adopting his suggestion, they might, without any departure from sound principles, alleviate in some degree the existing distress; for such a standard of currency, which, he remarked, was that of all the world except England, would furnish all the advantages of small notes, and afford great security against panics. Amongst the causes of the present distress, he had alluded to a superabundant population, and to the influx of Irish labourers into this country. He allowed he was as sanguine as any man with respect to the good effects to be anticipated from the Catholic Relief Bill; but he thought that some provision ought to be made for the Irish poor, and that some plan should be devised for a gradual remedy in the system of paying wages from the Poor-rates. He would now say a few words on retrenchment and public economy in general. He thought that the line of conduct adopted by the noble Duke was such as ought to give confidence to their Lordships and to the public at large, that he would introduce retrenchment into all branches of the expenditure, as far as was consistent with the security and well-being of the country. He was one of those who believed that all retrenchments and economy were not productive of unmixed good. They could not turn adrift a number of persons, without producing a certain degree of evil; [*hear, from the Duke of Wellington*] for, by depriving them of employment, they added to the mass of suffering, and increased the pressure of affliction upon those who had been previously in a state of distress. A reduction in taxation ought always to accompany retrenchment, else the latter became a positive evil; because you did not relieve the suffering population, but, on the contrary, aggravated their distress. Thus it happened that a number of clerks could not be dismissed, nor a regiment disbanded, without their adding to the sum of human misery. Then as to the money so saved, what did they propose to do with it? To throw it into the Sinking Fund. Now to this he objected; he would go farther than the noble Viscount—he would take not merely the seventeen hundred thousand pounds, but he would even take the whole amount of the surplus Revenue, even if it absorbed the Sinking Fund; for although there were circumstances under which a Sinking Fund was useful, yet there were others, as in the present, when it actually aggravated the evils under which the people suffered. He should also recommend a commutation of taxes; and his plan was this—to substitute an Income or Property Tax to some certain amount, for various other taxes bearing hard upon the industry of the country. It appeared to him the only plan which could be legally devised, to make the absentees contribute their fair share to support the burthens of the country. It would also make the funded proprietor, whose property had greatly increased since the peace, by the increase in the value of money, pay his fair proportion of the taxes. This Income Tax would levy on the landed and funded proprietors alone, leaving out trades and professions, which, from the fluctuating nature of their profits, should never be taxed, except under the pressure of extreme necessity. There was one other point—the Corn Bill—to which he wished to advert; he would not allude to it in its general bearings, but as it was always spoken of as the cause of distress either to the agriculturist or the manufacturer, he could not altogether pass it by in a discussion like the present. Now he never advocated a protecting duty for the artificial support of the landed interest; but his reason in voting as he had voted was, that he believed that in the long run, taking the average of a number of years—the encouragement it gave to the internal production of grain would render that grain cheaper; and also, by the circumstance of a larger portion of the land being kept continually in cultivation, prevent the dreadful pressure upon the lower classes that had been more than once experienced in years of dearth or war. This was the reason he had supported Mr. Canning's Bill. As to the scale of duties adopted by Parliament on the recommendation of the present Administration, he thought it was higher than it ought to be permitted to remain; and he for one should be ready to lower it gradually to the scale approved of by the House of Commons in 1829. He had now briefly, and to the best of his ability, laid his views upon the subject before their Lordships. To others he would respectfully leave it to modify the suggestions he had made into some better shape and some more acceptable form, which might have the effect of inducing their Lordships to institute an inquiry into the causes of the present distress. He thought, however, the mode of inquiry suggested by the noble Earl was of all others the most inexpedient, the most unsatisfactory, and the most unlikely to produce that result which the noble Earl was so anxious to effect. He should, therefore, be reluctantly compelled to vote against him; but if any Motion for an inquiry were brought forward in a definite and less exceptionable form, it should receive his warmest and most sincere support.

The Earl of *Eldon* hoped their Lordships would excuse him if he requested the favour of a hearing for a short time. The question before them might, he thought, be compressed into a very small compass. He was not able to come down on the first day of the meeting of Parliament, else, perhaps, he should not have trespassed on their patience at this late period; he could assure their Lordships, however, that he would not detain them long from enjoying the advantage of those views and information which they were likely to receive from the noble Lords who would follow him. He confessed that there was no passage of his life, personal or political, which he regretted more than his absence, all involuntary as it was, on the first day of the Session, when such an extraordinary course of proceeding was adopted by his Majesty's Ministers. He said this, meaning no offence to any of the noble Lords opposite, for whom he had the highest respect, but certainly, when he read next morning what was described to have taken place in that House the evening before, he could not believe—he would not believe, until that belief were forced upon him, that such sentiments as those represented had been embodied in a King's speech, and promulgated by British Ministers. He found the distress described to be partial; and even for this partial distress no causes were assigned, except bad seasons, the state of foreign countries, and certain improvements in machinery, with other indefinite causes, all equally said to be not under legislative control. He knew not whether it were the lay or the spiritual lords who had made the grand discovery that the seasons were not under legislative control: but to find that the distress of the country was to be disposed of in so sweeping and unsatisfactory a manner, was enough to break the heart of any Englishman. It was an extraordinary thing to be told that there were other causes besides bad seasons for this lamentable distress, without specifying what these other causes were; thus leaving Parliament to find them out, as best it might, and also to find out why they were not under legislative control. For he would say, that if ever the country was in a situation which would make it the bounden duty of Parliament to ascertain what these other causes were, and why they were not under legislative control, and wherefore they were utterly incapable of being remedied or alleviated, it was that very time, because even a small portion of alleviation would, in their grievous distress, be agreeably received by the people of England, who were suffering with exemplary patience, which he hoped and trusted in God they would continue to manifest, notwithstanding the anxious endeavours of certain persons to goad them into undutifulness. He hoped these individuals would not succeed in their attempts to aggravate the feeling of disappointment and discontent that might, perhaps, exist, should their Lordships, rejecting the Motion of the noble Earl, refuse to inquire into the means of giving the people relief. He trusted their Lordships would keep down this spirit by a determination to support the laws of the country, which, he begged them to remember, they might better carry into effect if they now showed an anxiety to afford relief to the people. With respect to the Inquiry suggested that night, the House had two ways, and only two ways, of entertaining it; and he was sorry to learn that, from the observations which fell from his noble friend near him, with respect to the inexpediency of a select committee—and from the observations of another Lord condemning an Inquiry by the House itself, that both the courses recommended were considered to be objectionable; he was sorry both were objectionable; because, if to the extent maintained by these noble Lords, he should be glad to know if their Lordships had any other course. He would say none—positively none; and all hope for the distressed people of England was at an end—they must take one or other, or else they must be content to contemplate the sufferings of their countrymen in a state of perfect quietude. He hoped he had not hitherto, and should not at any time, allude disrespectfully to the statements of his Majesty's Ministers; but really when their Lordships were told, that independent of bad seasons, there were other causes for the general distress, one would suppose that the Administration was satisfied what were those other causes, and had ascertained that they were one and all not to be alleviated by legislative control, and therefore that there was no remedy for any of them. What course, then, had their Lordships to pursue? If they were satisfied with the speech from the Throne expressing the sentiments of the other side of the House, they must conclude that no inquiry could be of any use; but he never would believe that the Constitution of the country, or the duties of their Lordships' House, would leave them in such a condition as not to be able to learn that which they had a right to ask, and could demand to know—namely, what all these causes were that, like the seasons, were beyond legislative control, and why they were so. The noble Lords on his side had differed altogether from these statements. The noble Viscount and the noble Earl gave them the flattest contradiction—they enumerated not one, but many causes of public distress which might be removed by the legislature. The noble Viscount had enumerated, he believed, three; and the noble Earl had considerably enlarged the catalogue—he had suggested no less than twelve ways, by which (if they would only condescend to adopt any one of them) some alleviation might be given to the people's suffering. While the Administration told them that the causes of the public distress, like bad seasons, which they had probably learned from the bench of Bishops were not under the control of the Prime Minister of England, could not be altered, though they acknowledged that there were others, be they few or many: the noble Lords near him had mentioned several that might be alleviated by the legislature. They had even counted up an appalling number. He appealed to their Lordships to say whether the manufacturers, the merchants, the farmers, the landowners, the peasantry—once the boast of England, were not in a state of unexampled distress; and for the Peers and the Commons of England to be told that there were causes for this distress which could not be discovered, or should not be revealed, was something equally unexampled. He believed, however, that Ministers, though they thought themselves unable, were anxious to relieve the people, and he rejoiced to see the right rev. Prelates in their places, for he was sure that they would vote for a motion that had for its object to relieve distress. As for his noble friend, who thought no inquiry could be made, and who would support none—

The Earl of *Rosebery* explained, that he should be ready to support any motion for inquiry, brought forward in what he considered a definite and practicable form.

The Earl of *Eldon* resumed: He had done his noble friend injustice—not willingly. But he would wish to have this practicable mode of inquiry pointed out; he did not recollect if the noble Lord had told them his mode. Certainly his noble friends had between them suggested fifteen ways of affording ample relief. He would not have spoken that night, were it not for the purpose of recording his opinion, that their Lordships' House was bound to make some inquiry. As to the plans laid before them by his noble friends, he begged to say that nobody would be more willing to defer to their opinions than himself; but he thought, when they possessed the right and power of collecting the opinions of the House of Lords as a House, that this would be a most desirable mode of conducting their inquiry. He therefore would not take a decision upon trust from his noble friends, either as to the causes or the remedies, but he would have it in the only constitutional way. The noble Earl had stated as causes of this distress, amongst others—the mal-administration of the Poor-rates in the south of England, the influx of Irish labourers, and a superabundant population, which Ministers probably intended to include amongst the causes beyond legislative control; but all these statements were in direct contradiction of the Speech. It was accordingly the duty of the House to see if these opinions were well founded, to the end that, if possible, some relief might be granted in the shape of legislation, and not in that of a fine speech; a speech from which, after you have heard it, you find you have learned nothing. With respect to the question of the currency, he would observe, that if there were any change, faith should not be broken with the public creditor; and he might remark that there would be, in his opinion, more danger in altering the currency, than in abiding by the present standard. It appeared to him, that such a remedy would be worse than the disease. There was one point alluded to by the noble Viscount, to which he would advert —he meant, the beneficial consequences of the measure which had distinguished the last Session of Parliament. On this subject he had only one word to say. He had had the misfortune to differ from a great majority of that House with reference to that question, and he had thought he was only doing his duty, and acting in the fair discharge of that duty, in the part he had taken. He had not failed to think very anxiously on the subject since, and as a friend to the country, he wished that his apprehensions on the subject might be found without support. If he could recall his apprehensions, he would readily do so; but he still could not discharge them from his mind. On the whole, although he was inclined, on many occasions, to defer to the opinions of noble Lords, he must say that he did not think the arguments urged against inquiry at all conclusive. He thought the country had a right to know the opinion of the House of Lords collectively concerning its present condition, and he could not get rid of his sense of duty, which informed him that the legislature was bound to inquire into the causes of the distress. If it could not be entirely removed it might be alleviated, and he thought it the duty of Parliament to make the attempt.

The Earl of *Rosebery* explained.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, he would proceed to notice what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord that had spoken last, and to set the noble Earl right with reference to his misconception of his Majesty's Speech, delivered by the Lords Commissioners, but he would in the first instance beg leave to advert to something which fell from the noble Earl that made the Motion, and from the noble Duke that had spoken in the course of the debate. The noble Earl, although he had stated that it was not his intention to make his Motion personal against him (the Duke of Wellington), yet he certainly did contrive, somehow or other, in most part of his speech to introduce matters entirely personal. The noble Duke had done the same, although he apprehended that the noble Duke especially could not have any personal feelings against him or against the Ministers. He had, however, brought forward an occurrence in a county in which he (the Duke of Wellington) was the Lord-lieutenant, when the noble Duke forgot that he himself was in the neighbourhood, in another county, in which a similar misfortune had occurred. It was their Lordships' duty he admitted, to do all in their power to alleviate the existing distress, but he was sure that no benefit could be derived to the community at large from personal attacks in that House, and from impeaching individuals. The object they must all have was to endeavour to discover the causes of the distress, and to ascertain the means which could be devised to alleviate it. The noble Earl who commenced this debate began by stating that the agricultural population of the country was in a state of the greatest distress, and he was followed in the same strain by the noble Duke opposite. No man felt more confident on that subject than himself, and on the first day of the Session (although his noble friend was not present), he had stated what he now repeated, that he did not entertain the slightest doubt of the distress; but when the noble Duke called upon the House to appoint a Committee of Inquiry into the agricultural distress, he should recollect that the usual course on similar occasions was, to state what substantive measure he intended to propose. Did the noble Earl mean to propose a repeal or an alteration of the Corn Laws? For if he did, he would at once tell him he would oppose him. The Corn Laws could not be repealed without injury to the country. That measure had worked completely to the object destined, by preventing the price of corn rising so as to injure the interests of the country at large, whilst it enabled the agriculturist to receive a beneficial reward in some degree for his labour. In the second year of the existence of that law, a greater importation of corn than ever had taken place, to the extent of three million quarters, of which two million five hundred thousand came from Ireland, and the prices had not been lowered in this country, beyond what was deemed a remunerating price to the agriculturists. With reference to another branch of agriculture, at that moment he had the means of proving that the prices received for other articles of agricultural produce, such as meat, timber, &c., were fully equal to what they were when the Bank Restriction Act was in existence, and when the amount of taxes was the heaviest. [*cries of no, no!*] This was true. This being the fact, what measure did the noble Earl propose to adopt, to relieve the distress of the agriculturists? The next subject that the noble Earl referred to was the manufacturing interests. No man could doubt that the amount of the manufactures in the country at present was larger than was ever known. This was produced by the improvements in machinery, and the application of steam. The great competition in this country reduced the price of labour extremely low. He should now come to consider the causes of distress. His noble friend had not happily adopted the speech he quoted. His Majesty had begged Parliament to advert to the unfortunate state of distress, and to endeavour to trace out the cause. The words of the Speech were:—"His Majesty feels assured that you will concur with him in assigning due weight to the effect of unfavourable seasons, and to the operation of other causes which are beyond the reach of legislative control or remedy." "His Majesty is convinced that no pressure of temporary difficulties will induce you to relax the determination which you have uniformly manifested to maintain inviolate the public credit, and thus to uphold the high character and the permanent welfare of the country." These were the very circumstances to which his Majesty referred, and which were referred to by the noble Viscount. The noble Viscount would find, however, that he could not repeal the taxes he wished to have repealed, without injuring the resources of the country. He would only beg to call to the recollection of the House the state in which the world was at the end of the war in the years 1814 and 1815. Europe was then absolutely overrun with armies, and had been so for thirty years. There was nothing but armies in the world, and nothing was thought of but the means of sustaining them. Except in France and this country, there were few manufacturers in Europe; but when the peace took place, all the world became manufacturers, and a great fall in prices necessarily ensued. He would read, from a paper he held in his hand, a few extracts of the prices of several commodities in different places since the peace of 1814. Cotton in England—the raw article, in 1814, had sold at 2*s.* 2*d.* the pound, or, with duty included, at 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1815 and 1817 it had sold at 1*s.* 8½*d.*, and in 1829 at 6*d.* This was a fall in price equal to what had taken place in any other article. Silk in 1814 had sold for 1*l.* 4*s.*, or, with duty included, for 1*l.* 9*s.*; whilst in 1829, it sold for 8*s.* 10*d.*, or with the duty, at 8*s.* 11*d.* the pound. Sheep's wool in 1814, had sold for 8*s.* 2*d.*, or with the duty, at 8*s.* 3*d.*; whilst in 1829, it sold for only 2*s.* 3*d.* or with the duty, at 2*s.* 4*d.* These were circumstances beyond the control of Parliament, and which could not be remedied, and yet they must affect the situation of the country. Another article he would quote was fir timber, which had fallen equally. Profits had fallen equally with the fall of the raw material. Cotton yarn, which had sold for 4*s.* 4½*d.* the pound, in 1814, in 1830 sold for 1*s.* 5½*d.*; and cotton manufactured goods had altered in price within the same period from 1*s.* 5*d.*, 1*s.* 8*d.*, 2*s.* 0½*d.* to 6¼*d.*, 8¾*d.*, and 8½*d.* Irish linens had fallen from 1*s.* 7*d.* to 1*s.* 0¾*d.* Woollen cloths from 1*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* to 1*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* Other articles had been reduced enormously in price by the competition with foreigners. In those articles in which there was no competition with foreigners, prices had been reduced very much, such, for instance, as in the iron and pottery trades. Here were causes evidently beyond the control of Parliament—Parliament could not by any act of theirs raise the price of the manufactured goods. The noble Earl (Stanhope) had talked of the great distress in Ireland—in Cork and other places. He felt excessive concern to hear of this distress, and would be glad to hear of any possibility of relief—but he was sure that relief could not be given by a Committee of the whole House which was not to examine into any thing, as far as he could understand, by which the relief of that distress could be achieved. No remedy appeared to him to be suggested by the appointment of the Committee. The noble Viscount had adverted to making the Bank of England surrender its charter as a means of relief, by leading to a better system of banking; but his noble friend was mistaken if he supposed that Government had not paid attention to the subject. He would tell his noble friend that this was beyond all parliamentary control. This was not a measure which Parliament could now debate. Parliament could not interfere on the subject but by consent of the Bank, without at least evincing its bad faith by the breach of the Bank Charter. His noble friend had then adverted to a measure which was to lead to a repeal of the taxes. No man could wish more than he did to repeal the taxes as far as possible. What was Parliament engaged on every day except in considering the establishments, and the means of augmenting the resources, with a view to alleviate the burthens of the people? The noble Lord had said that the country could now obtain relief, for the Government had saved a sum of money. He must beg leave to observe to his noble friend, that he had made a very great mistake in his statement of the income and expenses of the country for the last and the present year. He had made his calculations upon the grounds that the accounts of the Revenue made the receipts equal last year with the year preceding, but there was a material difference, amounting even to the sum of 1,300,000*l.* The King's Speech did not take the noble Lord's view of the case, but adverted to the difference of the Estimates, and their actual produce. The Revenue of the year 1829 was estimated at 900,000*l.* less than that of the preceding year, for owing to particular circumstances connected with the Malt trade, the Malt Duty of 1828 had produced 900,000*l.* more than was expected in 1829. To this must be added an actual deficiency of 400,000*l.*; so that his noble friend had made a mistake of 1,300,000*l.* in estimating the produce of the Revenue for 1830. Another mistake was his striking out the receipt of the Dead Weight from one side of the Account, and not from the other, forgeting that the whole charge fell upon the public.

Viscount *Goderich* said in explanation, that he had included the Dead Weight, for he knew it came eventually from the public—not from the Bank.

The Duke of *Wellington*, in continuation said, his noble friend would find, if he included all these items, that instead of a surplus Revenue over expenditure of three millions, there would be only a million and a half, and that would be its utmost amount, even after all the savings, it was the wish of his Majesty's Government to carry into effect as far as possible. It should be remembered that the savings were not all clear gain to the public; and, moreover, if the savings were not made where they would not fall on individuals, they would do more injury than good. When offices became vacant, the Government always considered whether the public service could not go on without filling them up; and if this were not the case, the next point was to consider whether the place could not be filled by some persons who already received half-pay or pension, so that the half-pay or pension might be saved to the public. They had tried to reduce the list of pensions of the Army and Navy, by not keeping men in the service the full time they ought to serve, according to the original institutions in the Army. As the men were generally willing to take their discharge the amount of their pensions was lessened. He should deceive the House by telling them that savings would be beneficial if they were made at the expense of individuals who must be thrown on the public as soon as the savings were made. With reference to the question of the Silver Currency, which had occupied a large portion of the noble Lord's speech, he should prove that the noble Lord was entirely mistaken. In point of fact, both the metals, silver and gold, circulated now on the same principle on which they had circulated previously to the year 1797. But it was well known that our silver coinage, previous to the war, was much deteriorated by wear and other causes, and was then only a legal tender by tale to the amount of *5l.* It was by weight, however, and at the rate of *5s. 2d.* an ounce, a legal tender to any amount. Silver was now a legal tender only to the extent of two pounds; and the instrinsic value of the coin being not quite equal to its nomination, it was kept in circulation only by limiting the amount of the tender, and therefore the silver coin might be said now to circulate on the same principle as previous to the year 1797. The noble Lord was totally mistaken when he said that silver would circulate to a greater degree if it were made a legal tender to any amount. If any such measure were attempted, the Bank invariably found that the silver returned to them, and thus it was found impossible to force it unnaturally into circulation. The important subject of the silver currency had been under the consideration of Government, and he could assure the noble Viscount that the subject had not been neglected. One other point he wished to advert to. He alluded to what had been said with reference to the shipping interests. No man felt more than he did the necessity of encouraging the shipping and navigation of the country; but there was no reason to complain of any depreciation of the shipping interest, for at this moment the tonnage amounted to more than for many years past. The shipping of the country had rather been on the increase than otherwise. He must observe, that the shipping interest did not make such large profits as formerly; but neither were the expenses of ships so high. The charges of ship-building, equipment, provisions, and the wages of seamen, were lower.—It was true that foreign ships had been allowed some advantages in England, beyond what they formerly possessed, upon the reciprocity system; but it was found necessary for the general benefits of trade, and for the advantage of the country, to render the carriage of goods as low as possible. This was absolutely necessary, when the competition among all trades, and of all countries, was so active and severe. The noble Earl had thought proper to arraign him, because, on the first day of the Session, he had stated certain things which had induced him to believe that the distresses of the country were not so extensive as had been stated. If the noble Earl thought that he did not feel fully the distresses of the country, he was very much mistaken; but he must tell the noble Earl that although he was ready to acknowledge the distress to its utmost extent, it was not for him to exaggerate the amount, or to suffer the

House to be led away with inflated statements and distorted views. Was it possible that the Revenue could continue to be so productive, if the distress of the country was so extreme as it had been represented to be? Did an increased produce from reduced taxes show the existence of that general extremity of distress? Let their Lordships look at the produce of the Malt Tax, in 1828 and in 1829; notwithstanding the bad harvest in the former year. Let them look at the produce of all the other taxes. He was justified also in referring to the increase of buildings, not only in London, but throughout the kingdom. That must surely be the consequence of a progress making by the people towards prosperity. There were other circumstances which bore him out in his opinion. For instance, the condition of the Savings Banks. It was true that at one period large sums had been drawn out of those banks, but they had since come back. Whence did they come? Was not that a circumstance which showed that there was some progress towards a better state of things? Then there was an increasing traffic on roads, canals, railways, &c. That traffic had been increasing for ten years, and was now nearly double what it was ten years ago. A noble Marquis, in remarking on the state of the currency, a few nights before, had observed, that the amount of currency at present in circulation might not be enough for the wants of the people. Did not that show an increase of trade? All these circumstances, notwithstanding the distress which did exist—which he did not deny—which no man could deny, still impressed his mind with the conviction that the country was in progress to an improved state of things. He begged their Lordships to consider well the circumstances to which he had requested their attention. Let them call for what documents they thought proper; let them inquire carefully and extensively into the subject; but let them not agree to the present Motion for no purpose but to make an attack on the existing Administration.

The Earl of *Eldon*, in explanation, observed that it seemed to be supposed that he had objected to the small-note circulation; but he had no hesitation in declaring it to be his opinion, that, under proper regulations, the small-note circulation ought to be restored. As to what the noble Duke had said about the shipping interest, he knew that it could be proved to demonstration that the distress of that interest was most severe.

Viscount *Goderich* wished to say a few words in explanation. The noble Duke supposed that he had erroneously stated the surplus Revenue of the last two years. What he had stated was, that he found the surplus of the year 1828, after deducting, on the one hand, the payments by the Bank on acccount of the Dead Weight, and, on the other, the payments to the Trustees, was 3,232,000*l.* If he had included the two items which he had mentioned, the surplus would have been 5,000,000*l.* The actual amount of the Revenue for the year 1828, deducting the amount paid by the Bank on account of the Dead Weight, was 52,104,000*l.* The actual expenditure, deducting the amount paid to the Trustees, was 48,872,000*l.*; leaving, as he had already said, a surplus of 3,232,000*l.* The Balance Sheet of 1829 exhibited the following statement:—

Revenue . . .	£50,786,000
Expenditure . .	49,075,000
	£1,711,000

The surplus of the two years, therefore, was 4,243,000*l.*; and the average surplus of each year 2,471,000*l.* What he had assumed was, not the near approach of great prosperity, but that we might anticipate that the Revenue of the present year would be equal to the average Revenue of the two preceding years. But if the expenditure of the present year were to be reduced below that of 1829, by 1,300,000*l.* then he maintained that a surplus might be anticipated of 3,700,000*l.* Such was the calculation which he had made; and his only apprehension was, that it might prove too sanguine.

The Duke of *Richmond*, in explanation, said that the noble Duke must know but little of him if he could suppose that anything which he had said had been dictated by personal feeling. He had served under the noble Duke's banner, and had passed some of the happiest days of his life with him; and if he were to act as his personal feelings dictated, it would be in every case to support the noble Duke. He had alluded to an occurrence in a county in which the noble Duke had a preponderating influence, only to corroborate his assertion, that the English peasantry were now in a most impoverished and degraded condition.

The Marquis of *Salisbury* bore testimony to the severe distress existing in the country. Would their Lordships suffer the agricultural population to be borne down as they were at present? Hundreds of able-bodied labourers were compelled to have recourse to a pittance derived from the parish for their existence. It had been said that there was a greater currency at present than in former years. He would ask if there ever existed the same distress for want of currency? He did not mean to compare the two countries, but the distress at present existing in this country was similar to the distress which existed in France immediately before the Revolution. With respect to the motions before their Lordships, he certainly did not think the proposition for an inquiry at the bar of the House a wise one. In his opinion, it would do more harm than good. He thought the best course would be, to refer different subjects to Select Committees; and he called on the noble Duke standing by the fire (Richmond)—for no one could do it better—to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the cause of the distress under which the labouring population were suffering. If the inquiries in Select Committees failed, then a more general inquiry might be instituted by all their Lordships at the bar of the House.

The Earl of *Radnor* expressed his surprise at the speeches of the noble Viscount who had followed the noble Mover, and of the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government; and his still greater surprise at the conclusions to which they had arrived. The noble Duke had begun his speech in a spirit not called for by any thing which had occurred. He had lost his temper; and charged the noble Earl, and the noble Duke who had spoken so ably on the question, with personality; although there was nothing in the speeches of the noble Earl and the noble Duke to justify the accusation. As to the general tenour of the noble Duke's speech, nothing could be more in favour of the Motion, except the tenour of the speech of the noble Viscount. The noble Duke not only dropped the word "inquiry" several times in the course of his speech, but actually concluded his speech by urging their Lordships to investigate and inquire. No doubt every noble Lord had inquired, and would inquire in his own neighbourhood. But the question was, whether they should not inquire in their capacity as Peers of Parliament, as a House of Lords, for the sake of the country at large. The noble Earl who made the motion did not call upon their Lordships to inquire, in their personal and individual character, but he called upon Parliament to inquire, that they might know the facts in their legislative capacity. He was astonished that the noble Duke, in his position as First Lord of the Treasury, having, as it appeared, a doubt on his mind whether the country was in a state of distress or not, did not wish for an inquiry, were it only to inform himself upon the subject, in order that he might know what measures to recommend to his Majesty, or propose to Parliament. The noble Duke ought to endeavour to ascertain whether distress existed or not, to get clear of the doubt by which he was agitated on the subject. Sometimes the noble Duke admitted the distress; then again he denied it, urging the increase of buildings, and that agricultural produce for instance, timber (not frequently, by-the-bye, classed with agricultural produce), had not fallen in price. Now the fact was, that timber had fallen in price. The noble Duke said that meat had not fallen in price. If he would look at his butcher's bills, unless he had been greatly imposed upon, he would find that meat had fallen from ten-pence halfpenny to seven-pence a pound. Cheese had fallen cent per cent. Grazing cattle had fallen greatly in price, there being no adequate sale for them in Smithfield market. Under all these circumstances, the agricultural interest had a right to cry out. The noble Duke's mind was really so wavering that their Lordships ought to inquire, for the purpose of communicating information to his Majesty's Ministers. The manufacturers, the noble Duke acknowledged were in some distress; but he endeavoured to account for that distress by the statement that more goods had been manufactured since the conclusion of the war. If it could be shown that the prices had been uniformly decreasing, that argument would be intelligible; but, on reading the statement of prices, it appeared that they were sometimes up and sometimes down, so that the argument had no bearing at all upon the question. All this uncertainty, however, was a good argument in favour of those who wished for full and correct information as to its cause. But the noble

Duke also took a technical objection to his noble friend's Motion. He objected to it, because his noble friend had, very wisely in his (Lord Radnor's) opinion, abstained from stating the precise object which the Committee was to have in view. The state of the country was a sufficient ground for the inquiry, and the proposal of a remedy for that state ought to be the result of the investigation. But it was of all things most astonishing to hear the noble Duke argue against this Motion, when their Lordships recollected that not ten days ago a member of his Majesty's Government came to the House to propose that the affairs of the East-India Company should be referred to the consideration of a Select Committee. His Majesty's Government, having no project of their own on the subject, wished to have a committee of their Lordships to learn what was their lesson, and to ascertain what was their duty. To do that, however, was to abandon the functions of Government, and to throw the responsibility on Parliament—undoubtedly a most improper proceeding. The speech of the noble Viscount who spoke second in the debate was, in its tendency, most favourable to his noble friend's Motion; but the conclusion of it was astonishing. Indeed, the speech itself was astonishing too. On the first day of the Session, the noble Viscount had objected to all inquiry, because it was a delusion to believe that any relief could be afforded. Now he had made a speech of an hour long to show, not only that it was no delusion, but that he had projects, ready cut and dried to relieve the distress. He gave great credit to the noble Viscount for the means which he recommended. But why did not the noble Viscount resort to those means when he was in office? The same taxes which he had that night proposed to take off might have been taken off with great advantage when the noble Viscount was in office; and it was to be regretted that such an alleviation of the pressure on the people did not at that time occur to the noble Viscount. The noble Viscount said that he did not like to prophesy much, because he did not wish to prophesy ill; yet, surely, the noble Viscount had prophesied ill, when he said it was a delusion to suppose that the existing distress could be relieved. It was true that the prophecies of the noble Viscount were not always verified by the event. Some years ago he had declared that the prosperity of the country was founded on a solid basis, a declaration which undoubtedly had been proved inaccurate. In the year 1824 the noble Viscount told the other House of Parliament "that the country was in a state of cheerful prosperity, with an increasing revenue, decreasing taxation, and a debt in a course of gradual and certain reduction;" and that this was all "the result of sound policy and considerate legislation." There was a great deal more poetical description of the prosperity of the country; and one part of it touched him sensibly; he meant that in which the noble Viscount had claimed for Parliament "the merit of having brought the country to its existing state of content and prosperity;" and contradicted the assertion of those who had said "that it was utterly impossible for it to extricate the kingdom from the condition of distress and depression in which it had recently been placed;" and yet the other night the noble Viscount declared that it was all delusion to suppose that any relief could be afforded to the present distress. The noble Viscount, in his speech of 1824, went on to say, "Parliament, the true source of such general happiness, may enjoy the proud, the delightful satisfaction, of looking round upon the face of a joyous country, smiling in plenty, and animated;" and then came a sublime passage, which he confessed he did not quite comprehend, "with what I hope to see—unrestricted industry, content, comfort, prosperity, and order, hand-in-hand, dispense, from the ancient portals of a Constitutional Monarchy, their inestimable blessings among a happy, united, and, let it never be forgotten, a grateful people." The next year the noble Viscount went still further. He declared, "that he was of opinion that if, upon a fair review of our situation, there should appear to be nothing hollow in its foundation, artificial in its superstructure, or flimsy in its general result, they might safely venture to contemplate, with intuitive admiration, the harmony of its proportions and the solidity of its basis." Now that "solidity" which the noble Viscount talked of in 1825 was precisely the paper currency which the noble Viscount had the other evening called "filthy rags"—

Viscount *Goderich* declared that he had never used such an expression; although in several of the Newspapers he had seen it attributed to him.

The Earl of *Radnor* observed, that with respect to the passages which he had quoted from the noble Viscount's speeches in 1824 and 1825, he had refreshed his memory by a reference to the recorded reports of those speeches; but he had not had an opportunity of doing so with reference to the last-mentioned expression. He would not positively assert that the noble Viscount had used that expression; but unless his memory greatly failed him he believed that he had done so. The one-pound notes were the solid basis of the prosperity of the country, on which the noble Viscount, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, congratulated the country. The solid basis of our prosperity was putting forth filthy rags. What he blamed the noble Duke for was, not for doing what every body said ought not to have been done—he meant the measure for putting an end to the circulation of the rags; but, when this measure was adopted, there were other measures that ought also to have been adopted at the same time, to prevent the consequence of putting an end to the paper money. He would not then discuss those other measures; but he thought their Lordships would act wisely in going into a Committee to inquire into what measures might yet be taken. Nobody now doubted the distress; the noble Duke and his colleagues did not doubt the distress; and as they had already changed their opinions on some most important points, he did not doubt that ere the close of the Session the House would yet see greater changes even than before in their opinions. He could bear witness that the distress in that part of the country where he acted as a magistrate was very severe, so severe as to be indescribable. But there was something beyond the pecuniary distress which demanded their Lordships' attention; out of that distress there had arisen a most acrimonious and hostile feeling, a feeling which he was afraid was increasing, and threatening the destruction of society. Only a few years ago there was a social intercourse between all the different classes in the country; it extended downwards, from the farmer through the labourer, and upwards, through the landowner to the Peers, and the highest person in the realm. At present this connexion was entirely destroyed, and there was nothing but dissatisfaction. He did not blame any man in particular, but he would assert that this was the natural result of our legislative measures. The labourer was full of animosity against the farmer, both as a farmer and as an overseer, because he thought the farmer was grinding him down to the lowest possible pittance. The farmer was, himself, pressed down by distress; and instead of keeping his labourers on his farm as he formerly did, whether he had always employment for them or not, he sent them away as soon as he had got his work done, in the most slovenly way possible. He had lately talked a great deal with an opulent yeoman of the Weald of Kent, where the distress was as great as any where, and this gentleman had told him that in one parish, the name of which he (Lord Radnor) did not recollect, there were no less than thirty-one single men out of employment, which was a thing never before heard of. The labourers every where felt sore that they got no more than would just keep soul and body together, and more than this they could not have, as they were paid out of the resources of others. The industrious man was grieved that his situation was so bad. Then, again, it was the practice to send the men round to the farmers to employ them; and the farmer being obliged to employ them, whether he wanted them or not, had his feelings embittered by that circumstance. The farmers were, of course, anxious to support appearances, and they were annoyed by their situation. It had been well stated by the noble Earl, that these states of distress had frequently occurred, and every time they had occurred they had attacked a weaker part of the Constitution; but it had not also been remarked, that every time they had occurred attempts had been made to remedy the evil, by sending out the dirty rags. Exchequer Bills or, Bank notes, or some other species of paper money, had always been issued, so that the measures taken to remedy the evil were precisely those which they were all then deprecating. Besides the pecuniary distress, then, there was also the feeling of acrimony he had alluded to, and both the pecuniary distress and the acrimony were on the increase. The landlord, too, had encumbrances; and anxious to keep the engagements he had made, he pressed his tenants;

the tenants were angry, and thus feelings of ill-will went through all classes, and were likely to extend and be strengthened. Into these circumstances it was their Lordships' duty to inquire. He would not refer to the remedies proposed; he would only say, that issuing Bank notes, altering the standard, or changing the standard from gold to silver, all of which had been suggested, were of that same species of tampering with the currency, which had already caused all the evils. All our present miseries were the consequences of changes in the currency. His noble friend had said, that tampering with the currency was the cause of the evil; but he believed his noble friend was officially connected with the Government—was the author at least of those confidential communications of which they had heard that night—when that original sin was committed. By tampering with the currency we had caused all the evils, and they never would be cured by further tampering with the same extensive and important instrument. To regulate the currency was the highest prerogative of the Crown, and he hoped that the Ministers would support this part of the prerogative, and maintain the metallic standard. It was that which gave the labourer security for his wages—it was that which gave the rich man a certainty that his property would be safe; and as it affected all the relations of property in the country, he trusted that never again would the currency be tampered with. The noble Lord concluded by declaring that he would give his cordial support to the Motion of the noble Earl.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* could assure the noble Earl (who had submitted the Motion to their Lordships with that degree of earnestness which the subject well deserved), that if he could persuade himself that assenting to the Motion would further the object of enlightening that House and the country as to the causes and cure of that state of difficulty in which he felt as much as the noble Lord that the country was fallen—if he thought that the inquiry would enable them to ascertain what the wisest among them did not then know, how much of the distress arose from permanent, and how much from temporary causes—if, duly contemplating the importance of the inquiry, he could persuade himself to adopt the mode of inquiry recommended by the noble Lord, or if he thought it could be carried on successfully, he would vote most cordially for its adoption. He was aware of the utility of discussing some questions, as he supposed the noble Earl meant to discuss his by his calling witnesses to inquire into facts at the Bar; but feeling the importance and utility of that method of inquiry, he thought that when applied to an investigation of causes that were numerous, varied, remote, and complicated, it could not be serviceable; and aware of the confusion in which such an inquiry must involve their Lordships, as he could not bring himself to think that an inquiry so conducted would be attended with any beneficial effects, he should not give his vote for going into the inquiry. Their Lordships must be aware that the inquiry, whether successfully conducted or not, would excite expectations which could not be gratified. It would give rise to circumstances that must be anything but instructive to their Lordships. He had seen an Eastern work translated, of which the title had prevented him from reading it, but which he thought they would be likely to see realized there, if the Motion of the noble Earl should pass. It was called "A Sea of Controversial Waves," and if their Lordships were to open their doors to an inquiry, they would let in on them all the elements of confusion, and their Bar would exhibit a scene that would do any thing but conduce to the beneficial result they all wished. What had been stated that night in support of the Motion, and what had been stated and admitted in other debates, convinced him, however, that there were many circumstances which called for inquiry in another form. There were many circumstances, some connected with the state of the coin, which deserved from their Lordships a patient investigation; such an investigation as could only be conducted up stairs by an accurate and careful examination of witnesses, and such as might make their Lordships fully aware of the afflicting condition of the labouring classes. He would take that opportunity to say, that whatever else they might do to remedy the evils of the country, there could be no permanent foundation laid for the prosperity of the country which did not succeed in removing the labouring classes from the condition which they, unhappily, at present occupied. That rotten and unstable basis of the community must be supplied by one firm and sound, and that could be done only by increasing the comforts and consumption of that class, from which alone could a permanent and increasing Revenue be expected. This must be the main object of their Lordships' consideration. Many causes had been stated as contributing to the present state, whether universal or partial, but certainly varied distress, in which the country was involved. For himself he had no hesitation in saying, without referring to transactions gone by, that all our distress arose from the unhappy, the fatal perseverance, year after year, in the practice of contracting money engagements in a depreciated currency, with a full knowledge of their consequences, and after many signs and warnings, which had all been rejected;—we had gone on, year after year, contracting a series of money engagements in a depreciated currency, wilfully binding ourselves to the fact that the currency was depreciated, which money engagements we had now the greatest difficulty to fulfil. This was the root of all our sufferings. In saying so he wished it to be understood, that onerous as he considered these engagements, severely as they pressed on the country, they were engagements which, for the honour and credit of the country, Parliament was under the necessity of finding the means to discharge. It was one thing to see the cause of this calamity, and another to find out a remedy—one thing to say with whom the blame rested, and another to affirm who ought to be acquitted. For his own part he feared their Lordships could not console themselves by being able to say, *Delicta majorum immeritus lues*, for many among them had contributed to these evils; some of them had recommended, and all of them had but too feebly opposed the measures, the consequences of which had been fatal to our prosperity. In the circumstances in which the country was placed, their Lordships had only to consider how they might enable the Constitution of the country to stand the repeated shocks which, as stated by his noble friend, were recurring at decreasing intervals, were attacking feebler parts of the Constitution, and leaving, after each recurrence, the body politic weaker than it was before. There was only one means presented itself, in which they were all of one opinion, and that was retrenchment; but retrenchment qualified, as his noble friend had stated, by a great diminution of taxation. The noble Duke had, in the course of his speech, referred to various causes, all of which might be fit subjects of inquiry. Some of these causes were consistent with the effects ascribed to them; but he had heard with unfeigned surprise, that the noble Duke supposed one of the causes of our distress over which the Legislature had no control was the low price of cotton, the raw material of our most important manufacture. He was utterly at a loss to know what inference the noble Duke meant to draw from this statement. He could conceive no contradiction more extraordinary than that the introduction of the raw material of our greatest manufacture at a cheap rate, which would enable our manufacturers to make cottons cheaper, our people to purchase cottons cheaper, and our merchants to export cottons cheaper,—how this could be the cause of distress, was a point which he trusted the noble Duke would explain, or correct him if he had misunderstood the argument. For his own part he looked upon this, like our improvements in machinery, as among the causes which had enabled us, in competing with foreigners, to hold up our heads among nations who had less difficulties than we had to contend with, and which had enabled us to preserve our position, our faith, and our honour, in spite of all our disasters and all our distresses.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that the noble Marquis had altogether misunderstood him. He had stated the fall in the price of the raw material as an evidence, not that we were suffering, for this very fall in the price of the raw material, he admitted had been productive of benefits to our own manufacturers, but he stated it as a proof of those changes in prices which Parliament could not control. He had, indeed, also stated that the fall in the price of the raw material would account for the fall in the price of the manufactured article.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* was glad the noble Duke had corrected the error into which he had unintentionally fallen. The fall in the price of the raw material, then, through this series of years, had been beneficial to the country. There was another point to which he was anxious to advert, he meant the currency. With the late Earl of Liverpool, of whom he could never speak without respect and the most kindly recollections, he had differed totally on the subject of the standard which that noble Lord had preferred. He thought it a great misfortune that when the state of the currency had been reviewed and revised, silver had not been made the standard instead of gold. After much consideration he had been confirmed in this opinion, and for this reason,—that as he believed it to be desirable that one weight and one measure of quantities should be common to the world, so he believed that nations should agree upon a common measure of value—a common standard. He had no hesitation in stating that he thought this might be even now a fit subject of inquiry. Of late the countries which chiefly supplied the precious metals had undergone great political convulsions, and therefore he thought that the proportion in which gold and silver was produced in those countries, and in what manner those proportions had varied with the new circumstances of those countries, would furnish a subject of inquiry than which he knew of none more interesting. He was aware of the opinion that silver was now in greater quantities in proportion to gold than before the war of the French Revolution; and if so, and if other circumstances upon which equally strong opinions were held, should be found as they were believed to be, he could see no impropriety in reverting to that metal as a standard; inasmuch as it was, in spite of what the noble Duke had said, the ancient standard of the country. The noble Duke had stated, but he did not know upon what authority, that up to 1796 silver had been a legal tender to the amount of only *5l.* Now, he had always thought that silver had been a legal tender to the amount of *25l.* He had the Act of 14 Geo. III. before him, which Act, he found, had been twice continued, and it clearly made silver a legal tender for *25l*; but it must be well known to the noble Lords that silver was, in fact and in practice, a legal tender to a much greater amount than *25l.*

The Duke of *Wellington.*—Yes, but in weight.

The Marquis of *Lansdown.*—No doubt, in weight; and was not weight every thing? The coin, it was well known, was continually liable to deterioration from wear, and for that reason, coin was a legal tender to the amount of only *25l.*, while in weight it was a tender to any amount. He was entitled, then, to say, that previous to the French Revolutionary war, silver, and not gold, was the standard metal of this country. He thought it a misfortune that it had not been allowed to remain so. Let it be understood that he made no proposition, that he urged no change. He felt as sensibly as any one the inconvenience of change; but what he meant was this, that if there were to be any inquiries, he thought there was none more worthy of their Lordships' attention than an inquiry into the proportion between the two metals, into the proportions in which they were produced in America, and into the proportions that were brought here, in order that, if it should seem right upon such inquiry, we might revert to the ancient standard. Whether it would be judicious, as some ingenious persons had thought it would, among whom he believed was his friend Mr. Baring, that we should have a mixed standard of gold and silver, was a point upon which he did not offer any opinion. Connected with this subject was another point to which he would advert. He meant the Banking system. Surely neither the noble Viscount (Goderich) nor the noble Duke meant to say that the Banking system was yet in a proper state. We were still allowing bankers to issue notes without security, and yet, at the same time, we were prohibiting the bankers from combining to give that security, the want of which every body complained of. Let no one, then, tell him that the Banking system was yet a sound system. But here, again, they were told, "We are under engagements." No doubt they were: but did the noble Duke forget that they were now within three years of the expiration of the Bank Charter? For his own part, he had no doubt that the noble Duke was in a condition, not only to make terms with the Bank, but even in a condition to prescribe such terms as might be deemed necessary to give confidence and security. He would then advert to the subject of taxation, and he must say, that he concurred with the noble Viscount, or rather went beyond him, in the view which he took as to the desirableness of a remission of taxation in as many ways as possible; and he did so, not so much for the purpose of obtaining immediate relief, as with a view to lay a foundation for increased prosperity hereafter, from which relief to a still greater extent, and of a more permanent nature, might be expected. He spoke with the more confidence upon this subject, for, sitting in Parliament, as he had done, for many years, and observing the operation of taxation and of remission of taxation, he well knew how the imposition of taxes depressed a country, and to what an extent it was benefitted by the remission of them; and further, he had observed many instances in which the effect of a reduction in the rate of taxation, so far from diminishing the produce of the revenue, had increased it. He would state one instance of this in which he himself had had a share. A Committee of their Lordships' House had sat upon foreign trade; over which he had the honour to preside; and it occurred to him that a great increase might be effected in the importation of French wine, and that the Revenue and the country would be mutually benefitted by a considerable diminution of the duty. He brought the subject before the Committee, and some of the principal persons concerned in the wine trade were examined. It would afford the House an idea of the value of practical opinions upon such a subject, when he stated that every one of those Gentlemen was examined, of course upon oath, and he could not extract from a single individual an admission that taking off a part of the duty on French wines would increase the consumption of them; on the contrary, every one of those persons had divers ingenious reasons to assign, in order to show that no such effect could be produced by that means, and that the use of French wines would be confined to the table of particular persons, and that they would not find their way to houses of two stories, that was, to the tables of country gentlemen. However, this evidence did not shake his firm conviction that an effect such as he anticipated must result from the lowering of the duty; and two or three years after the date of the Committee, his noble friend, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer, had the good sense to take off a large proportion of the duty, and the result was, that (in spite of the predictions of persons concerned in the trade) more than double the quantity of French wines was drunk after the reduction than before; and, instead of a diminution, there was a large increase of revenue upon that article. Facts such as these increased his confidence in the advantage of the proposition relative to a reduction of taxation, even with a view to increase the amount of our Revenue. Seeing the effect of taking duties off the luxuries of the higher classes of society only, what effect might we not expect from duties being taken off the luxuries of the lower classes, whose numbers were so much greater? Besides the gratification of benevolent feelings their Lordships would have the consolatory reflection, that by such reductions they would increase the consumption of these luxuries on such a wide basis, that almost every man who only used a single drop or grain of them would use more than he was accustomed to use, and not only the consumption would be increased, not only the comforts and well-being of the people would be augmented, the revenue of the State would at the same time be increased and improved. The effect of reduction of duty would be felt greatly on the articles of hops and malt; and perhaps to the articles which were to be classed among the necessaries rather than the luxuries of life, he might add sugar, a diminution of the duty on which would be beneficial to all classes. By such reductions we should bring articles like these more within the reach of the community. He also thought that such other taxes might be taken off as affected most considerably the productive industry of the country. It was not merely that the amount of taxation taken off would afford relief to the country to the precise extent of the reductions in a pecuniary point of view, but the diminution would occasion a sort of elasticity among various interests, and excite a spirit and engender habits to which Parliament might look for the most advantageous results upon the general welfare of the community. Looking to the consideration of the necessity of preserving good faith with the public creditor, when we came to examine the value of the Sinking Fund towards the attainment of that object, it would appear that the best security of all Sinking Funds consisted in the productive industry of the country. Placing himself in the situation of a great fundholder (which he was not), he should have no hesitation in saying, "Take away the Sinking Fund, and do what you will with it; but give me in exchange for the Sinking Fund the unshackled industry of the people, which will afford me the best and soundest ultimate security." He should be prepared to give his assent to any motion for inquiry likely to be conducted in such a form as the nature of the occasion appeared to call for; likely to obtain a sober and deliberate investigation; but for the reasons stated, he did not think an inquiry at the bar of the House calculated to throw light upon the subject of the state of the country, so as to enable their Lordships to legislate with confidence in reference to it, or in a manner that would afford satisfaction to the country; and it was upon these grounds that he felt himself reluctantly obliged to negative the Motion of the noble Earl.

Lord *King* said, he arose at that late hour of the debate, for the purpose of proposing an amendment to their Lordships. At the same time, he could assure their Lordships that he felt no disposition to attempt to embarrass the Government by any vote of his, or by proposing the adoption of any particular measure of his own, far less by supporting the noble Earl's Motion, which contained more than met the eye, and came upon the House *cum quibusdam aliis*, the particulars of which had not been stated by the noble Earl. However, the opinions of the noble Earl were well known, and no doubt he would take an opportunity of endeavouring to couple them in some way with his Motion if it were carried. It was lest these opinions should be introduced and acted on, that he did not support the Motion. However, he thought some inquiry necessary; because, if a change of system, arising out of such inquiry, were not adopted, he saw no reason to think that we should find ourselves in a better situation at the end of the next fifteen years, than we were in at present after fifteen years of peace. Their Lordships had been given to understand by the Ministers, that they had no plan to propose for the relief of the country; and although it might be proper, as a general rule, to avoid interfering or meddling too much with the country, there were times when such interference was absolutely necessary, and the present he took to be exactly such a period. If the vessel were aground during the ebb-tides, it might be very well to wait till the spring-tides came to float it, and no exertion might be necessary; but if the vessel grounded during the spring-tides, it would be necessary for the crew to stir themselves to free it from the sand which choked it up, as they could expect no assistance from any thing but their own exertions. Such was the situation of the country: we were past the point at which things might be left to themselves, we must rely upon a judicious and active interference. It was said that in the description of the distress that existed there was some exaggeration: possibly it might be so, but would any one deny that the situation of the country at present was very unsatisfactory; would it be denied that if we were not in a stationary condition we were at least in a state of extremely slow advancement? Look at trade and manufacture: profits were little or none, wages exceedingly reduced; he admitted that there was some degree of employment, but at a very low rate. In Barnsley, wages were so low as to make up but 20*d*. a head per week in each labouring family. In other places there was employment, but at such wages as enabled the labourer to save nothing. Every thing was spent upon the bare necessaries of existence. How did this tell, not only upon the manufacturing but on the agricultural community? It reacted upon rents: if the manufacturing population could merely procure the necessaries of life, they had nothing to spend upon its comforts or luxuries, and therefore it was, that agricultural produce was at a low price. Why did manufactured goods sell at a low rate? Was the noble Duke (of Wellington) aware what it was that limited and settled the price of manufactured goods, of which we made more than we consumed? It was regulated by the continental market. How increase the price of our surplus manufactured goods? By taking that from the Continent which it could give us in return for them. Raise prices, and you raise wages: increase the wages of the manufacturing population, and you benefit the agricultural interests. An increase of the wages of the manufacturing classes would be attended by an increase of the wages of agricultural labourers, though not exactly to the same extent; rents would rise, and the whole country would be benefitted. We must extend our market if we wished to benefit the country. If we could not go the whole length that might be desirable in this way, at least let us not be longer duped by the East-India Company and the Bank. We had suffered for years and years by their robberies. By these and other causes was the country paralyzed; but we had the cure in our own hands, not by enriching one class and impoverishing another, as in the case of alterations of the currency, but by throwing open trade, increasing our foreign commerce, and thus contributing in the highest degree possible to the prosperity of the country. The noble Viscount attributed our present sufferings to the transactions of the last twenty five years —this must be a ground of satisfaction to those who had opposed the profusion of those times. He (Lord King) claimed the honour of being one of these. Among other things, he had opposed a paper-currency, although Lord Liverpool frequently asserted that it gave us increased facilities and advantages in war, and drew out the resources of the country to their utmost extent. Lord Liverpool only took a one-sided view of the question: a paper currency might give us facilities in war, but what did it do in peace? It was the great cause of our present difficulties. The House had heard something of reduction of expenditure, and a diminution of taxation;—why? Because the taxes had fallen off. At the termination of the war it was said we could not go on without a Property-tax: it was taken away from Ministers, yet they contrived to get on. In 1821, a period of distress, reductions were made; but in 1824, a time of prosperity, we got back to our old extravagance; so, in 1829, there had been a falling-off of the revenue, and that compelled reductions, of which we should not otherwise have heard. He was a little sceptical on the subject of some of the reductions talked of. The noble Duke (of Wellington) said, that his plan was, when an office became vacant, to put in a pensioner. Now, in the Navy Estimates, page 24, in the list of superannuations and pensions to Commissioners, Secretaries, &c., formerly employed in the Civil Department of the Navy, since January, 1829, he found the name of the hon. Robert Dundas (whose office had been reduced), with an allowance of 500*l.* a year tacked to it, and that of the hon. W. Bathurst (also reduced) with an allowance of 400*l.* per annum. It would seem as if the noble Duke's plan was first of all to make officers, in order afterwards to make them pensioners; and then, finding them pensioners, to make them officers again, as a saving to the public. Here was an allowance of 900*l.* a year to these two gentlemen; compare that with the pension and pay of Sir Robert Barlow, one of the most meritorious officers that ever entered the public service of the country. His salary as a Commissioner was 416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which added to 456*l.* 5*s.*, his Rear-admiral's half-pay did not amount to the sum received by two gentlemen of whose services nobody had ever heard. The noble Lord proceeded to draw a contrast between the state of the country now, and subsequently to the last peace. The period between 1782 and 1792 was one of the greatest prosperity; while the fifteen years since 1815, to say the best, evinced a most feverish state of recovery from the mischiefs entailed upon us by the war. It would be disingenuous to omit stating that the Corn-laws were very different during these two periods. In the former period there was a nominal duty of 6*d.* a quarter on the importation of corn. It was unnecessary to do more than allude to the present state of the trade in that article. He did not consider a high price of corn to be consistent with a state of prosperity, or an advantageous condition of the Revenue. The noble Lord concluded by moving an Amendment on the resolution of the noble Earl, "That a Select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the depressed state of the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any and what relief could be afforded by an extension of foreign trade."

The Marquis of *Bute* was of opinion, that there were not sufficient grounds for inquiry; and stated, on his own actual knowledge, that the distress was only partial. He was not insensible to the distress, and had done what he could to alleviate it. During the last two months, he considered that a good deal of improvement had taken place among the manufacturing and ship-building interests. He reposed the utmost confidence in the present Government, and gave them credit for a desire to relieve the country to the utmost of their ability. He wished those taxes which pressed the most heavily on the poorer classes to be taken off: he might mention the taxes upon hops, beer, and coals carried coast-ways. The noble Marquis concluded by expressing his determination to oppose both motions for inquiry.

Lord *Melville* said, that the noble Baron had selected rather invidiously the name of an individual for remark, though he knew that other individuals were in a similar situation. The noble Baron must know that all pensions for services were paid by a certain scale, which had been regulated by act of Parliament; and by this scale, Sir R. Barlow (to whose case the noble Lord had alluded) received nearly the full amount of his former salary. The noble Viscount said, he thought it was necessary also to add, that the assertion that Government put persons into offices merely with a view of giving them pensions, was utterly unfounded.

Lord *King* observed, that to the names of the persons whom he had mentioned, no number of years of service whatever was attached.

Lord *Wharncliffe* would vote against the original Motion and the Amendment, because he expected no relief from the means proposed to be adopted. The noble Duke (of Wellington) had stated that the agricultural distress could not be so great, as meat and timber now bore nearly as high prices as at most other periods. He denied the correctness of the noble Duke's statement as to timber; he (Lord Wharncliffe) could now only get 2*s*. 6*d*. a foot for timber, which formerly brought 5*s*. 6*d*., so great was the reduction caused in the price of the article by the importation of foreign timber. It had fallen at least 100*l*. per cent. With respect to meat, by whatever process the price was kept up in town, it had fallen greatly in value in many parts of the country, and fat stock fetched very little more than lean.

The Duke of *Wellington* observed, that what he had said was, that at present meat and timber both brought prices nearly equal to those which they produced when taxes were much higher.

The Earl of *Darnley* said, that if he thought any advantage were to be expected from the inquiry which it was proposed to institute, he should vote for it; but he was not of opinion that this was the case. He contended that the distress was not so great as had been supposed by some; and expressed his conviction that we were arrived at the lowest point of depression, and that both in agricultural and manufacturing affairs we might even now see cause for sanguine hopes of a return to a better state. He gave the Government credit for sincerity in their attempts to carry reductions into effect, but thought that they might be carried much farther. Sir H. Parnell had stated, in his valuable financial work, that more by 1,300,000*l*. was now paid for the collection of a revenue of 54,000,000*l*. than was formerly paid for the collection of a revenue of 58,000,000*l*.; here was ample room for reduction.

Lord *Teynham* expressed the great satisfaction he felt at hearing the luminous speeches of the noble Mover, and the noble Marquis (Lansdown), but as he thought no good could result from so wide and indefinite an inquiry, he begged the noble Earl to withdraw his motion.

Earl *Stanhope*, in reply, stated that he had not brought forward his Motion, of which he had given due notice from the love, as the noble Duke insinuated, of making a fine speech. He declared that he had no love for talking, but he would at all times freely and unreservedly state his opinion on public affairs. He conceived it was the duty of the people to remonstrate, and of the Peers who felt their grievances to echo their complaints; and if they were not allowed to do so, he should be at a loss to discover the difference between a government practically despotic and theoretically free. The distress of the country was he believed rapidly increasing, and he could look forward to nothing but calamity from neglecting to remedy it. He trusted that he knew what was his duty to his country under such circumstances, and that he should always have the courage to perform it.

Lord *King*, by permission of their Lordships, withdrew his Amendment.

Their Lordships then divided on the Original Motion: Content 15 present, proxies 10; Total 25: Not Content 67 present, proxies 51; Total 118; Majority against the Motion 93.

List of the Minority.

Dukes.
Richmond
Newcastle
Marquis of
Ailesbury
Earls.
Eldon
Stanhope
Tankerville
Ferrers
Romney
Radnor
Digby
Winchilsea
Falmouth

Earls.
Carnarvon
Stradbroke
Bradford
Barons.
Churchill
Rivers
Northwick
Redesdale
Grantley
Teynham
Wodehouse
Walsingham
Stowell
Kenyon

Against this vote the Earl of Eldon entered the following Protest, "Dissentient,

"First, Because we are convinced that the distress which prevailed in this Kingdom at the time of the commencement of the present Session of Parliament, and which his Majesty must have been induced to believe, and have been advised to represent to Parliament as partial, was at that period most severely felt in almost all parts of the Kingdom, and that it has since increased and continues to increase.

"Secondly, Because it has been stated to Parliament that the distress so represented to be only partial was to be attributed to the seasons, and to other causes not under legislative control, and the representation so made whilst it states a self-evident truth respecting the seasons, omits all mention what the other causes of distress are, and Parliament therefore has not the means of ascertaining, without further inquiry, whether such causes are or are not under legislative control.

"Thirdly, Because we think that it is the duty of this House not to rest satisfied with respect to matters of such importance without instituting a solemn inquiry, in order to ascertain what are the causes which have produced extreme distress throughout the Kingdom, or the greatest part thereof; and whether that distress can by any and what legislative measures be removed or alleviated; and because it is we conceive, the duty of Parliament, without any delay, to the utmost of its power, by all just means to endeavour to alleviate it.

"Fourthly, Because we think that if it should be found upon satisfactory inquiry that the causes of the distress cannot be removed, or the distress be alleviated by the Legislature, his Majesty's subjects will not fail duly to appreciate the earnest endeavours of Parliament to relieve them, and then they will cease to labour under an aggravation of their distress, occasioned by their present belief that if the distress cannot be wholly removed it may be materially alleviated; an aggravation of distress from which it may be in the power of Parliament to relieve them, by ascertaining what are (other than the seasons) the causes of the distress, and whether such other causes are or are not under legislative control.

(Signed) ELDON."

The following Peers afterwards signed the Protest:—Stanhope, Northwick, Churchill, Teynham, Richmond, Lennox, and Radnor.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, Feb. 26.

FOREIGN CORN.] Earl *Stanhope* moved for the return of Foreign Corn imported since the 15th of July, 1828, with the weekly averages—Ordered.

BRITISH TIMBER.] The Marquis of *Salisbury* moved for a return of the quantity of Oak of British growth, purchased for the use of his Majesty's Dock-yards, with the price paid for it, since the year 1809.

Earl *Stanhope* said, that if the noble Lord's object in moving for the Return, was to show that British timber had suffered a great depreciation of price, the motion was unnecessary, because the fact of the depreciation was notorious.

The Marquis of *Salisbury* said, he was aware of the notoriety of the fact, but as it had been denied last night, he wished to have official proof of it.

The Return was ordered.

STATE OF THE POOR.] The Duke of *Richmond* gave notice, that he would move that their Lordships be summoned for Tuesday week, on which occasion he would move for the appointment of a Select Committee to take into consideration the State of the Labouring Classes of the Country. He would not state the precise words in which his motion would be framed, until he had an opportunity of consulting other noble Lords whose opinion he valued. On the present occasion, therefore, he would merely give a general notice to the effect he had stated.

Lord *Teynham* observed, that he had given notice of a motion on the subject, and he would then state that the object of that motion would be, to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the office and duties of Overseer of the Poor. He knew that great cruelties were practised on paupers in various places, that they were shut up in pounds, and otherwise treated in a manner that was most oppressive. He wished the Committee to ascertain by what law the overseers exercised this sort of power.

The Duke of *Richmond* begged to state, that in the motion which he intended to submit, he should cast no censure on the overseers of the poor, whom he believed to be a respectable set of men, who performed their arduous duties generally in a praiseworthy manner.

The Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* rose to present a Petition from the inhabitants of the town of Frome, in Somersetshire, complaining of distress. The right rev. Prelate said, that the state of misery to which the labouring part of the population was reduced, was unparalleled in the history of the country. What he should state he had seen. He did not derive his information from what he had read, but from what he had seen. He would not speak of things which he did not know to be true, but of things which he had seen with his own eyes.

———quæque ipse miserrima vidi.

In several parts of Somersetshire the persons who received relief from the poor-rates exceeded in number those who paid the rates. In the city of Bath, which was a place peculiarly favoured, being the resort of rank, affluence, and he might add, of liberality, noble efforts had been made to alleviate the condition of the poor; and yet he grieved to say, that his own eyes had beheld numbers of his fellow-men yoked together like oxen, and engaged in drawing coals from the pits in the neighbourhood. This was a sad state for Englishmen to be reduced to. It was, however, most gratifying to observe, that amidst the unexampled distress which surrounded them, the people bore their sufferings with a constancy and fortitude deserving of the highest commendation, and had not suffered themselves to be betrayed into a violation of the laws. Great praise was usually bestowed, and deservedly, on the man who had courage to strike a blow in defence of the liberties of his country; but far higher praise was due to the Christian hero who, although he saw his wife and children clamorous for bread, had resolution and fortitude enough not to attempt to procure the means of satisfying their wants by a breach of the laws of his country. He believed that the noble Duke at the head of the Government felt deeply for the situation of his countrymen. Great as was the fame which at present elevated him above his fellow-men, that fame would be incalculably augmented if he could devise the means of affording relief to the starving people. In his opinion much benefit would be effected by allotting small portions of land to the poor. He did not desire to convert them into small farmers, but such a provision would always be a resource for their families, and would attach them to the soil. In conclusion, he hoped that the noble Duke would do all that man could do to relieve the existing distresses. The right rev. Prelate then presented the Petition.

CORN LAWS.] Earl *Stanhope* presented a Petition from Mr. John Wright, a coal and iron master, near Nottingham, praying for such a revision of the Corn-laws, as would increase the duties on foreign corn. The petitioner, observed the noble Earl, did not belong to that class of people considered favourable to the landed interest, nevertheless he was well persuaded of the impolicy of the present Corn Laws.

The prayer of the petition was, that foreign wheat should not be allowed to be imported until the average price of English wheat was 72*s.* a quarter, and that even then a duty of 24*s.* per quarter should be imposed on foreign wheat so imported.

SALARIES AND PENSIONS.] The Marquis of *Lansdown* (after stating that there was no objection, he understood, on the part of the noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government to the production of the returns sought) moved that "there be laid before this House an account of the Pensions granted under the 57th Geo. 3rd cap. 65.; also an account of all Salaries granted by the Acts passed the same year."—Ordered.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.] The noble Marquis then presented two Petitions against the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter, from Manchester and Hull. The petitioners of the latter-named town suggested that the notice which the law requires should be given to the East-India Company by Government, respecting the termination of their Charter. He had been requested to state this by the petitioners; but he supposed, as a matter of course, that due notice had been given by the Government.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, Feb. 26.

MINUTES.] The Select Vestry Amendment Bill of the united parishes of St. Giles and St. George's Bloomsbury, was read a first time.—The following Members were sworn in to form a Committee to inquire into the Cork Election

Petition:—Sir William Scott, Mr. William Russell, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. James Loch, Sir Wm. Pringle, Right Hon. Sir G. Murray, Mr. James Bradshaw, Sir John H. North, Mr. Thomas Alcock, Sir Thomas Baring, Mr. James Macleod.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND—LAND REVENUES.] Lord *F. L. Gower* presented a Petition from Bishops professing the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, on the subject of Education in that country.

Mr. *Rice* said, that if the usual items for Education appeared in the Irish Estimates this year he should bring the matter before the House, with a view to an inquiry into the subject.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* rose to renew the notice of his Motion, which was to have been made yesterday, respecting the Land Revenues of the Crown, for the 30th of March. He took this opportunity of observing, that the Revenues of the Crown Lands, in the Duchy of Lancaster, were not brought into any of the Public Accounts, and as it would greatly forward the object he had in view, he begged to ask the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster if he had any objection to furnish him with information on this subject.

Mr. *Arbuthnot* said (as we understood him), that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had nothing to do with the Crown Lands.

ARTICLED CLERKS.] Mr. *J. Wood* presented a Petition from a number of Articled Clerks in the profession of the Law, complaining that although they had paid the heavy stamp duty, and served five years in the profession, yet, having omitted to enroll their articles, they were debarred being admitted as attorneys, and became liable to serve five years over again, or pay an additional stamp duty.

The *Solicitor-General* supported the petition, and observed that, as the Revenue would not be affected, and it was a case of great hardship, he hoped the prayer of the petition would be acceded to.

The petition was read. It prayed that the petitioners might be indemnified against the consequences of their omissions.

DISTRESSED WEAVERS.] Mr. *J. Wood* presented a Petition from the Cotton-Weavers, &c. of Preston, complaining of the very depressed state of their trade. The Petition, the hon. Member stated, was signed by 7,000 weavers, and he felt great pain in presenting it, because, although he was fully aware of the great distress prevailing amongst this industrious and hard-working class of persons, he differed from them in opinion as to the best mode of obtaining relief. The petition complained that of late such was the falling-off in this branch of manufactures, that they had to work from twelve to fourteen hours a day to obtain the sum of "ten-pence," and in most instances there was a family consisting of from four to six persons to subsist upon this miserable pittance. The petitioners attributed this serious depression in their trade to the great and increasing exportation of Cotton Twist. They stated that the exports of this article in 1803 only amounted to five millions of pounds, whilst in 1828 they amounted to no less than sixty millions of pounds. The remedy which they pointed out was this:—That the duty on the raw material should be entirely taken off, and that a duty of eight per cent should be imposed on the exportation of Cotton Twist. He entirely dissented from the prayer of the petition, and had expressed such dissent, but at the same time the petitioners had intrusted him to present it, and he considered it as a proof of their confidence in the honesty of his intentions. He felt assured if the alteration in the duties were to take place as prayed for by the petitioners, that it would be attended with the fatal result of ruining the Cotton Twist manufacturers, and would fail to give permanent relief to the petitioners. He considered that even a duty of two per cent on Twist would drive the manufacture of that article to other countries. The introduction of machinery was also believed by them to be one of the chief causes of their distress; but in this he also differed in opinion from them, and felt confident, that if the introduction of machinery were prohibited, and the manufacture confined to hand labour, in a very few years the whole trade would be removed from this country, and carried on where machinery was allowed to be used. He felt it a duty to present this petition, however painful it was to him to differ in opinion from so numerous a body of his constituents, with whose habits and condition he was perfectly acquainted; and a more orderly, a more industrious class of persons, he could safely say, never addressed that House. In times of the greatest distress they had borne their sufferings with patience, and never were excited to those acts of outrage which led to the destruction of machinery, and marked other places. Having stated to the House the remedy pointed out by the petitioners, he would now state what he thought would be the best means of giving them relief. Independently of the injury done to these individuals by the improvement in machinery, he considered that the greatest and most injurious consequence arose from the present system of Corn-laws. It was well known that the weavers in this country could supply a much larger quantity of goods than the consumption demanded, and consequently they were driven to foreign markets; but if we expected foreigners to purchase our manufactured goods, they, in return, expected we should take their corn, the duty upon which amounted to a prohibition. He really did consider that until some alteration took place in our Corn-laws it was useless to expect any material increase of demand abroad for our manufactures. One part of the petition he did concur in, which was that a reduction of the duty on Cotton Wool would be attended with a beneficial result.

Mr. *Hume* wished to say one word on this petition. So far from believing that the plan recommended by the petitioners would afford relief, he was quite satisfied that what they asked would only add to their difficulties. A great number of persons were maintained by the manufacture of Cotton Twist for exportation, and if a duty were laid on that article on its being exported, all those individuals would be thrown out of employment. He was not however surprised that those petitioners complained and recommended as a remedy that which would only do mischief. When he heard men in the city and elsewhere,—men holding high rank and station, and who ought to be better informed, inveighing against the exportation of Cotton Twist as a dreadful evil to this country,—when such men made complaints of that nature, the House need not be surprised at the mistake into which the weavers had fallen. In one point, however, he agreed with the petitioners. He thought that the raw material ought to be introduced into this country at as cheap a rate as possible. In that principle he was satisfied, they were right; though the price of cotton was not now high, yet, if it were lower, it would increase the quantity of employment.

The Petition was laid on the Table.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.] Mr. *Chaplin* presented a Petition from certain inhabitants of the county of Lincoln, complaining of Distress and Taxation. The Petition was signed by 7,000 persons. He trusted that Ministers would take the condition of the labouring classes into consideration, and shift the load of taxation from their shoulders upon those of a portion of the community better able to bear it. He was glad to hear that the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to do something with respect to the sale of beer; and trusted that the Beer-tax, which fell so heavily upon the lower orders, would be modified.

Colonel *Sibthorp* confirmed the statements of distress contained in the petition; it was general, not partial. A statement had gone abroad, that the price of timber was but little, if at all, reduced; he begged distinctly to contradict that statement, and to add, that timber had fallen half its former price.

MALT AND BEER DUTIES.] Sir *R. Hill* presented a Petition from certain inhabitants of the county of Salop, complaining of the heavy duties on Malt and Beer.

Mr. *Slaney* said, the petition was signed by 1,200 persons. He had proved last year that the duties imposed on Malt liquor, in various shapes, amounted to 200 per cent. He had been informed, and was glad to hear, that Government intended to do something to facilitate the retail supply of Beer to the working classes. He wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if it were his intention to move for a Committee to inquire into the licensing system of public-houses? Having himself given notice of a motion relative to the burthens and restrictions on the manufacture and supply of Malt liquor, which comprised that among other objects, he should be glad that the matter should fall into better hands. If it turned out that he had been correctly informed as to the right hon. Gentleman's intention, giving Government full credit for a sincere wish to relieve the labouring classes, he should postpone his notice of motion, hoping, as he did, that Ministers would do their utmost to relieve the public burthens; and that though a revision of the licensing system might be the beginning, it would not prove the end of remedial measures.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said,

that on Tuesday he should move for a Select Committee to inquire into the laws and regulations affecting the sale of Beer, with a view of ascertaining how far a free trade could be allowed in that article.

Colonel *Davies* hoped that some county Member would take up the motion which the hon. Member's new-found confidence in Ministers had induced him to defer.

Mr. *Slaney* was not indifferent to the subject, but wished to give Government time to act for itself.

LEATHER DUTIES.] Mr. *O'Connell* moved for a return of the produce of the Excise Duty on Leather, from the 1st of January, 1829, to the 1st of January, 1830—of the number and amount of penalties levied, and of the costs incurred thereby—of the expenses of collecting the duties on Leather—and of the number and nature of the oaths taken by manufacturers of Leather.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that with respect to the Oaths, they were imposed by Acts of Parliament, and could be easily ascertained, without the cost and trouble which must attend a return.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that as he meant to bring the subject before the House, and as the Oaths were so numerous, he was not inclined to trust to any return of his own, because he would have no dispute upon facts. It would be very troublesome for gentlemen to look through all the Acts, and more troublesome to ascertain how many of those Acts had been repealed.

Mr. *O'Connell* moved for similar returns respecting the Excise Duties on Paper.

DUBLIN JURORS.] Mr. *O'Connell* moved for a return of the number of Inquests and Commissions which had been summoned under the Act for the Improvement of the city of Dublin for the last ten years; also, for a return of the number and names of the persons who had sat as Jurors on such Inquests, and of the amount of the sums which had been paid to them.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had no objection to these Returns being granted, except on the score of the expense of printing the names of these persons,—an expense which he thought ought not to be incurred, unless the hon. Member first made out a case of probable benefit.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that in the first place he had not moved that the names should be printed, nor would he, without assigning a sufficient reason. In the next place, the expense would not be very great, for he apprehended that the names would not be found to be very multitudinous. He was informed that the same twelve persons had sat upon all these inquests; that the twelve guineas for each inquest had always gone to the same twelve individuals. The House, he supposed, would think it right that Jurors should give their verdict uninfluenced by the apprehension that if they gave a verdict disagreeable to the Commissioners, they would not be summoned again.

TRUCK SYSTEM—REVENUE, &c.] Mr. *Hume* said, that the hon. Member for Staffordshire (Mr. Littleton) had given notice, that on Wednesday, the 17th of March, he should move for leave to bring in a Bill to render more effectual the laws for the Payment of Wages in Money. He wished then to give notice, that he should move, as an Amendment to that Motion, for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal all laws which inflicted penalties on Masters for paying wages in goods. He hoped he should be able to put an end to the delusion that prevailed on that subject. He would also then move for a Return of the number and names of each post town in which an extra charge, beyond the rate of postage fixed by Act of Parliament for the delivery of letters, had been made; together with a statement of the authority on which such extra charge had been made;—also, for a return of the number and names of places which had been relieved from such extra charge during the last three years—also, for a return of the gross amount of Excise Duties collected in Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1830; distinguishing the amount paid for collection, and the amount actually paid into the Exchequer—also, for a similar return respecting the Duties of Customs, and the Land and Assessed Taxes. The hon. Member said, he would take this opportunity of stating, that if the Ministers did not propose any further reductions, he should, as soon as the Estimates were over, submit a motion on the subject of the Collection of the Revenue. After the able manner in which an hon. friend of his (Sir H. Parnell) had exposed, in his late publication, the abuses of the mode of collection, and the saving that might be made under that head, he thought no rational man could doubt that the subject was deserving of serious attention.

SUPPLY OF WATER TO THE METROPOLIS.] Mr. *C. Pallmer* called the attention of the House to a Petition which he considered to be of considerable importance to the health and comfort of the inhabitants of this great metropolis. It came from certain individuals living on the south side of the river Thames, in the county of Surrey. The petition stated that they applied on behalf of the inhabitants of nearly 70,000 houses, and that if time had permitted, there would have been 100,000 signatures to the petition. The petitioners stated, that they were many of them master bakers by trade, and that they were supplied by no other water than that pumped out of the River Thames, which was of the most impure and inferior quality, and particularly ill-adapted for the purpose of making wholesome and palatable bread,—that the water was disgusting to the eye, nauseous to the taste, and injurious to the health. They had entertained hopes from what passed in that House in the year 1827, that something would have been done to remedy the evil complained of; and they prayed that relief might be speedily afforded to them. He trusted that the hon. Baronet, the Member for Westminster (who had taken this important public interest under his able protection) would not neglect it, and that the Secretary of State for the Home Department would consider the subject as eminently entitled to his earliest and most serious attention.

PRIVILEGE—PARLIAMENTARY AGENCY.] Sir *E. Knatchbull* said, he rose to present a Petition which had very lately been put into his hands, and which related to a motion about to be brought forward that evening. As it was respectfully worded, he had not refused to present it. The petitioner was a Mr. Sydney, who took notice of a motion which was to be brought forward by the hon. Member for Staffordshire (Mr. Littleton), in which motion the petitioner thought that his interests were involved, and he prayed to be heard at the bar respecting the said motion. He begged to move that the petition be brought up.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* begged to ask of the Speaker if it were consistent with the rules of the House that such a petition should be brought up. The petition, as he understood, alluded to a motion which it was intended to bring forward, and the object of which was to regulate the conduct of the Members of that House, and of no one else.

The *Speaker* said, that there was certainly no precedent, that he knew of, in favour of receiving such a petition. He thought it well worthy the consideration of the House, whether they would allow a motion respecting the conduct of their own Members to be thus noticed.

Mr. *Hume* believed that a petition had, the other evening, been presented against the present petitioner, and he begged to know of the Speaker, if it were contrary to usage, in such a case, to hear a man at the Bar in defence of himself.

The *Speaker* said, that the hon. Member was putting to him an hypothetical question, which did not bear in the most remote degree upon the present case. The petition to which the hon. Member alluded, and which had been presented by the hon. Member for Staffordshire, was not against the present petitioner. It was the petition of a person who thought it derogatory to the dignity of the House that one of its Members should be engaged in partnership with others, out of the House, who were the paid agents for conducting Parliamentary business; and the petition prayed that such a practice might be put an end to. That petition, therefore, could not be said to be a petition against the present petitioner.

Mr. *Hume* said, he might have been misinformed, but he understood that the present petitioner was mentioned in that petition; and if so, he thought it hard to refuse the petitioner a hearing.

Sir *E. Knatchbull* said, that if it were the wish of the House, he should certainly withdraw the petition. [*Cries of "Withdraw."*]

The Petition was then withdrawn.

Mr. *Littleton* said, that he rose pursuant to the notice he had given, to move a resolution, declaring it to be contrary to the law and usage of Parliament for any Member to engage, either by himself or partner, in the management of private bills for pecuniary reward. He hoped he should receive credit for sincerity when he said, that it was with real pain and regret that, having presented a petition, he felt himself obliged to follow it up by a

Motion which interfered with the views of any hon. Member of that House. He trusted that the hon. Member for Colchester, would do him the justice of believing he was not actuated by any personal motives. Before stating the Resolution he intended to submit, he would, in the first place, beg to remind the House of the substance of the petition on which he had founded his Motion. The petition came from Mr. T. Eyre Lee, and stated, "That having in the month of November last given notice in the newspapers of his intention to apply for a certain bill in the next Session, he received a letter, dated Great George-street, and signed William Robert Sydney, informing him that the writer had entered into partnership with Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, as Parliamentary Agents; and that his practice and experience for several years gave him facilities in conducting Parliamentary business which would be found very advantageous to his clients independently of the alliance which he had formed with Mr. Harvey The letter was franked by Mr. Harvey, and came under what appeared to be the common seal of the firm." When he received the petition from Mr. Lee, it certainly did appear to him an extraordinary thing that a Member of that House should undertake, for fee or reward, to employ himself in the management of private bills; and he felt still more surprised when he heard the hon. Member for Colchester declare that he would take the sense of the House as to the propriety of such conduct. He would next advert to the suspicion expressed by the hon. Member for Colchester, that this petition had emanated from the Parliamentary Agents. He could not suppose that the hon. Member had given utterance to this suspicion without having some grounds for it; but on inquiry he found that there were no grounds for making this charge. Mr. Eyre Lee denied all connexion with these Parliamentary Agents; and his petition had solely proceeded from his aversion to find himself opposed in his professional business by a person possessing the talents and advantages of the hon. Member for Colchester. He would next come to the Resolution he intended to move, first requesting the Clerk of the House to read from the Journal of the House the Resolution dated 2nd of May, 1696. The Clerk read the following Resolution:—"That the offer of any money, or any other advantage to any Member of Parliament, as a fee or reward for him to promote the furtherance of any matter depending or to be transacted in Parliament, is a high crime and misdemeanor, and tends to the subversion of the English Constitution."

Mr. *Littleton*, in continuation said, that the Resolution which he should propose would only follow up the declaration. It was this:—"Resolved, That it is contrary to law, and to the usages of Parliament, for any Member either by himself or partner, to engage in the management of any private bill for any fee or reward." He was at a loss to conceive any objection there could be to passing this Resolution; but he could easily conceive that there were many grounds sufficient to call for its adoption. He would direct the attention of the House to the arguments which, on a former night, had been used by the hon. Member for Colchester upon this subject, and to the answers which he should give to them. In the first place that hon. Member justified himself on the fact, that other solicitors, Members of that House, had adopted the same course of proceeding, and that they had been allowed to engage in professional practice upon bills under discussion before the House. He presumed that the hon. Member believed he had stated only circumstances that were well founded; but, after a very exact inquiry into the matter, he had not been able to discover a single instance in which a solicitor sitting in that House engaged in professional practice upon private bills. The hon. Member for Colchester had to establish two points:—First, that there were instances in which solicitors, who were Members of that House, forgetting themselves and their duty to the House, had engaged in such practice; and next, that they had done so with the cognizance of that House. Unless he could succeed in establishing these two points, his facts and his arguments were worth nothing, and on these points he might fairly be challenged to prove that any one had done so without having been visited by punishment by that House. It was not strictly his duty to offer any comment upon the conduct of his departed and lamented friend, Sir James Graham; but he felt called upon by his respect for that gentleman to do so, and he would assert his utter disbelief that that gentleman had ever practised in the way supposed, or that Mr. Smith, the solicitor to the East-India Company had, while a Member of that House, engaged in any such professional practice. He did not deem it absolutely necessary to call the attention of the House to the arguments drawn from the practice of the Attorney and Solicitor General; but he could not pass by the subject without declaring, that unless good proof of the fact were adduced, he never would believe that they took part in any proceedings, but in the same way as other Members, or that they ever received a fee for any clauses introduced into any bill in that House. These hon. and learned Gentlemen were, however, present, and could answer for themselves. The hon. Member for Colchester had likewise alluded to the case of every individual Member who might be liable to find his pecuniary interests or those of his constituents affected by bills passing through that House, but who would not be prevented on that account from voting against a bill. The latter of these cases often happened, and he would assert that there was no county Member of any standing whose constituents were not often affected by bills in that House, and who were not, under such circumstances, always called on to support or oppose them. If they were prevented from doing this, their constituents would be robbed of the services of those in whom they had thought fit to place their confidence, and who were there to protect and assert their interests whenever they happened to be made the subject of discussion. The usages of the House were perfectly clear and satisfactory in this respect, for, though they admitted a Member to speak and vote on the subjects affecting the interests of his constituents, whom he was there to represent, yet, whenever there was reason to believe that he had made his power of voting subservient to the promotion of his own interests, the House was not backward in disallowing the vote, and thus destroying the means of any abuse of his rights and privileges. For the confirmation of this, he appealed to the knowledge of all the Members. In 1825 and in 1826, when bills relating to Joint Stock Companies and other speculations were before the House, this was constantly done; and a great variety of votes were disallowed, and very properly disallowed, on that account. In consequence of frequent occurrences of this kind, the House (and upon his motion) appointed a select committee, who, in their report, expressed their disgust at the practice; and what was the result? Why that the House, with a view of providing a remedy for such a practice, declared there should be an appeal from any committee to the House itself, grounded upon the objection, that a Member interested in the result had given his vote upon it. This resolution continued to be a part of the Sessional Orders. If, after this, there were any case in which such a vote was given, and no appeal was made, the party had no right to complain; since, upon the report made by that committee, an effectual remedy had been provided. He would say nothing further upon that part of the subject, but reserve himself for the reply to which he should be entitled.—The hon. Member for Aberdeen, on a former occasion, called the attention of the House to the subject by proposing a resolution, that a party who had an interest of any description in any bill should take no part in it during its passage through the House. That resolution was rejected in 1824, upon the opposition of Mr. Canning, and afterwards upon an opposition made by him (Mr. Littleton), upon this ground, that a general rule was unnecessary and improper, as the House, by the resolution recommended by the Committee, had reserved to itself the right of examining into every individual case that might be brought before it. Having said thus much upon the general question, he would proceed to the Motion more immediately under discussion—namely, as to the right of any Member to act, either by himself, or his partner, in the matter of a petition for a private bill. It had been said that such had before been the usage of Parliament. He denied the usage; first, because there was no proof of its existence, either by evidence of a Member having acted in the manner described, or of any punishment having been inflicted on him for so doing. But he would go further. He had a right to argue from analogy; and on that ground he should be able to show that Solicitors, who were Members of that House, could not possibly be allowed to forward bills through its Committees, since gentlemen of the long robe, who were Members of the House were not allowed the privilege of appearing for parties, either in Committees or at the Bar. There was no difference in the principle and spirit of the Resolution between the two classes of professional men, both of whom stood in that respect in precisely the same situation. But the House went still further, for it prevented barristers having a seat in Parliament from practising in either House upon matters relating to private bills. The Resolutions to that effect were passed in 1666 and 1669. The former was made a Standing Order, and was directed to prevent barristers, who were Members of that House, from practising at any time in the other House. As that order was rather too general, the gentlemen of the long robe obtained a modification of it within three years afterwards, and the order then adopted was, that no gentleman of the long robe, a Member of that House, should, during the Session of Parliament, practise at the Bar of either House without leave asked and granted by that House. The House saw no impropriety in permitting such of its Members as were barristers to plead before the House of Lords sitting as a Court of Appeal, but bills were entirely a different question, as the same subjects on which they pleaded before the House of Lords as advocates might afterwards come before that House, when they would have to decide on them as legislators. The House therefore refused to sanction their pleading in such matters, in order to keep their minds pure and unbiassed on questions in which they might have finally to exercise their legislative judgment. This principle had been acknowledged upon a recent and very celebrated occasion. At the time of the late Queen's trial, it was most important that her Majesty should receive the assistance of the hon. and learned Gentleman, the then Member for Winchelsea, and of another hon. and learned Member, then one of the Members for Nottingham. An application was, in consequence, made to that House by the first of these Gentlemen, bearing in his mind the two Standing Orders already referred to, for its express permission to be heard at the Bar of the other House against the Bill of Pains and Penalties then in progress through it. So jealous were the Members of that House of conceding such a privilege, that they took time to consider of the application, and refused to give for some days the required permission. Some days afterwards, either on the motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, or on that of Lord Castlereagh, the application was granted, under condition, "provided always that this permission shall not be drawn into a precedent." In that permission Dr. Lushington was afterwards included. He thought he need not urge more arguments in support of this Resolution. He should merely state the course he meant to pursue. When he presented the petition he thought that the matter ought to be referred to a Committee of Privileges, but on consideration of the duties of such a Committee, and in consequence of communications with other Members of the House, he determined upon pursuing a different course. There was nothing that required the labours of a committee—nothing to inquire into. The question was one of first principles, in which that House, and that alone, ought to be the judge. It was a mere question of moral propriety. He thought he had said enough to show that it was against the tenor and spirit, if not against the letter, of the Resolutions of that House, for its Members to interfere with the management of private bills in their passage through that or the other House of Parliament. As it was so entirely a question of moral propriety, he should ask for no committee, but should submit it to the House at large; and he called on every Member to assert the dignity of their practice, and agree with him in carrying the Resolution he proposed for the furtherance of that object. The hon. Member concluded by proposing the Resolution he had already stated.

Colonel *Dalrymple* said, he had made the fullest inquiry into the subject, and could declare that Sir James Graham had retired from Parliamentary business before he became a Member of that House, and never engaged in any business from which he could derive profit while he continued a Member.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, if, Sir, at the time of my engaging in the partnership which is now the subject of discussion, I had had the slightest impression that what I was doing was contrary either to law, or to the usages of Parliament—had I even thought that it would have occupied so much of the valuable, the very valuable time of this House, as I now find it has done, I should not have engaged in it; that thought alone would have deterred me from forming such a connection, and I do most sincerely regret the time that has been consumed in hearing a discussion on such a trifling subject. The hon. Member, I must say, has placed an ungenerous construction on the arguments I have adverted to. I imputed no blame to the hon. Members whom I supposed to have engaged in the same practice as myself. When I mentioned their names, I did so from the belief which is generally entertained among the members of the legal profession, that the late Sir James Graham was extensively and advantageously employed in passing bills through Parliament. After the positive statement of the hon. Member who is connected with the house of which Sir James Graham was at the head, I am, of course, ready to acknowledge my error in the opinion I entertained. When, too, I stated that bills were submitted to the law officers of the Crown, Members of this House, I did not, and do not believe, that the time, the important time, of these distinguished and learned individuals was gratuitously devoted and given to the public. I did not allude to the case of the Queen's Counsel, though it was suggested to me, and though I was not prepared at that time to believe that the law officers of the Crown and the Queen's Counsel had given their services for nothing, which I was little inclined to believe, from knowing the enormous sum voted by this House to defray the expenses of that proceeding. But if that money was given for the expenses of witnesses, and for them alone, and none of it was allotted to the Counsel, then must I acknowledge that that is more than I was prepared to believe. The hon. Member has paid a great compliment to the members of that branch of the profession to which he belonged at the expense of the other, when he said no precedent was to be found of solicitors having contravened what he stated to be the Standing Orders of the House, while at the same time he admitted there had been a period when Attorneys and Solicitors General had been so greedy of fees that a positive rule had been made to restrain them from indulging in such practices. [*No, no.*] This is the true result of the hon. Member's statement as to this House; and in the House of Lords there was a Resolution once passed of a still stronger nature. I come now to the Question itself. Is the statement of the hon. Member entitled to support from the Members of this House, either from the evidence afforded by the records of our Journals, of our officers, or of you, Sir, who are so profoundly acquainted with the rules and practice of this House? I do not speak of any strained or liberal construction of those Orders—if there be any clear and intelligible declaration in them which is opposed to what I have done, I shall bow obediently to it, whatever may be the personal effect upon myself. I said on the former occasion what I repeat now—that the Committees of this House cannot be too pure in their motives or actions; but I would ask if it be not a hypocritical regard for purity to declare that a solicitor receiving a fee for his services in promoting a private bill, is liable to have his mind biassed, while Gentlemen are not even suspected whose whole property has been involved in bills in which they have interfered. If the House support the Resolution now proposed, no man can vote on a bill when he has a direct interest in the result. I should be ready to agree to the proposition, and no one would more cordially support the Resolution, or embrace it in practice, than myself, did it go the length of declaring that no Member should vote in any case in which he had a direct interest: but the hon. Member has gone further, and has said "indirect" as well as "direct"—at least he has said so in effect. I would agree even to this, if I thought it could be practically effected, but I scarcely think it possible for any Committee of gentlemen to be formed who are not directly or indirectly influenced in the result of any measure that has to pass through this House. I am sometimes solicited by persons coming from Glasgow or Dundee to support or oppose a bill in its progress through the House, or to attend the Committee upon it. I should have thought that I could have had no direct or indirect interest in such a bill; but such is the extraordinary activity of these agents, that they discover what I never could have imagined; that in some way or other the interests of my own constituents are concerned in the bill, and some of these are always found to urge me to attend the discussions on the bill. Attending or not to their wishes may influence my return for Colchester, and thus I may have an interest in measures which nobody would suspect. I question, Sir, whether there are six Members in this House who are not subject to this sort of indirect influence. To the Resolution now proposed by the hon.

Member I shall move an Amendment—a substantive Amendment; for as to the common form of moving the previous Question, it requires all the ingenuity of the practised Members to understand what it means. I shall, therefore, propose a Resolution, that no Member who has a direct interest in any bill shall vote in the Committee upon it. I do not say that they shall not sit in the Committee, for it is frequently necessary that they should do so, in order to give that information on the subject which they, best of all others, perhaps, are able to afford. I will only say of myself, that I never sat and voted in any canal or road-bill committee in which I had half a farthing's interest. I think I have been treated harshly, because I have been treated as if this petition had arisen out of my misconduct. I am willing, however, if others will follow me in that respect, to set an example of absolute disinterestedness; and as I never have been, so I am ready to say that I never will be a member of any committee on a bill in which I am directly or indirectly interested. I must say, however, that the rewards of the kind alluded to by the Resolution of the hon. Member are so far from being a bribe, that they are but payments for services, and the person receiving the services is, in such a case, just as much bribed as the person receiving the money. But if you are resolved on reducing the conduct of the Members of the House to such a sublimated degree of purity that they shall not be subject to the influence even of 13*s*. 4*d*., or 1*l*. 1*s*., or 6*s*. 8*d*. as an hon. Member reminds me (and these sums, by-the-bye, subject to taxation by your officers); I say, if the House is determined that its Members shall be so pure, that the purity of their minds shall not be borne down by the influence of such a sum, I will even support a motion to that extreme. But Gentlemen have an interest in almost all the votes which they give in Parliament. I take it for granted, that the hon. Gentleman, to be consistent, will oppose any East-India Directors from sitting on the Committee on India Affairs. Are not these hon. Gentlemen interested in that question? If that Committee should report that it was expedient to abolish the Company's monopoly, it would be the abolition of enormous patronage. I understand, I may be misinformed, but I do understand, that the advantage of the East-India Directors is, beyond that of all other persons, bound up in the existence of the Company. If so, I ask, Sir, whether any Director can fairly tell me that should he feel the Company's monopoly, the source of his power and patronage, crumbling beneath his feet, that he would not feel a paramount degree of interest in endeavouring to preserve it from ruin. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has given notice of a motion for a Committee on the Licensing System. Of course, he will not have any great brewers on that Committee. He will not ask men to vote against their interest, or put their delicate sense of honour in jeopardy. The other night there was a motion for the Reduction of the Salaries of the Great Officers of State, when one of them rose up and implored our sympathy, because having only 3,500*l*. a-year, he thought himself in a bad state, because legs of mutton were now 7*d*. instead of 5*d*. per pound; while another right hon. Gentleman, connected with the Navy, thought 5,000*l*. a-year not enough to pay his weekly bills with, and would no doubt on a division have given a conscientious vote for the preservation of his salary. Much is now said against attorneys and solicitors, after they have been robbed of all the places they formerly occupied under the Government, and the duties of which they discharged both well and cheaply, but from which they were turned out because barristers were found more efficient in this House. Are these, or any of these, instances of that delicate purity in Members sufficient to justify the present Motion? I must also remind you, Sir, that I am not the only person concerned in this question, and that you are, by this Resolution, using the iron hand of your power in a fearful manner. You are about to take upon yourselves to dissolve engagements of a binding nature on the parties themselves. My partner has applied to be heard at your bar, and his prayer has been refused, I do not say improperly refused, consistently with the forms of the House, but as he is concerned your Resolution ought to be well weighed. I admit, however, that if it is clear that the laws and usages of Parliament are, that not only no Member of this House, but no solicitor out of it connected with any Member, is allowed to engage in the management of private bills —I say if this be the case, I admit that he has come into the lion's mouth, and he must get out of it with as little mutilation as possible. The right hon. Gentleman who has given notice of a Committee of Inquiry into the fees of the Courts of Law, has often talked of vested rights. I say, let him consider mine. But, Sir, if all others are to be in the same manner given up, I have such a contempt for these claims, that I do not care how low mine are estimated. There is now a bill in this House in which I believe the hon. Member is somewhat interested; and there is a circular with one hundred and two names subscribed as opponents of it. Among these I find the names of Hertford, Cornwallis, Willoughby de Broke, and other gentlemen of great importance, who declare their intention of opposing the bill. Now, suppose, for we must go on mere hypothesis here, suppose, I say, that the Marquis of Hertford had any Member or Members in this House, I am sure, of course, that he has not, but suppose he had, and that that Member, instead of paying 5,000*l.* for his seat, as described by an hon. Baronet the other night, had taken it on the condition or the understanding that he was to do the public and private business of the noble Marquis, and that he would be on the alert as to any thing that might pass in this House affecting the noble Marquis's estate. If he were required to come down to oppose this bill—if he were driven, *nolens volens*, against his own feelings here, I should like to know to what degree of influence he could be said to be subject. Then, Sir, there are such persons as stewards and receivers to very wealthy noblemen—to the Duke of Devonshire for instance. Have we no such gentlemen Members of this House? I am sure I respect one gentleman of that class very much, and I think no promotion ever did greater credit to the Government than his, and I would rather receive, like him, 5,000*l.* a-year, than a few shilling fees, piecemeal, as an attorney. If such a Gentleman were told that he must oppose a bill for opening a canal that was to run through the domains at Chatsworth, he would possibly answer, "But I believe that bill will be a public benefit;" if he did, and his noble patron should reply, "Yes, but I disapprove of it;" oppose it he must, and what influence would he be under? In the course of last Session, a noble Lord near me, for whom I have the greatest respect, introduced a bill which was to be productive of advantage to his family. I believe I was almost the only man on this side of the House who staid here to oppose it [cries of no, no; it was thrown out]. Yes, it was thrown out by those who staid to throw it out; a powerful stream, however, of disinterested supporters left the House, and it was opposed by the hon. Members opposite. I only mention this to show that there are infinitely greater dangers in these things than in the open and avowed practice I have adopted. If this House come to a prospective Resolution, denouncing practices of this sort, there is no one more cordially inclined to support it than myself. But I have already protested against a Resolution being passed in personal unkindness to myself. The House will be acting more consistently if it passes a Resolution, embracing themselves as well as me. With that I shall be perfectly satisfied. I shall, therefore, move the following Resolution:—"That it is destructive of the ends of public and private justice, and inconsistent with the duty of any Member of this House to vote in a Committee on any Bill in which he is directly personally interested."

Mr. *Hume* said, he should willingly second the hon. Member for Colchester, as he had already testified his opinions upon the subject by proposing two resolutions in a former Session, precisely of a similar nature to the Resolution proposed as an Amendment by the hon. Member. He was by no means favourable to the principle of selecting particular cases for the interference of the House while the grosser and more important evil remained entirely unnoticed. The House would assuredly do honour to itself and add materially to the dignity of its character, if it uniformly made it a practice to challenge any of its Members who should take a part in the proceedings on a bill in which he was found to be in any degree individually interested. For several successive years he had endeavoured to impress upon the House the necessity of adopting such a course, but he had been invariably answered that it was better to leave the whole matter to the sense of honour entertained by the Members themselves, trusting to their feelings and perception of propriety. He was not a friend, however, to any measure which tended to cast blame where no blame could be justly imputed. How could a solicitor exercise an undue or sinister influence over the conduct of a Committee, when he was not a Member of that committee? He protested against an inference which there was no reason whatever, in his opinion, to deduce. It was not befitting their notions of equity and justice to pass a resolution condemnatory of solicitors, where it was not possible that they could have the influence which alone might warrant such a proceeding on the part of the House. It would never be in their power to influence a committee on any bill in the manner suggested, but the case was widely different when an interested Member was permitted to sit in a committee. On the whole, he would much rather support the Amendment as a general measure, than the original Resolution. It would apply a general remedy to an extensive evil, whereas the Resolution of the hon. Mover would only apply to an individual case.

Mr. *Brougham* thought, that the hon. Member for Staffordshire placed his Motion on a considerably lower ground than it ought to occupy, when he founded it upon the Resolution of 1696. He marvelled to hear it made a matter of doubt whether an individual, being a Judge of one of the Courts at Westminster, a Justice of Quarter Sessions, or even a member of any inferior judicature, exercising deliberate functions, could practise in those Courts, Sessions, or Judicatures, as Counsel, Agent, or Solicitor. It was a proposition utterly repugnant in itself, and which required no argument to establish its absurdity. The same rule must apply to the Members of the House of Commons. But the hon. Member for Aberdeen had expressed himself of opinion, that no abuse could result from a Member of that House acting as a solicitor in cases of bills, provided he did not sit on the committee. He had inquired how a Member under such circumstances could possibly exercise undue influence to promote the success of the bill in which he was professionally interested. This question, he apprehended, would be best answered by propounding another, which he would thus put to that hon. Gentleman. Suppose he were himself personally concerned in the fate of a private bill, and that he was given the option between two solicitors, Mr. A. and Mr. B., whose services were respectively suggested. Mr. A. happens to be merely a professional man, but Mr. B. is a Member; and he now put it to him, as a sound man of business, whether he would hesitate a single moment in his choice—whether he would not decide in less time than it had taken to propose the question? In the case he supposed, there was to be an equality in the claims of both parties; and this point being conceded, *ceteris paribus*, he asked whether it would require a second moment's consideration? Would he not reply, "Do you take me for a fool; am I an idiot that you should insult my understanding by asking such a question? The Member certainly shall be my solicitor." It might be answered, then, that a standing order had been moved on the 26th of February, 1830, which required that no member should sit on the committee where he was an interested party. But the rejoinder still would be—"I care not for that; may he not have private access to other Members who will be on the committee? although the bill is to be discussed in committee, will it end there?" All Members would have the privilege of voting, however they might be restricted with respect to the committee; but even if they were tied up in the House and prevented from voting altogether, he still did not entertain any doubt that the circumstance of his being a Member would give him a very great advantage over others of the same profession. The assertion to the contrary had been made in the heat of argument, but the speaker, he was confident, on further consideration, would not hesitate to retract it. Those reasons which might be most potent in inducing him to employ a Member to whom the House was likely to give a preference, ought to weigh equally with them as motives for putting a stop to the whole system for the future. He felt unwilling to use harsh names, but the advantage which any Member had so enjoyed could result only from the perversion and the abuse, not to say prostitution, of his privileges. It was universally acknowledged every where else, that the characters of a judge and a party concerned ought never to unite in the same person. Not long since, in a cause before the Privy Council, a Member who was interested personally attempted to obtain a hearing, but was instantly informed that he could not be listened to in his character of privy councillor, that it was competent for him to address that tribunal as a party, and that he would not be recognized for the time in any other character. Nor was there any thing to prevent a Member of that House from acting in a private capacity as party to a petition, but by a standing order he was very justly disqualified from voting. With respect to the emoluments of the Crown-officers, the hon. Member for Colchester laboured under a misconception, as they were not remunerated for any services which they might render to Government in their character as Members of Parliament. He wished also to explain another misconception, affecting himself personally as counsel in a celebrated case, which had been that evening alluded to, though he would first notice the present restrictions on barristers who happened to be Members of Parliament. They never attempted to come before the House as counsel in any department of their profession, nor were they suffered to be employed at an election, or before a committee on an election, although in the former case it was impossible that their professional engagement could interfere with their legislative duties, unless they happened to be ballotted for the committee. In his own case, he had carried the principle further, for after having been for three years a Member of Parliament, he was without a seat for three years succeeding, during which period he had made it a rule (from which he never in any instance departed) that he would not take a brief either in a private bill or a parliamentary committee, or, in short, upon any parliamentary business of any kind or sort whatever. And why had he done so? His connection with Parliament was then done away, and, for aught he knew, might never be renewed. But he acted from this feeling—he thought that, in delicacy to the members of his profession, he was bound to decline such practice. If any Gentleman wanted any satisfaction on this subject, it could easily be ascertained in the Court of King's Bench, where it was universally known that that was the ground upon which he acted. He felt that it might be said, "Here is a man who is one day in Parliament, and another day out of it. He has acquired a certain weight or standing in Parliament. He has formed connections there, and, consequently, he has a better chance of being favourably heard by committees, and, if any question should arise, he will possess advantages giving him a pre-eminence over other men of perhaps much greater merit." He had, therefore, a stained from all parliamentary practice, although the nature of his connections at the time would have rendered such practice by no means inconvenient for him. If such a principle were proper in his case, it must apply, *a fortiori*, to the circumstances to which the attention of the House was directed. But he felt it necessary to explain a matter upon which considerable misconception seemed to exist, and it was chiefly for that object that he had risen, he meant the supposed emoluments of the Queen's Counsel on that celebrated trial which had been alluded to. He desired to remove what he believed to be an erroneous impression as to the restriction upon Members of that House from being concerned in proceedings of that nature having been removed at the instance of the Queen's Counsel. His decided belief was, that it was not the Queen's Counsel, but the late Lord Londonderry, who desired to have that impediment removed, because he felt the great inconvenience which must result from the Crown not being able to employ, in furtherance of that bill, the services of the Attorney General and the Solicitor General. His impression on this point was strong and confident, because he had a distinct recollection of feeling much satisfaction that the impossibility, as he supposed, of his being employed in the House of Lords while a Member of this House, would afford him an opportunity of quitting for a season the laborious duties of a Member of Parliament. At that time he felt the pressure of those duties severely, and he was gratified at the prospect of obtaining a temporary release from them. Acting upon that feeling, he took measures with a view to quitting his place in Parliament. He brought forward the Education bills greatly to his own discomfiture, because he was obliged to bring them forward under the disadvantage of having to contend with other engrossing and overwhelming business; and indeed he believed he mentioned at the time that he did so, because he understood that it would be necessary for him soon to quit his place in that House. Whether it were Lord Castlereagh who made the motion to remove the restriction, or whether it proceeded from him (Mr. Brougham) and his friends, he could not take upon himself positively to assert, but it was his belief that it came from the Government. That he himself did not suggest the plan or encourage it, but, on the contrary, that he wished the matter to proceed upon the common law of

Parliament, and that he made arrangements with that view, and brought some particular business before the House to forward those arrangements he was certain. This he was able to say, not merely from impression, but from a confident, distinct and precise recollection. He believed the measure originated with Lord Castlereagh, because his Lordship required the aid of the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, who could not quit Parliament as other advocates could do. He would beg the House to recollect that there was the greatest possible difference between counsel or solicitors acting or soliciting bills in the House of Lords, and doing business of a similar nature in this House. But he admitted that, except upon extraordinary occasions, the rule to which he had referred ought not to be deviated from. It had been said, that the Queen's Counsel enjoyed enormous emoluments on the occasion of those proceedings. He would beg the attention of the House to the observations which he was about to offer on this point. The Queen's Counsel, during the whole time while that measure was under the consideration of Parliament, never, in any way, or in any form or shape whatever, exercised their professional capacity in that House. He himself appeared on the occasion solely in the character of a Member of Parliament; and he could assert that an hon. and learned friend, whom he lamented not to be able to appeal to on that occasion, as he was no longer a Member of Parliament—he meant Mr. Denman—and other hon. friends did with him act in that House without the interference of their client; that they acted upon their own responsibility as Members of Parliament; and that they refused, when occasion arose, to follow the instructions of their client. They acted as Members of Parliament, and not as Counsel for the Queen. As to their receiving any emoluments for any thing that they did in that House, such an idea never before crossed the mind of any man. It was never for a moment imagined that they received a single farthing, or any remuneration of whatever shape or sort, for the performance of any professional duties in that House, because there they could have no such duties to perform. Now, a word or two with respect to the large emoluments which the Queen's Counsel were supposed to have received for their services in another place. He could assure those who took any concern in the subject, that the Queen, or the individuals acting on her behalf, never paid any portion of the remuneration to the Counsel employed to conduct her case in the other House of Parliament. They were employed by the express and especial permission of the House of Commons, and under a protest against the case being made a precedent for future practice; but they never received from her Majesty any remuneration of any kind or sort for the performance of their professional duties in the House of Lords, from the beginning of those proceedings to the end. The whole expenses of that branch of the proceedings, as well as the rest of the expenses of the trial, were defrayed by the public. In making this statement he was anxious to be understood as saying nothing and meaning nothing which could strengthen the prejudices he knew existed against the unfortunate but high-minded lady who was the object of these proceedings, and which prejudices ought at length to rest in the grave with her. He meant to say nothing that could be at all capable of being construed into any imputation upon the justice or the generosity of that illustrious personage. He could add that so little disposed was her Majesty to regard unfavourably the zealous and strenuous exertions made in her behalf, and the success of those exertions, however little share he personally might have had in that success—so little was her Majesty inclined to undervalue those strenuous, and so far as regarded his colleagues, able exertions, that no sooner by such efforts of her servants, and by the merits and justice of her own cause, was her defence accomplished, than her Majesty, on the very next morning, directed that the whole balance in her banker's hands, amounting at the time to 7,000*l.*, should be distributed between his colleagues and himself. They had, however, received their remuneration, and he repeated, that in fact her Majesty did not, for these reasons, directly or indirectly, pay any portion of the expenses of the trial. Another point had been touched upon, to which he would offer one word of reply. It was said that the fees of a solicitor were small as compared with those of counsel, being generally only 6*s.* 8*d.* or 13*s.* 4*d.*, even on most important business. Now certainly it was not for him to defend one branch of the profession at the expense of another; but he must remind the Gentlemen that the emoluments of solicitors did not consist of one fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* merely. He could be borne out by any hon. Member who had ever had the good fortune of paying a solicitor for his skill and assiduity in their favour—[*a laugh*], that solicitors were not at all confined to one fee of 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 13*s.* 4*d.* or 1*l.* 1*s.* Those fees were received by them frequently, and almost daily, in the course of their proceedings, and they had other emoluments arising from drawing deeds—so much a sheet for the draft. They also derived other emoluments indirectly from the copies and engrossments of pleadings, which made the 6*s.* 8*d.*, or the 13*s.* 4*d.* or the 1*l.* 1*s.* sink into insignificance as to the proportion which they formed of the total amount appearing at the bottom of the bill. He stated this the more confidently because the hon. Member for Colchester himself had, on a former occasion, exhibited a bill, in which, although there were fees for counsel included, yet no one counsel, or two counsel, received any thing approaching in amount the sum paid to the skilful attorney. He had felt it necessary to say this much because it was very much the custom to attack a profession, the members of which seldom made it a practice to defend themselves from such attacks, content to rest upon their own merits. Allusion had been made to a former Member of that House (Sir James Graham), who was said, while occupying a seat in Parliament, and after he had professed to have withdrawn from his profession, still to have occupied himself in soliciting private bills. He certainly had often heard this said as a jest, but had never heard any man attempt to utter it seriously as an imputation actually incurred by the gentleman to whom it was applied. In all the instances in which he had heard the remark made it was as a joke, encouraged and occasioned by his own good nature. This was what he had always understood to be the nature of that allusion; and he repeated that he had never heard any man apply it seriously as a merited censure; but this he could say from his own knowledge, and he felt bound to state it in justice to the hon. Baronet, and in vindication of the honour of Parliament—he had been once or twice in company with the hon. Baronet when he had heard him twitted—not with this charge, but with still carrying on his profession after he had appeared to quit it, and which was before he came into that House; and he never saw greater indignation, not to say violence, exhibited in rebutting any accusation, than was displayed by him; and in all such instances, after the explanation given by that hon. Baronet, the charge was always retracted by those who had made it, as was said, rather in jest than seriously.

The *Attorney General* said, that he could bear testimony to the correctness of the explanation of his hon. and learned friend of the circumstances relative to the late Sir James Graham. With regard to the fees supposed to be received by the law officers of the Crown for their professional duties in that House, all he could say was, that he had devoted much of his time to one particular bill, and it had never entered his head that he was to be compensated for his labours in that instance. He had never heard of any of the emoluments of the law officers being connected with or arising out of any bill in that House.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, that, so far as he was informed, and having been a law officer of the Crown, he was enabled to state the practice to the House, the fact was beyond dispute, that no law officer of the Crown ever received from the Government any fee for preparing, or for supporting in that House, any measure which it was found expedient to bring before Parliament. He was satisfied that the hon. Member for Colchester did not mean any indelicacy, but it really was not altogether delicate to suppose that because the law advisers of the Crown were called upon to support particular bills—a call to which they were sometimes obedient, and sometimes disobedient — to think that they were such servile characters that they received a fee upon every bill which the Government brought in. Now, he said not only that they took no such fees, but further, if any measures were proposed which might be contradictory to duty, to honour, or to principle, a man to whom those considerations were valuable would reject not only the fee but the office too. He was not offering these remarks on behalf of himself, but on behalf of his predecessors in office, and of those who might be their successors; and he repeated, that a man of honour, under such circumstances, would reject not only the fee, but the office too, which was something more valuable. He hoped, therefore, that the hon. Member for Colchester would not cast upon Gentlemen filling those high stations, the scandalous and degrading predicament which he attached to them; namely, that, when a bill was brought in by Government, the law officers who might support it were paid for such support; and he hoped that those who had heard the statement, and those who might hereafter read what had passed, would not carry away the conception so degrading to the law officers of the Crown, that when they acted in their legislative capacity they were paid for framing a bill, or for advocating it in its progress through that House. If the hon. Gentleman who mixed up the law officers so much with disgrace and corruption would take the trouble of reading the Debates in that House at the time when Lord North was Minister, and Mr. Thurlow Attorney General, he would find that when Lord North was sitting there (on the Treasury Bench), and Mr. Thurlow sitting there, the Attorney General voted in opposition to the Ministry. This, therefore, might be taken as a proof, that the law officers of the Crown were not always so subservient or obsequious to the Crown, or so susceptible to the sort of influence which the hon. Member supposed to be their governing principle.

Mr. *Baring* said, the hon. Member for Colchester had been quite mistaken in the whole of his statement respecting Sir James Graham, who, from the moment of entering the House, disclaimed all participation in the profits of the partnership alluded to. The same he knew was the case with Mr. Smith, who, though Solicitor to the East-India Company had never been concerned as a parliamentary agent in any business whatever. It was the less necessary, he thought, to enter into a resolution of the nature then before the House, as it had all along been distinctly understood, that whenever any Member had a direct interest in any thing coming before a committee, he immediately withdrew from it. On that ground he did not see the necessity of the House coming to any resolution such as that which had been proposed.

Mr. *Hobhouse* could not see how there could be two opinions on the subject of the Resolution. He confessed that he thought the House was indebted to the hon. Member for Colchester for bringing the question to such a form, as that it resolved itself into this—Was the practice alluded to carried on openly or otherwise? He was ready to admit that the minds of some persons might be so constituted as not to consider it objectionable to pursue the practice in question, though it certainly was such a practice as he could by no means reconcile it to his mind to follow. There had been an old adage, "that every man had a right to do what he liked with his own."—Though true, in most other instances, it was clear it was not so as respected the use which a Member of Parliament might make of his abilities or influence, as in the case of the hon. Member for Colchester. The explanation of his conduct given by that hon. Member was certainly ingenious, and though not satisfactory to his (Mr. H.'s) mind, yet might be perfectly so to the hon. Member himself: for it was to be presumed that there was that in the constitution of his mind which led him to think there was nothing wrong in the practice. He wished to preserve his hon. friend, the Member for Montrose, from having it imputed to him that he defended the conduct of the Member for Colchester. He certainly did not think it right that any Member, directly or indirectly interested in a question coming before any committee, should serve upon that committee. The hon. Member for Colchester said, that he had done nothing more than had been done by many others as well as himself; and contended, with some appearance of reason, that he should not be turned out into the wilderness as the scape goat, with all the sins of the House of Commons upon his head; and no doubt the practice of hon. Gentlemen voting upon questions in which they had an interest was too common to justify any very severe visitation upon the hon. Member for Colchester. As to the question then before the House, he should vote for the Resolution of the hon. Member for Staffordshire; and he thought the House much indebted to that hon. Gentleman for having brought it forward. As it had been submitted to the House, they must come to a vote upon it; and having the Question put, they could not do otherwise than decide in its favour. At the same time the practice against which the present Amendment was directed was a practice contrary to the dignity of Parliament; nay, it was opposed to the feelings, not only of a gentleman, but of a man, to do anything so obviously contrary to the first principles of justice as to sit on a committee which was to decide a question wherein he had a direct interest. Admiting all that, however, he would recommend the hon. Gentleman to withdraw his Amendment for the purpose of making it a substantive motion, and should that be done, he should have no objection to vote in its favour. He could not join in the exculpatory account which had been given of the conduct of committees above stairs; and for the purpose of justifying his dissent from those accounts, he should state literally some facts which came under his observation. There were some facts he would not state, from delicacy to the parties; but he should lay before the House such a statement as would leave no doubt that his views on the subject were well founded.—Not long ago a committee was appointed, of which he was a member, and the question at issue involved a very large amount of money. The chairman was deeply interested. On the occasion to which he particularly referred, five members were in attendance, of whom two, in addition to the chairman, were deeply interested in having the measure under consideration passed. Previous to going to the vote, he (Mr. H.) rose in the committee, and stated that he did not think it by any means proper that persons so deeply interested should take a part in its proceedings. The chairman replied, that many of his (Mr. H.'s) constituents, the electors of Westminster, were also interested in the result, and that the member for Westminster, was as much disqualified from acting and voting in that committee as any hon. Member in that House. However, the question was discussed and decided, and three carried it against two, in favour of the bill.—He would now mention another case: early in the last Session, a committee was appointed, of which a very influential gentleman was appointed chairman, and on one occasion he came to him (Mr. H.) and asked him to preside one day in the committee—he learned subsequently that that chairman was most deeply interested in the question which that committee had to decide; and certainly, if he had not been ignorant of the whole matter, he should not have undertaken to preside in the room of any chairman so circumstanced. In fact, he since learned that that chairman had interests at stake, amounting to thousands and tens of thousands. With such facts before them, they could not doubt that it behoved them (the question being once brought before them) to remove the blot upon their character which the practice in question seemed to leave; for they could not shut their eyes to the statements of facts which had been made. The practice was one which they were bound to put down.—He should now call the attention of the House to a circumstance which happened to the hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. Brougham). He had undertaken, in his capacity of a Member of that House, to bring forward certain charges against the governor of a distant colony, who was accused of malversation in his conduct of the affairs of that colony. Those were serious charges; and any charge could not fail to be serious in the hands of the Member for Knaresborough. God forbid that any friend of his should fall under the chastisement of that hon. and learned Gentleman! On the occasion in question, instead of following up those charges, he came down to the House, and said that he was employed as counsel in the causes arising out of those accusations, and that therefore, as a Member of Parliament, he could not take any share in such measures as the Legislature might think proper to adopt with respect to them. He would not state for which of the parties the hon. and learned Gentleman was employed; it was enough that he had, in his professional capacity, access to the information possessed by one of them. He considered it such as unfitted him for the discharge of the duties of a legislator on the particular question at issue. If such a feeling was approved of in a most distinguished Member of Parliament, it could not be borne that any Member of that House should act in his legislative capacity to promote his private interests. He hoped, therefore, that the hon. Member for Colchester would bring forward his Amendment as a substantive proposition, when it should have his earnest support; for nothing could be more contrary to common justice and common sense, than for hon. Members to sit up stairs in one capacity, and come down to the House in another.

Sir *M. W. Ridley* observed, that the question was not whether hon. Members having a direct or an indirect interest in questions before committees ought or ought not to sit upon them; the question was, whether the House should or should not express its reprobation of the practice of Members of that House employed professionally using the influence they possessed to promote the objects of their clients. It was their duty, if possible, to devise means for preventing Members of that House voting in committees in which they were interested; but it was perhaps a still more important duty for them to prevent professional persons from using the privileges and facilities which belonged to them as such for the purposes of private interest. It might be said, that it would be rather a hard case to require the dissolution of connections formed with parties concerned in proceedings before that House; but he thought that where such alliances did exist they ought to be broken through; such alliances were most unparliamentary alliances, and the sooner they were dissolved the better.

The *Solicitor General* repeated that the question was as had been stated by the last speaker, and expressed his strong disapprobation of the circular letter which had been mentioned—he never read anything more objectionable. The conduct of all professional men ought to be above reproach, and he considered that it was extremely unfair in Members of that House, by themselves or by their partners, to become solicitors or agents for one party or the other.

Sir *C. Burrell* pressed the hon. Member for Westminster to explain the allusions to members of the committees and chairmen of committees, contained in his speech. He was perfectly aware that it would not be consistent with the forms and the usages of that House for him to mention the names of the parties to whom he alluded, but he could state the occasion, the period, and such other particulars as could leave no doubt who were meant. It was only right that the House should receive some explanation, and it was only fair that the parties should have an opportunity of defending themselves, if any defence they had.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* said, that the rule was perfectly clear, that parties interested should not sit upon committees, and there were more abuses of a similar description which called for the interference of the House. Let those cases be brought forward separately, and he, for one, would most readily lend his assistance in abolishing the evil. Nothing could be more distinct and explicit than the proceedings of Parliament on all occasions with respect to questions of that nature. On the Queen's trial, her Attorney and Solicitor General, being Members of that House, applied for permission to attend at the Bar of the House of Lords, in order to their being there heard as her Counsel. That permission was granted, with express condition that they should pledge themselves, in the event of the Bill of Pains and Penalties proposed against her Majesty, coming down to that House, not to take any part in the proceedings on that measure. Upon that the permission was granted.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he had listened with great attention to the present discussion, and he had come to the decision of voting with the hon. Member for Staffordshire, for which he should give three reasons—and in a sentence; first, because it was consistent with the uniform practice of the House, that lawyers should not take any part, as members of Parliament, in any proceedings wherein they were professionally engaged, and he thought the same rule should apply to Solicitors.—Secondly, that any Member taking pecuniary rewards for his services, did that which was incompatible with the discharge of any parliamentary duty. Thirdly, the practice referred to gave Members of Parliament an undue preference over the other members of their own profession, and thereby it should not be sanctioned by that House. And here he was bound to say, that the hon. Member for Colchester had made what he thought an undue use of the privilege of franking, in sending his circulars, under the sanction of his parliamentary privilege, free of postage. He did not conceive that voting for the proposition of his hon. friend, the Member for Staffordshire, conveyed any blame upon the conduct of the hon. Member for Colchester, for he might certainly have taken a different view of the subject from that which other hon. Members were in the habit of taking. As to the other Resolution, he thought it ought not to be taken in connection with that of his hon. friend; each ought to stand on its own merits, and be decided after a separate discussion. The utmost difficulty, he apprehended, would be found in any attempt to exclude from committees Members having indirect interests in the matters at issue [Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, the object of his Motion was to exclude those who had direct interests].—If it merely applied to persons having a direct interest, it was unnecessary, since that was already sufficiently well provided against. The indirect interests that hon. Members had were most numerous: for example, every Member of that House had an interest in the Corn Laws, or the commutation of Taxes. For the reasons he had given, he should vote for the Motion of his hon. friend the Member for Staffordshire; and from the explanation given by the hon. Member opposite, he did not feel called upon to pronounce any opinion upon his Amendment.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, not wishing to disturb the unanimity of the House, he would vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Staffordshire. What he complained of was, that that Motion did not go far enough; and the object of his Amendment would be, to carry it to the extent which he thought the necessity of the case required. With that view, he proposed to add it in the form of another Resolution. He had, at no time, the least idea that he was acting in any manner contrary to the laws or usages of Parliament; indeed, the very manner in which he proceeded was an evidence that he did not conceive he was doing anything wrong. To that he had only to add, that, so soon as he became aware of his error, no one could be more ready to yield than he had been; and, as a proof of the sincerity of his declaration, the next *Gazette* should announce the dissolution of the partnership which had given rise to the present complaint. The law officers of the Crown received fees for professional advice on matters on which they might be called upon to vote in that House; and the hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. Brougham), after making the whole House expect a motion little short of impeachment against a noble Lord who had held office in a distant part of the world, had appeared before the Privy Council as that noble Lord's advocate! after which circumstance, he stated that he was bound to say that his opinion on the noble Lord's conduct was altered. Allusion has been made to the use of franks; but before any charge was made against him, it should be remembered, that bankers, who were Members, made use of the privilege in their business to the saving of 900*l.* a year; and as there were frequently three or four Members in one banking concern, this extended to no less a sum than 3,600*l.* His intention was to withdraw his Amendment till the original Motion was disposed of, and then to propose it in the shape of an original motion.

Mr. *Lamb* said, he had been disposed to congratulate the House on the temper in which the discussion had been carried on, but the last speech of the hon. Member for Colchester had taken away all reason for congratulation. He had severely arraigned the conduct of the hon. Member for Knaresborough, though he had done well for himself to defer his attack till that hon. Gentleman had quitted the House.

The Amendment was withdrawn, and the original Motion carried nem. con.

Mr. *Harvey* then proposed his Amendment as an original Motion. He said he had not intended to make any attack on the hon. Member for Knaresborough; but had only cited that case to show what was the usage of Parliament.

Mr. *Hume* seconded the Motion.

Mr. *Littleton* moved, as an Amendment, that the other Orders of the Day should be read.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* supported the Motion, because he thought the Resolutions of that House on such a subject could not be too strong and too comprehensive.

Mr. *O'Connell* hoped, that it would not go forth to the public that they had been two hours by the clock straining at a gnat, after so often swallowing, not onl a camel, but a whole caravan of camels.

Mr. *Sadler* supported the Amendment, on the ground that the Journals of the House were already over-loaded with rules.

Mr. *Wynn* said, that the Motion of the hon. Gentleman was already a rule of the House, and that it was quite unnecessary to enforce that rule by any further declaration, unless some specific cases were brought before Parliament. At present there was nothing but unsupported accusations.

Mr. *W. Smith* could not concur in the Motion.

Mr. *Croker* said, that the law of Parliament always was, that a Member interested could not vote; and, therefore, the hon. Gentleman's Motion was worse than nothing, because it restricted that non-voting to committees up stairs only.

The House then divided, when there appeared for Mr. Harvey's Motion 26; against it 174. Majority against the Motion 148.

List of the Minority.

Baring, Sir T.
Blake, Sir F.
Bernal, R.
Cave, O.
Duncombe, T.
Denison, W. J.
Dawson, A.
Grant, R.
Hobhouse, J. C.
Howard, H.
Maberly, J.
Marshall, W.
O'Connell, D.
Sykes, D.
Stewart, J.
Sebright, Sir J.
Taylor, M. A.
Tennyson, C.
Trant, W. H.
Thomson, Powlett
Waithman, Ald.
Whitbread, H.
Warburton, H.
Wood, J.
Wood, Ald.

TELLERS.

D. W. Harvey
Joseph Hume.

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.] The Order of the Day being read for the House going into a Committee of Supply,

Sir *T. Byam Martin*, on the Motion for the Speaker leaving the Chair, expressed his regret at being under the necessity of trespassing for a short time on the attention of the House, and detaining it from going into a Committee. He had to complain that an hon. Baronet opposite (Sir H. Parnell) had, in a book on Financial Reform, thrown out imputations against him and against the Navy Board, which were totally unfounded, and decidedly contrary to the evidence given before the Finance Committee, on which the statements were alleged to be founded. The hon. Baronet asserted, that the Navy Board appeared by that evidence to have been mainly instrumental in preventing the execution of those measures of economy and retrenchment proposed by the Admiralty. He denied this most positively. He denied that any portion of his evidence, or of the evidence of any other person before the Finance Committee, would bear out such a conclusion; and he called on the hon. Baronet to declare to the House that he had been instrumental in propagating a reflexion on the character of the Board which was not borne out by the facts. Had the Navy Board acted in the manner described by the hon. Baronet, it would have been unworthy of the confidence either of the Admiralty or the country. The hon. Baronet says, "According to the evidence given before the Finance Committee by Sir G. Cockburn, Sir G. Clerk, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Barrow, it appears that of late years the Admiralty have made various efforts to reduce the Civil Expenditure of the Navy. It seems, however, that they were so much opposed as to be able to accomplish in this department only some trifling reductions, but that with respect to the Victualling Office, in consequence of the commissioners having zealously co-operated with them, a very great reformation and saving of expense had been effected. In the last Session the old Navy Board was abolished, and a new one formed, according to a suggestion of the Committee of Finance, on the model of the Ordnance Board. As the evidence just referred to explains the practicability of making some considerable reductions in this department, this change should lead to a large saving of the public money. Some doubt may, however, be entertained of the reform of the constitution of this Board being as effective as it ought to be, in consequence of the same individuals having seats at it who have hitherto been backward in promoting measures of reform and retrenchment. Had the Committee of Finance been renewed, so as to have had it in their power to make a report on the Navy, they could not have avoided censuring in strong terms the conduct of the Navy Board in persevering to resist the superior authority of the Admiralty." He would then observe to the House that he had attentively read the whole of the evidence given before the Committee of Finance, and he could find no part of it which warranted the interpretation given to it by the hon. Baronet. The strongest passage was that in which his hon. friend, Mr. Keith Douglas, said, "I am certainly of opinion that if the Committee were to strengthen the hands of the Admiralty, by conveying a strong recommendation in favour of economy and retrenchment, it could not fail to have a good effect." There could be no doubt of the truth of this assertion, but he did not see how it justified the imputations of the hon. Baronet. In what he had stated about the Navy Board not being as effective as it ought to be in consequence of old Members having seats at it, the hon. Baronet had cast a severe censure on the conduct of every Member of that Board who had been a Member of the former Board. So far, however, was he (Sir B. Martin) from opposing the wishes of the Admiralty, that Lord Melville had done him the honour to consult him as to the best means of carrying the recommendations of the Finance Committee into effect, and had done him the further honour of adopting his suggestions. The hon. Baronet was quite unwarranted, therefore, either by any evidence given before the Finance Committee, or by the conduct of the Navy Board since, to cast such aspersions on the character of that Board. Nothing would gratify him more than to bring every member connected with that Board to the Bar of the House, in order to prove that the assertions of the hon. Baronet respecting it were unfounded. He, as well as every member of that Board, had, at all times, exerted themselves to keep down the expenditure; although the hon. Baronet had taken leave, without the shadow of authority from evidence, to condemn the conduct of a whole body of men, without allowing the opportunity to defend themselves. He called on the hon. Baronet to rise in his place and declare in what part of the evidence before the Finance Committee he found the statements which supported the charge against the Board, of opposing retrenchment. There were no grounds for that charge; and a more unjust and more ungenerous proceeding than that adopted by the hon. Baronet had scarcely ever been brought under the notice of the House. The hon. Baronet had made charges against him, but he ought rather to have brought accusations against the hon. Baronet. The hon. Baronet had been Chairman of the Committee—Why did he not call him (Sir B. Martin) before that Committee when he heard these imputations against the Navy Board? The hon. Baronet had been exceedingly remiss in his duty; because he was bound, as Chairman, to have sought this information. It might be said that the termination of the sittings of that Committee prevented him. Why, the whole proceeding would not have occupied ten minutes. It would have satisfied the hon. Baronet and the Committee that his conduct, and that of the Navy Board, had been perfectly pure and unspotted; and he was convinced, the hon. Baronet, if he had thought proper to call for these explanations, would never have stigmatised his conduct in the manner he had done in a nine-and-sixpenny pamphlet. The hon. Baronet had done him the honour, in that pamphlet, to quote a portion of his evidence, and he said in alluding to the great success of the British Navy in diminishing the naval power of other countries, "Sir T. B. Martin stated in his evidence before the Committee of Finance, the glorious fact, that England seemed to have swept from the face of the ocean the fleets of her enemies by the destruction of one hundred and fifty-six sail of the line, three hundred and eighty-two large frigates, six hundred and sixty-two corvettes, with other vessels, making in all two thousand five hundred and six vessels of war." "Notwithstanding this fact however," added the hon. Baronet, "no less than 63,000,000*l.* have been granted by Parliament since 1815, for the effective Naval Service, just as if the whole two thousand five hundred and six vessels had never been taken or destroyed, and were all ready to be employed against us." This seemed to him a sad perversion of the evidence given before the Finance Committee, and as he was already aware that the hon. Baronet's statements had made a very erroneous impression on the public, he would read to the House the evidence he had himself given. "It is not for me to presume," he was quoting the evidence as given before the Finance Committee "to offer any opinion as to the effective Naval Force which it may be proper for this country to maintain in time of peace: it is a political question with which I have no concern, and must be decided partially with reference to the naval strength and resources of other countries; but it may be well to remark, that in all former periods of peace the efforts of England were unremitted in bringing the Navy into a formidable state, and particularly so between 1783 and 1793, when upon the breaking-out of the war we had ninety-one sail of the line fit for service; and although the continental powers directed their attention more to military than naval matters, the large force was found inadequate to the growing wants of the Government, in the formation of squadrons for the various and distant objects of protection and enterprise they had in view, and hence the necessity of having recourse to private merchant builders, to which may be traced the rapid and alarming decay of the ships, and the consequent waste of millions of the public money. But notwithstanding the large force with which the war was commenced, and the aid of merchant builders, in constructing ships of the line; notwithstanding the extraordinary and glorious fact that England seemed to have swept from the face of the ocean the fleets of her enemies, by the capture or destruction of one hundred and fifty-six sail of the line, three hundred and eighty-two large frigates, six hundred and sixty-two corvettes, and in all two thousand five hundred and six sail of vessels of war, still the last day of the war found every energy strained, and the whole shipwright strength of the Kingdom combined, in order to meet the wants of the country in all quarters of the globe, and to keep pace with the gigantic efforts of Buonaparte in applying the great naval resources of France and Holland, in the augmentation of the French Marine. I may, therefore, say with propriety, that the period of peace is the time to provide such an ample stock of line-of-battle ships, as may prevent the risk of the country falling again into the hands of the Merchant Builders." A conclusion directly the reverse of that drawn by the hon. Baronet, naturally arose out of that evidence; he however, omitting all these gratifying circumstances, all the circumstances which were stated to justify our large expenditure during peace, went on to state most unfairly, "But this is not all; for after having spent so many millions (as sixty-three since the peace), it would appear by the sums voted in 1829, for artificers, timber, &c. that the time for reducing the Navy Expenditure is not yet arrived. Sir T. B. Martin says, respecting the force now employed, it may be said, if contrasted with former periods of peace, that we have a fleet in commission approaching more to a war than a peace establishment." Thus did the hon. Baronet make what he must call garbled extracts from his evidence, and in stating them without the proper qualifications, led the public to believe that the sums expended on the Navy since the peace had all been wasted in wanton extravagance; whereas nothing was better established than the fact, that a fleet could not be created in a day, and that the country, if it desired to be secure against foreign aggression, must in peace incur the expense of being prepared for war. The hon. Baronet had also charged the Navy Board with extravagance in the building of ships, and in the manufacture of canvas and chain-cables. Now, he denied the imputation respecting the building of ships; and as to the manufacture of canvas and chain-cables, there never had been a single yard of canvas, or an inch of chain-cable, manufactured by the Navy Board since the Navy was a Navy. He appealed to the hon. Baronet to acknowledge that he had been in error, and to remedy by that declaration the injury he had done to the Navy Board.

Sir *H. Parnell* thanked the hon. Member for the discretion he had shown in bringing this subject before the House, and for his kindness in communicating to him his intention to do so. He would commence by observing, that it was the right of every individual to discuss those matters which were connected with the administration of public affairs; and to a Member of Parliament that right became a duty which was almost imperative. It was, he confessed, extremely difficult, in writing on such subjects, to avoid falling into expressions that might be too strong for the feelings of individuals, although in point of fact, he had taken the utmost care to shun every offensive word. He was not now, however, prepared to state that the impression he had received on the subject of the Navy Board had been altered; and a conversation which he had held with a noble Lord (Althorp), since he received the hon. Member's Letter yesterday morning, tended to confirm his first impression. His impression respecting the evidence on the subject of the Navy Board certainly was, that the Board had opposed itself to the views of the Admiralty on the subject of retrenchment. He recollected well, indeed, the reply made by Mr. Barrow, when questioned on that subject. When asked if he knew the reason why the reductions proposed had not taken place? Mr. Barrow answered in a tone and manner which struck him at the moment, and which he well remembered, "that the Navy Board could answer that question much better than he could." His impression then, as now, from that evidence, was that which he had stated in the pamphlet. With respect to the hon. and gallant Officer, he disclaimed any personal motive in what he had said respecting him. He was convinced that there was not an individual in the public service who did his duty more zealously and faithfully; and he had no doubt, that even when the hon. and gallant officer resisted economy, it was from the best motives. But his impression still remained as to the conduct of the Navy Board; and he had the satisfaction to be authorised to state, that if his noble friend, the Member for Northamptonshire, who had that morning gone over the evidence with him, had been in his place, he would have declared that he thought the paragraph in his (Sir H. Parnell's) work, which ascribed to the Navy Board a disposition to resist the Admiralty's efforts at retrenchment, completely borne out by that evidence. With respect to the two points which regarded the building of ships, and the manufacture of canvas and chain-cables, he candidly admitted, that on reflection and consideration, he did not think that he had sufficient grounds for the conclusion to which he had arrived; but with respect to the resistance made by the Navy Board to the Admiralty, he repeated that his opinion was entirely unchanged.

Sir *G. Cockburn* thought it but just to his hon. and gallant friend to say, in the first place, that it was the duty of the Navy Board to state to the Board of Admiralty any observations which appeared to them to be advantageous for the public service; and, in the second place, that whatever was actually ordered by the Admiralty, was always executed by the Navy Board with zeal and dispatch. It was certainly true, that if the Navy Board had entirely concurred with the Admiralty, things would have gone on faster. But when objections to any proposition were made by practical men, it was the duty of the Admiralty to consider those objections maturely before they rejected them. He repeated, however, that whatever the Board of Admiralty finally decided should be done was done immediately.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he was rejoiced to find that the discussion had terminated in a manner so creditable to all parties. The hon. Baronet, asserting his just right to comment on the conduct of any public department, had yet, with great candour, allowed that, on mature reflection, there were points on which he had come to a hasty conclusion; and he had also given his hon. and gallant friend full credit for zeal in the discharge of his duty. It appeared to him, therefore, that the discussion had been creditable to both parties. The hon. Baronet, however, persevered in his opinion that the Navy Board might have conformed with more alacrity to the wishes of the Admiralty. If, however, the Navy Board had been entirely passive and acquiescent, they would have been called tools in the hands of the Lords of the Admiralty, and persons who never dared to have an opinion of their own. As to the conclusion which the hon. Baronet had drawn from the statement by Mr. Barrow,—that for information on the subject respecting which he had been questioned, the Committee had better apply to the Navy Board—it appeared to him to be erroneous, and that Mr. Barrow's meaning was simply that the Navy Board could give the best information on the subject.

Sir *Byam Martin* felt himself bound to acknowledge the very handsome and honourable manner in which the hon. Baronet had expressed himself. He hoped, however, that if the hon. Baronet published a second edition of his pamphlet he would correct the errors into which he had fallen. [*a laugh.*]

Mr. *Maberly* was sure that his hon. friend never intended any thing personal against the hon. Baronet. The right hon. Gentleman had observed that his hon. friend had conceded two points. That was true, but they were minor points. On the principal question—namely, whether the Navy Board had done its duty or not—his hon. friend's opinion remained unaltered; and he entirely concurred with him. The hon. Baronet had read a portion of the evidence given before the Finance Committee, but if he had the whole of Mr. Barrow's evidence he would have confirmed the statement of his hon. friend, that the Navy Board had, between the years 1815 and 1821, opposed reduction. Mr. Barrow's evidence, which he would read, was as follows:—"Has not the Admiralty Board a general superintendance over the whole of the department?—Unquestionably; but until the war was finished the Lords of the Admiralty could not very well be spared to go down; and shortly after the war was finished a visitation made some slight reduction, but not to any great extent. It was not till 1821 that the Board was at liberty to examine more strictly into the state of the dock-yards and cause greater reductions to be made.——Since 1821, why were not those reductions made which appear to be necessary, and which you now have carried into effect?—

I think it was in the year 1822 that the Lords of the Admiralty were reduced to four; since which, they certainly have not had much time to devote to the dock-yards, personally, to inspect matters of that kind. His Royal Highness, the Lord High Admiral, would probably have taken down two of his council this last summer, to look into the state of the dock-yards, and to see what reductions could be made, or improvements suggested, but it was found to be absolutely impossible, and Mr. Douglas and myself only, had the honour to accompany his Royal Highness.——At what time were those circumstances requiring reduction known to the Board of Admiralty?—There have been a variety of opinions respecting the reduction of the dock-yards; the opinion of the Navy Board, generally, went very much against that measure. I believe they are now rather more inclined to think that they may be carried to a certain extent.——Do you recollect the instructions received from the Treasury in 1821 to reduce the expenditure of the Navy?—They applied, I believe, only to the naval departments in town, and it was done.——Were not the instructions applicable to all parts of the expenditure?—I think not, so far as I recollect; but it was in 1821 that we made our reductions, which were very considerable, amounting in that year to 62,666*l.* ——Is it intended to revise and consider the total organization of those yards, or merely for the purpose of making reductions on the present organization?—To do away or to modify the present, and, at all events, to introduce a system more simple in its principles, and at the same time to make such reductions as may be found expedient.——How long have the dock-yards been going on in the state you have described?—The first visitation that was made of late years to the dock-yards was in 1813, when Lord Melville took down two members of the Board and myself; we then went over all the dock-yards, and a very voluminous Report was drawn up, containing suggestions on a great variety of matters which occurred to the Board; but we were not able from the state of the war, and other circumstances, to make any very considerable reductions till the year 1821, when Lord Melville, Sir George Cockburn, Sir George Clerk, and myself, went down to Chatham dock-yard, where we examined minutely into every department, and inspected the whole establishment, the result of which was, that one great officer of every dock-yard, called the Clerk of the Survey, was abolished, with all his clerks, as being of no use. By this a saving was effected of 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* a year. It then clearly appeared, that a body of men, with the same duties nearly as, and in addition to, those of the Measurers, called Quarter-men, amounting, I think, to nearly two hundred in the whole of the dock-yards, with salaries from 140*l.* to 180*l.* a year each, were of little or no use, in superintending the workmen, and were accordingly recommended to be abolished.——Has not that alteration been very strongly objected to by the Commissioners of the Dock-yards?—I cannot speak as to the Commissioners of the Dock-yards, but it was objected to by the Navy Board at the time very strongly, and the discharged Quartermen have obtained numerous applications from Members of Parliament for counties and boroughs, on their behalf, for they were almost all of them freemen of one place or another.——Have you ever made any reductions any where against which you have not found great objections and great remonstrances? — Most unquestionably not, and it is very natural that it should be so."

Sir George Clerk was also examined by the Committee, and his evidence was as follows:——" Did you examine into the manner in which the accounts of either of these departments were kept?—Of course, it was a necessary part of that investigation to examine into the manner in which the accounts were kept, so as to form an opinion of the employment of the clerks.——What was your opinion after that survey?—That many of the forms were of antiquated date, and were not applicable to the present extended system of the naval service, and that they might be very much simplified by the introduction of an improved method of keeping accounts.——Can you suggest any means for reducing the expense of the dock-yards?—I certainly entertain an opinion I believe in common with the other members of the Board of Admiralty who visited the various dock-yards in the year 1822, that there was an unnecessary quantity of superintendants, especially in the shipwright department in the dock-yards. The Committee are of course aware, that at the time the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry made an investigation into the state of the dock-yards, particularly Plymouth, they were struck with the want of proper attention to check the earnings of the people; and that great losses thereby accrued to the public. The Commissioners of Naval Revision, in consequence of that, suggested a great number of checks, with a view to preventing such losses to the public in future, and perhaps they ran into the opposite extreme, and multiplied the checks further than was necessary. The Admiralty, in the investigation in 1822, suggested great alterations in the mode of conducting the shipwrights' business, which led to the discharge of a great many petty officers, the whole of one class altogether, and a few others. The measure was considered as one of very doubtful policy by many of the commissioners of the Navy, and by the resident commissioners at the Dock-yards. A very considerable saving was immediately effected, I believe nearly 60,000*l.* by that measure. The Board of Admiralty made a subsequent investigation in the year 1824, for the purpose of seeing how that alteration which they had suggested was working, and they found at that time that their views had not in some instances been fully understood, and they took that opportunity of explaining more fully the particular manner in which they wished the superintendance to be conducted. Since that time nothing further has been done; but I have very little doubt that no inconvenience has arisen to the public service from that reduction, and that there might be further reduction made, especially with regard to the measurement of the work, in order to set down what have been the earnings of the people."

It would be plain from this evidence to the House that the statement made by the hon. Baronet was fully borne out, and that the efforts of the Admiralty had been obstructed by the Navy Board. He did not believe, however, that either of the Boards had been very desirous to promote retrenchment. Although he might run the risk of tiring the House, he would read another extract to shew that the Admiralty needed to be strengthened by a recommendation from the Finance Committee:

"Have those transactions come within your own knowledge, or is it only the understanding you have acquired?—It is merely from my necessary communication with the office I have become acquainted with those circumstances.——Is there any other item in the Navy Office in relation to which you have a suggestion to make?—No.——Have you examined lately into the Navy Office?—I have had a great deal of examination into the affairs of the yards, and the books kept in them, and which have a necessary connexion with many of the duties of the Navy Office. It has been considered, that by a different management of the business within the Navy Office a greater degree of general responsibility would be given to the commissioners than exists at present, and probably, for the same reason, more general intelligence amongst its members of the business which is conducted within the office. It has been thought there might be a consolidation with advantage of the Committees of Stores and of Accounts into one Committee; and that, if the whole Board were to be a party to the duties which are now discharged by the Committee of Correspondence, a great improvement would be effected. It has also been thought, that by such arrangement, a diminution of two of the number of the present commissioners might be effected. As to the number of clerks in that establishment, it is quite impossible for me to speak with any certainty of the extent of the reduction that might be effected in them; but, independently of the duties that they now discharge, in taking account of all the Returns made from ships afloat, and of the persons in those ships, there are naturally very extensive duties they have to discharge in taking account of the whole of the transactions that occur within the yards. I would observe, that it has occurred very strongly to myself, and to other persons who have visited the yards, that the Returns which are made from them daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly, and annually, are much more voluminous than is necessary for any practical use. It occurs to me, that by revising those returns in the yards, which the Admiralty are very capable of doing, a very great diminution of unnecessary labour would, probably, be effected, and such proceeding would, probably, also indicate the means of diminishing considerably clerk-duties that are now carried on in the Navy-Office.——Would not the improvement and simplification of the business of the Navy Office which you point out, not only be attended with a saving of money, but make much clearer the whole business of that office, and the responsibility under which it is conducted?—I conceive very much so; by a good classification of accounts, probably, the best check is established in conducting an extensive concern of that kind, and all the necessary duties of the persons employed in those establishments would be much more clearly indicated by doing so, than by any other method."

The hon. Member said, all this evidence proves that the Admiralty was not supported by the Navy Board, and that the former Board was anxious to have it strengthened by a vote of the Committee. Between the reluctance of the one Board, and the hesitation of the other to enforce its authority, it was clear that the public had for many years suffered great loss.

Mr. *Hume* observed, that if ever evidence was satisfactory, it was that which established the fact that the Admiralty were anxious for a reduction of expenditure, and would have reduced it but for the indisposition of the Navy Board to concur in the measure. In support of this opinion he would refer to the evidence before the Committee; and especially to that of one of the Lords of the Admiralty (Mr. Keith Douglas), who expressed his wish that the Committee would strengthen the hands of the Admiralty by some vote declaratory of its opinion that the Admiralty ought to carry its own views into effect. His evidence, as quoted by the hon. Member, was as follows;—"Have you any thing to suggest to the Committee as to the directing and supervising authority of the Admiralty over those Boards?—I think that the Admiralty have exercised so strict a superintendence by their visitation, that they are perfectly competent to suggest any alterations that may be necessary in the subordinate departments of the Admiralty, probably in the most efficient and satisfactory manner, for they have looked into the details; which it is important to know, and they learn from the correspondence which is constantly carried on, how the business is working. Having the knowledge which they possess, I am certainly of opinion, that if this committee were to strengthen the hands of the Admiralty by conveying to them a strong recommendation that they should carry their own views of improvement into effect, that it is in this manner that the most safe and effectual reforms can be effected.——Do you conceive that the Admiralty require to be reinforced by any such authority, or that there does not reside in the council of the Lord High Admiral sufficient authority?—I conceive in its subordinate departments, where parties are very much interested in maintaining an over establishment, they are always inclined to make resistance against any alterations which are to take away the emoluments of the departments. Retrenchment is always ungracious, and it is constantly seen when there is any great class of reduction effected in any department, that the views advocated by the parties interested against the reduction are well backed by Members of Parliament and others connected with them. If this Committee think that the Admiralty are right in the general views they entertain, I have no doubt that their sanction and authority, or their commendation in favour of the views of the Admiralty, will be extremely useful.——In point of fact, when reforms are contemplated by the Admiralty as necessary, do they direct them, or only suggest and recommend them to the subordinate Boards?—The view I take of the conduct of the Admiralty, or any other superintending Board, would be this:—As far as possible to carry with them the concurrence of the subordinate departments, because in no other way can alterations be carried into effect in a willing spirit, and this spirit is I think very necessary for success.——Do you not think, in case of the authority of the Admiralty not appearing to be sufficient, an appeal to the Treasury would be of great use in matters of pecuniary regulation?—I conceive that an appeal to, and support from the Treasury, would certainly be of very great use.——Have you communicated with the Treasury on the subject of reforms which were intended to be made?—Within the last six months we have had those subjects at the Admiralty very much under discussion, and we found it necessary to submit our ideas to the Treasury, and I individually, and my colleagues, had communication with them, and we certainly received the strongest assurances of support from the Treasury, that at the meeting of Parliament, if necessary, they would give all the weight of their authority to enforcing such improvements as we had suggested to be expedient and proper.——In point of fact, were you not offered any assistance in the way of authority, public or otherwise, that the Treasury could afford you upon your requisition?—Decidedly; but it must always be borne in mind, that in many public questions the decision of one government is often set aside by the decision of a succeeding government, or by the views of the same government in another Session; that has been the case before; the scale of superannuations and the contributions to them, that were recommended and adopted by the Government of one year, were abandoned by the same Government in the same Parliament in a subsequent year." The whole of the evidence shewed, the hon. Member stated, that the Admiralty had been thwarted in its wishes to retrench, and that knowing little or nothing of the arrangements of the subordinate departments, it was obliged to confide in what were called practical men, who never promoted its desire of reform when it interfered with their own views of their own interest.

On the Motion for the Speaker's leaving the Chair being again put,

Mr. *E. Davenport* observed, that he understood that in his absence the hon. Member for Hertfordshire had postponed the further proceeding on the East Retford bill to Friday. Now as that was the day on which he (Mr. Davenport) had given notice of a motion on the State of the Nation, he put it to the hon. Member for Hertfordshire whether he would not postpone the proceeding with his bill to a future day.

Mr. *N. Calvert* said, he had fixed Friday because he knew that many hon. Members were anxious for the progress of the bill. He was, however, entirely in the hands of the House.

Mr. *Tennyson* said, he had been a party to fixing the measure for that day, but knowing that the still greater question of the State of the Nation occupied the public attention, he would not stand in the way of his hon. friend the Member for Shaftesbury. The hon. Member also expressed a hope, that his next effort to divide the House, with a view to transferring the franchise from East-Retford to Birmingham, would be more successful.

Mr. *Western* allowed that the bill was important, but he thought that his hon. friend's motion was still more so, as the country was suffering under great distress.

The House then resolved itself into the Committee.

Sir *Henry Hardinge* proposed that the sum of 7,656*l.* be granted for the expense of the Military College.

Mr. *Hume* said, before he proceeded to consider the subject of that vote, he wished to call the attention of his Majesty's Government to the state of our army in India. He knew that there were letters in town giving a most alarming description of the condition of that army, as to its state of subordination; but he understood that no official information had been received. As to the vote then before the Committee, he thought, considering the state of the public feeling, it was time that the Government took into its serious consideration the propriety of reducing this establishment. He begged leave to ask, why gentlemen intending to enter the military service should not pay for their own education, when there were one hundred applicants for every commission? He noticed, too, that the Lieutenant-governor had received a pension of 800*l.*; and he did not know why he, who was a military man, should not fall back on his half-pay. There was a monstrous system of giving pensions to persons who had no just claim to them, to which he would continually object. On this establishment the pensions were now 33,500*l.*, and he really did not know why the officers, who had been pensioned, should not receive only their half-pay.

Sir *Henry Hardinge* would first state why the Military College should not pay its own expenses. There were three classes of students. The first were the orphans, whose fathers had been in his Majesty's service, and they were educated gratuitously; the second class, each of whom paid 20*l.* a-year, were the children of officers yet in the service; and the expense of their education was supplied by the charge on the young men of the third class, each of whom paid 150*l.* Within two years, the expense of this College had been reduced from 12,000*l.* to 7,000*l.*; and, as that did not satisfy the hon. Member for Montrose, he must despair of satisfying him. As to the pension given to the Lieutenant-governor, that gentleman held a commission in the Artillery twenty-five years ago, and had he now been in the service, he would have been a Major-general. He had retired with the rank of a Colonel after twenty-five years' service, and had a pension of 800*l.* a-year. With respect to the suggestion of the hon. Member, that the officers should fall back on their half-pay, that was to be the system in future.

Colonel *Davies* thought that, in the circumstances of the country, this grant was most extravagant. He doubted the utility of the education the young men received at the Military College; and if it were continued, it certainly ought to be on a more limited scale than at present.

Lord *Euston* also objected to the grant, in the state of the country, and he should feel himself called on not to support it. The present was not a time to make young soldiers; there was no want of them, and there was plenty of old officers. He did not know that he should find a seconder, but he certainly felt inclined to move that the vote be stopped altogether.

Mr. *Hume* said, the noble Lord should not want a seconder. He wished to know how many of the young men educated so superiorly at the College had been given to his Majesty's service?

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, nearly forty commissions had been given away in the course of the last year, to the cadets.

Mr. *Hume* still objected to the expense. He thought that those who desired to enter the service might educate themselves. As to the orphans, he thought they would be better taken care of by their parents (he should have said) their guardians. Still, whether advisable to educate such persons or not, he must say that the whole Estimate was too extravagant, and ought to be limited. If the noble Lord would propose that the vote should be limited to six months, he should have great satisfaction in supporting him. If the noble Lord would allow him, he would propose that the vote should be 3,800*l.*; that would give the Government time to make arrangements for their putting an end to the College.

Mr. *Jephson* approved of the view taken by Mr. Hume, in which Lord Euston also professed his concurrence.

Sir *George Murray* thought, that the system of our military education would be very defective if the College were done away. It was not intended to educate Staff-Officers only, as was supposed, but to diffuse through the whole army a better educated description of officers, and in this respect it had answered its purpose remarkably well. It had been, he believed, infinitely beneficial.

Colonel *Davies* said, the education given at the College was very inefficient; he had been there, and had very soon forgotten what he had learnt. [*a laugh*]

Sir *Henry Hardinge* said, he was sorry to hear the gallant Officer had derived so little advantage from the College, but he believed that the same result did not take place with other pupils.

Mr. *Warburton* contended that the expense was enormous, and that the forty commissions they offered a-year was a prodigious prize offered to these young men.

Colonel *Dawkins* acknowledged his obligations to the College. He had derived great benefit from his instruction there, and looked back at the time he had spent there with pleasure. He thought the College could not be dispensed with, and, though he was as anxious as any person to relieve the public distress, he would vote for the grant.

Mr. *Hume* was glad to hear the hon. Member had profitted so much by his education; he was only sorry that he had not paid enough for it. It was the duty of that House not to vote one shilling of the public money that could be dispensed with. It was in this light he looked at the vote the Committee was called on to give. He wished, indeed, he saw the Members present who had presented petitions complaining of distress; but though they complained they took care not to attend to vote against themselves. He was not sure that it would not be a better way to allow the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take as much as he pleased, without opposition, for opposition obtained no success. He would not give himself the trouble to oppose the votes, were it not that the people out of doors might think that nobody in the House paid any attention to their interests. He would move that the vote be diminished one-half. The hon. Member then submitted that the sum of 3,800*l.* be substituted for 7,656*l.*

The House then divided—for the Amendment 17, Against it 85; Majority against the Amendment 68.

The original Motion was then put and carried without a division.—The House resumed, the Chairman reported progress, and asked leave to sit again on Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, Feb. 27.

MINUTES.] The HON. GEORGE WELD CECIL FORESTER took the Oaths and his Seat for the Borough of Wenlock.

—Mr. Wontner presented an account of the number of persons who had been committed to Newgate by the Commissioners of Bankrupts, from 1825 to the present time, specifying the names of the Commissioners who had signed the warrants.—The Speaker acquainted the House, that he had caused a catalogue of the books in the library to be prepared for the use of the Members. The right hon. Gentleman also informed the House, that in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee on Parliamentary Papers which sat in 1825, he had caused a classification of printed reports, &c. together with proper tables to be prepared.—On the Motion of the Lord Advocate, both were ordered to be printed.—The Report of the Consolidated Fund Bill was brought up. The Amendments were agreed to, and the Bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, March 1st.

Minutes.] On the Motion of the Marquis of Cleveland, the return of the quantity of foreign lead ore imported into England from the 1st of January, 1825, to the 1st of January, 1830, was ordered to be laid before the House forthwith.—The Duke of Richmond postponed the Motion for an Inquiry into the State of the Country, from Tuesday-week to Thursday-week, on which day he should, he said, move "That a Select Committee be appointed to take into consideration the internal state of the country, so far as relates to the working classes, and the effect of taxation as regards productive industry."—Sir A. Grant and others from the Commons brought up the Consolidated Fund Bill, which was read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time to morrow—Adjourned.

National Distress.] The Earl of *Winchilsea* said, he had to present a Petition from a number of owners and occupiers of land in the county of Kent, complaining of the Distressed State of the Agricultural Interest, and praying for relief. It was not his intention to make any observation on the subject at present, as an ample opportunity would be afforded him for the expression of his sentiments when the motion of the noble Duke (of Richmond) was brought forward. He regretted that he had been prevented, by peculiar circumstances, from laying this petition before their Lordships, prior to the motion of a noble Earl (Stanhope) which had recently been discussed; because he believed, that from the wealth, intelligence, and respectability of the parties from whom it came, it would have commanded some degree of attention. Being on his legs, he wished to ask the noble Duke whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to renew a committee which had been appointed two Sessions ago, for the purpose of inquiring into the finances of the country? The report of that committee had been received with very considerable satisfaction by the people at large, especially as Ministers had declared their intention to reduce the public expenditure to the lowest possible point. As to what had been done in the way of retrenchment, he would at another time declare his opinion. At present he would content himself with asking, whether the reductions proposed to be made in the establishment had been carried, in the opinion of Ministers, as far as they properly could? For his own part, he was not prepared to say but that the different establishments might be materially reduced by Parliament, and yet be conducted on a scale sufficient for the maintenance of the honour, the dignity, and the security of this country. He trusted that the committee to which he had alluded would be allowed to renew its labours, and to inquire minutely into the expenditure of the country. He was perfectly convinced that either the taxes must be greatly reduced, and with them the expenditure of the country, or that some effectual mode must be adopted, to enable the distressed population of this country to meet the pressure of those taxes.

The Duke of *Wellington* admitted the necessity of reducing the taxes as far as possible. He agreed in the propriety of that proposition, but he could not be expected, at a moment's notice, to enter into a discussion on the subject of the reduction of taxes and of expenditure. The noble Earl had asked, whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to revive the Finance Committee. On that point he had only to answer, that Ministers had no such intention.

The Earl of *Darnley* said, that in the county with which he and the noble Earl were connected, and he spoke more particularly of his own immediate neighbourhood, it appeared, from whatever cause the circumstance might arise, that there was no want of work. The labouring population were tolerably well employed, and the poor-rates had not increased very much. In some parishes in which he was interested, they were only four shillings in the pound. He admitted, with the noble Earl, that there was great distress, very deep distress indeed, in parts of the county of Kent; but he did not think it was so great as it was supposed to be; and he believed that, generally speaking, though wages were low, there was no want of employment.

The Petition was laid on the Table.

Conduct of Russia.] The Marquis

of *Londonderry* said, he wished to take the opportunity, seeing the noble Earl, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, of asking a question, which, as he conceived, was nearly connected with the honour of this country. In the year 1828, his Majesty's Speech to Parliament announced, "that his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia had consented to waive the exercise, in the Mediterranean Sea, of any rights appertaining to his Imperial Majesty, in his character of a belligerent power." Such was the declaration of his Majesty in February, 1828; but, in the month of October following, they were informed, by a letter from Lord Dunglass, a nobleman holding a situation in the Foreign Office, that his "Imperial Majesty intended to establish a blockade of the Dardanelles, which blockade would be limited to the prevention of vessels bound to Constantinople, and laden with provisions, or articles contraband of War, from entering the Straits; and that, in the opinion of his Majesty's Government such commercial enterprise of his Majesty's subjects, as might have been already undertaken, upon the faith of his Majesty's declaration in Parliament, would not be liable to be affected by that blockade." Nothing could be more inconsistent than these two declarations. Individuals were first induced to act on the assurance given in the Lords Commissioners' Speech, and then came this letter, declaring that a blockade was intended. This was a most extraordinary instance of a rapid change of sentiments; and he wished to know—

The *Lord Chancellor*, interrupting the noble Marquis, said, would the noble Marquis allow him to suggest that there was no motion before the House?

The Marquis of *Londonderry* said, he had but a few observations to offer, which would prevent him from introducing the subject hereafter. He wished to ask the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, whether he was willing to lay before Parliament the correspondence growing out of this transaction which had taken place with Russia, in order that he might be enabled to judge whether the power and dignity of Great Britain had been properly upheld on that occasion.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* assured the noble Marquis that he should receive the most ample information on the subject; and he hoped the noble Marquis would find that the honour of this country had been fully maintained in the transaction to which he had alluded. There would be no difficulty in producing this or any other information which the noble Marquis might think necessary with respect to this or any other subject connected with the transactions in the Levant.

AFFAIRS OF GREECE.] Lord *Holland* wished to know, as there appeared to be a final settlement of the affairs of Greece, whether the noble Earl, in consequence of that, would be ready to lay before the House, at an early period, all the documents connected with it.

The Earl of *Aberdeen* answered, that he feared those documents would not be ready so soon as the noble Baron or as he himself wished. It was not in his power to state exactly when they would be ready to be submitted to their Lordships; but the noble Baron might rest assured, that to soon as they could with propriety be laid before the House, they would be forthcoming.

Lord *Holland*.—I suppose I may expect them on the Greek calends. [*a laugh.*]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, March 1.

MINUTES.] Mr. PLANTA moved for a new writ for the borough of Gatton, in the room of the hon. William Scott, who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Sir R. HERON gave notice for Wednesday of a Motion for copies of the warrants by which the hon. ROBERT DUNDAS was appointed a Commissioner of the Navy, and the hon. W. L. BATHURST, a Commissioner of the Victualling Boards.—Colonel SIBTHORP postponed his Motion for the repeal of the Standing Orders relative to the non-admission of strangers to the gallery of the House of Commons, (as far as regards the reporters of proceedings in the House, and for the accommodation of the same,) from the 3rd to the 12th of March.—An Address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, for a return of the number of Probates of Wills and Letters of Administration granted in the principality of Wales during the last five years; also for a return of the number of suits in Equity commenced in the principality of Wales for the last ten years.—An Address was also ordered to be presented to his Majesty for a copy of the 21st Report of the Commissioners to inquire into the public revenue arising in Ireland.—On the Motion of Mr. G. DAWSON, the Consolidated Fund Bill was read a third time and passed.—Mr. S. RICE gave notice of his intention to move for leave to bring in a Bill to remove certain civil disabilities still existing against Roman Catholics in the Corporation of Galway.—Mr. O'CONNELL postponed his notice of Motion respecting the Law of Libel, from to-morrow, to the 29th of April.

SAINT KATHARINE'S DOCKS.] Mr. Alderman *Thompson* moved the second reading of the St. Katharine Dock Company's Bill.

Mr. *C. Calvert* wished the hon. Member to postpone the second reading of the Bill, which he had had only five minutes in his hands, on the ground that it would only be right to allow individuals whose interests were likely to be compromised by the Bill to have an opportunity of seeing it.

Mr. Alderman *Thompson* said, the Bill had been printed more than ten days, and to the best of his knowledge all persons interested had received copies. The object of the Bill was simply to enable the St. Katharine's Docks Company to borrow a sum of money; it conferred no new powers upon them. If the second reading were postponed, several days would be lost, and the parties put to much inconvenience; he must therefore decline acceding to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Southwark.

Mr. *Ward* confirmed the statement of his hon. colleague; the Bill was only intended to carry into effect powers already possessed by the Company, upon whom it conferred no new powers whatsoever.

Mr. *C. Calvert* did not divide the House, and the Bill was read a second time.

WOOL TRADE.] Sir *E. Knatchbull* presented a Petition from certain inhabitants of Romney Marsh, complaining of great depression in the Wool-Trade, and praying for the imposition of duties on the importation of foreign Wool. The hon. baronet observed, that he could testify, from his own knowledge, that the depression of the Wool-trade was very considerable, and that great losses had been sustained by the growers, in consequence of the low price of that article.

Sir *C. Burrell* said, when the Duke of Richmond brought forward a motion on the subject of the Wool-trade last Session, he was met by the assertion of a noble Lord, that the distress was not general but partial. He did not mean to say that the noble Lord had descended to a misrepresentation; no doubt he had been misinformed, and was not acquainted with the true state of the country with respect to the Wool-trade, any more than with respect to other matters of equal interest and importance. At the very time that this statement was made, it appeared that the price of long Wool, which used to be 1*s*. 8*d*. and 2*s*. a pound, had fallen in the midland counties, and in the north of England, to 8*d*. and 9*d*. Long Wool was an article, in the production of which we had no competitors in the world, yet the price was reduced in this manner. In consequence of having taken off the duty, and admitted foreign Wool into the home market, we had transferred two millions of money from our own pockets to those of the foreign farmer. It was not extraordinary that, under such circumstances, there should be great agricultural depression, and considerable loss to a previously falling revenue; between 400,000*l*. and 500,000*l*. being thrown away, which used to be levied as duties on foreign Wool.

Mr. *Irving* observed, that foreign Wool was necessary to the prosperity of our manufactures, and if we laid heavy taxes upon foreign Wool, we should exclude our manufactures from the foreign market.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, the farmers had been fed on hope so long, that they almost had become skeletons, and would speedily be starved to death, if they were not relieved.

Mr. *H. Davis* said, there was less foreign Wool in the country now, than at the same period of the year during the last thirty years. He was opposed to laying duties upon the importation of foreign Wool, which would be very injurious to our manufactures.

Sir *E. Knatchbull* was afraid that the noble Lord, who had been alluded to by his hon. friend the Member for Shoreham, (Sir C. Burrell) did not always obtain the best authority for his statements. Improvements were spoken of; he hoped they might not turn out to be fallacious, like some of the statements of the noble Lord. One thing was certain, that the petitioners saw no signs of amendment.

TRUCK SYSTEM.] Mr. *Littleton* presented three Petitions from Staffordshire against the payment of labourers' wages otherwise than in money. The first Petition was from the Chamber of Commerce of the Staffordshire Potteries, stating that in their district no fewer than thirty thousand persons were employed in the manufacture of china and earthenware, and that the depression arising from other sources was much augmented by the practice of paying wages partly by Truck. The barter was not conducted upon equal terms. The masters obliged their workmen to take such articles as they pleased at their own price, and the latter were frequently compelled to sell these at a considerable discount in order to pay their rent, &c. The second Petition was from the shopkeepers and traders of the Staffordshire Potteries; and the third came from the same class of persons in Walsall, in Staffordshire: both complained that the profits of the Petitioners and their means of maintenance were considerably impaired in consequence of the system complained of.

ABSENTEES.] Colonel *Sibthorp* moved for an account of the number of Passports granted to persons to go abroad in the years 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829, specifying the number issued in each year, the names of the parties, and the countries for which the passports were made out. The hon. Member took occasion to complain of the evils of absenteeism, and expressed his conviction of the propriety of imposing a tax upon absentees. If such a tax were properly imposed it would cause 4,000,000*l.* to be spent at home that was spent abroad.

Lord *Lowther* said, there were only two quarters to which application could be made for the Returns desired by the hon. Member,—the Home-office, and Foreign Embassies. Supposing the accounts to be obtained from the former, he was not aware upon what principle we could tax the courtesy of the foreign ambassadors to furnish this species of information; over these parties the House had no power.

Sir *M. W. Ridley* said, that not one out of twenty persons going abroad went to the Foreign-office, since the ambassador's passport was more cheap and more useful.

Mr. *Peel* said, that to call for the names of all persons who had gone abroad during these four years, was, in his opinion, a most unwarrantable interference with private affairs. He had no objection to a return of the amount of fees received at the Foreign-office, and of the total number of passports granted; but, to a return of the names of the persons he decidedly objected; not for any public reason, but because it was an interference with private affairs, which could not be justified unless it conduced to the attainment of some public benefit.

Sir *C. Burrell* hoped his hon. friend (Colonel Sibthorp) would see the justice of the right hon. Gentleman's objection, and not press the motion.

Sir *G. Warrender* said, that the higher orders of persons never went to the Foreign-office, but to foreign ambassadors, and this return, therefore, would be an unfair one. It would include only a certain class of persons, whom he thought it unfair to show up.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, that at the suggestion of the hon. Baronet (sir C. Burrell), but not at the suggestion of his Majesty's Ministers, he would withdraw his motion. He had no wish, to use the words of the other hon. Baronet, to "show up" any body.

BEER DUTY.] Mr. *Burrell* presented Petitions from several parishes in the counties of Kent and Sussex, praying for the repeal of the Malt-tax.

Sir *C. Burrell* took this opportunity of observing, that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended merely to make a small remission of the duty on Beer, he was afraid his committee would do no good. Unless the tax were taken off Malt, the Ministers would give no relief. He begged to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if such were his intention?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that with respect to the committee for which he meant to move to-morrow, the hon. Baronet had mistaken the object of it. The object of that committee would be merely to inquire how far it was possible to give greater freedom to the trade in Beer, and would have no reference to the tax on Malt.

WEST-INDIA TRADE.] Mr. *H. Davis* presented a Petition from the West-India Merchants and Planters of Bristol, complaining of severe distress, and praying for a reduction of the duties on Sugar and Rum. The hon. Member said, that much as the House had heard of distress from various parts of the country, there was no pressure so severe as that which was felt in the West-India Colonies. This subject had been so forcibly and clearly explained by the noble Lord, who had on a late occasion presented a similar Petition from the West-India Planters and Merchants of the Metropolis, that he (Mr. Davis) was relieved from a considerable part of that duty which he should otherwise have felt himself called upon to perform: still there were many points which he must briefly refer to in order to explain the evils under which the petitioners were suffering, and the remedies which they proposed for their own relief. In the first place he must state that the prices of Sugar were so depreciated as not only to deprive the planter of all profit, but to ensure his utter destruction if remedial measures were not immediately applied. The duties on Sugar in the year 1796 were at the rate of 27 per cent on the price of that commodity. In 1824 they had mounted up to 80 per cent, and in 1829 to 110 per cent, and on the lower-priced Sugars from 140 to 160 per cent. That great ascent in the scale of duties had arisen from two causes; viz. an increase in the duty, and a fall in the prices, arising out of an enormous increase in the foreign Slave Trade, and also on account of the Sugars from the Mauritius having been allowed to be brought into the home consumption of this country, amounting to nearly an eighth part of the whole importation. The remedies which the petitioners suggested for their relief were:—first, a reduction of, and secondly, a classification of, the duty, agreeably to the scale proposed by a select committee of the House in the year 1807; namely, that the duty should be 30*s.* per cwt when the average price of Sugar was 80*s.* per cwt., and rateably downwards to 20*s.* per cwt. when the average price was at 60*s.* If he were asked whether the duty so proposed to be taken off would go into the planter's pocket, he should say, that a part of it would go to the planter's relief, and the other part to the lowering of the price of Sugar, by which the consumption would be increased, and thus the quantity in the market would be lessened. With regard to the last duty laid upon Rum of 1*s.* 6*d.* per gallon, the West-Indian Planters were suffering not only injury, but injustice. This duty was laid on at the period when Rum was permitted to be legally rectified: and it was stated by Mr. Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of that day, as necessary for the protection of the English distiller: but he promised at the time, that if in practice the duty should not be found necessary, he would repeal the tax. Not a gallon of Rum had been rectified since that period. He therefore called upon his Majesty's Ministers to redeem the pledge given by Mr. Robinson and take off this duty. When we were discussing the interests of the West-India planters, we ought never to forget that they consumed 5,000,000*l.* or 6,000,000*l.* of our manufactures,—that they paid 6,000,000*l.* sterling into our Exchequer annually, and that they employed a large portion of British tonnage, which was a considerable nursery for British seamen. Nor could he avoid again pressing upon the attention of his Majesty's Ministers a revision of the law of the registration of Slaves. In many instances which had come to his knowledge, it had borne very heavily, and in some instances most unjustly, on the West-Indian planters. It was an evil that was increasing daily, because, as estates in the islands were becoming exhausted and worn out, there was less and less profitable employment for the Slaves. It was therefore highly desirable that, under certain restrictions, so as to exclude illicit trade, it might be allowed to remove the Slaves, when necessary, from one island to another.

Mr. *C. Pallmer* said, that in deference to the anxiety of the House to proceed to the appointed business of the evening, he should forbear to offer to its attention some facts and observations which he had found no opportunity of doing upon a former evening upon this truly important subject—one, which he was prepared to prove was of vital interest, both to the Kingdom and the Colonies. As a right hon. Gentleman below him had given notice of a motion on that subject, he should reserve to that opportunity his humble but earnest endeavours to persuade Parliament to save the Colonies from ruin, and itself from the merited charge of the most infatuated policy and the most fatal injustice.

The Petition was then read.

MISREPRESENTATION.] Mr. *O'Connell* presented a Petition from the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the island of Grenada, praying for the removal of all Colonial Disabilities.

On the Motion that the Petition be read,

Mr. *Brougham* said, I do not rise, Sir, to oppose the Motion, nor to enter into a discussion upon the merits of this Petition, but as it relates to a colonial subject, it gives me an opportunity of correcting a misrepresentation arising, no doubt, from misapprehension, but at the same time a misrepresentation than which any one more gross or more unfounded it has never fallen to my lot to hear of, with respect to the conduct of public men. I am quite sure that neither of the hon. Gentlemen who took part in the discussion of Friday night, after I left the House, could have had any intention of saying any thing that would affect either my personal or my professional character. Sure I am, that my hon. friend the Member for Westminster meant no such thing; but the hon. Member for Colchester made the greatest possible mistake respecting facts, when he alluded, in so extremely an unpleasant way, to me and to the profession to which I have the honour to belong. For the profession I have no doubt it was intended, because I am aware that many think there is no better way of promoting a reform in the law, than by degrading the legal profession; and therefore, that whenever an opportunity of vituperating any member of that profession offers, there is so much gained towards the accomplishment of the great object they have in view. I know this is the opinion of many conscientious and enlightened men. It is not mine. They, however, have a right to entertain these opinions, and to act upon them whenever they may find occasion so to do; but, Sir, they have no right to make mis-statements; and this brings me to the fact. I understand, that during my absence, allusion was made to a circumstance which I have reason to believe has been often mentioned out of doors, but which now, for the first time, has been brought before this House. Up to this time, I have had accordingly no opportunity of justifying myself by answering to this charge. Now, it is stated, if a Member of this House, who is also a member of the legal profession, be retained in any cause, that, according to the etiquette of the profession, he is debarred from performing his parliamentary functions. As, for instance, if he gave notice in his place that he would impeach a public servant, and that afterwards this public servant gave him a retainer in some other cause bearing upon it never so remotely, the effect of this retainer would, according to the etiquette of the profession, be to stop all proceedings in Parliament, and consequently compel him to give up the charge he had contemplated as a Member of this House, but which was become incompatible with his duty as an advocate. The inference from this, and the fair logical inference, I allow, is that a lawyer is incapable of discharging his duties as a Member of Parliament. But, Sir, on behalf of myself, and on behalf of the profession, I beg distinctly and peremptorily to disclaim all such rules, principles, and privileges, whatsoever. And if it can be shown that one lawyer in England, Ireland, or Scotland, ever dreamt of any such thing, I will at once withdraw my disclaimer. Well, Sir, this was the position, now for the illustration, which is said to be—that in the year 1825 I presented a petition complaining of certain malversations upon the part of Lord C. Somerset at the Cape of Good Hope; and that upon the occasion of presenting it, I intimated an intention of going farther, and that I even spoke of impeaching Lord C. Somerset of high crimes and misdemeanours; but it is added, that after I had taken this very decided course in my parliamentary capacity, I was retained by his Lordship in a cause more or less connected with the subject-matter of the petition; and that this forthwith stopped my mouth, and prevented me from pursuing the parliamentary proceedings to which I had alluded. That is the allegation. Such a statement may be sometimes made for the purpose of attacking the profession to which I belong, as perhaps in the present instance; or it may be directed against myself. But I care not what is the object, nor what the shape of the charge. I give it now, the first time I have had the opportunity, the most positive, unqualified, and peremptory denial; and if, without violating the decorum of this House, I could find words sufficiently strong wherein to couch that denial, so as to make it the more searching and overwhelming, I would not hesitate to use them. I never had a fee, I never had a retainer, from Lord Charles Somerset. I never was, to use the words of the Bill of Rights, engaged or employed in any court or place by Lord Charles Somerset, during the whole course of my life. I never was retained, or employed, or consulted, by Lord Charles Somerset, or any member of his family, in any matter whatsoever, during the whole course of my life. On the contrary, I have been repeatedly concerned, and no later than last term, for instance, against several near relations of Lord Charles Somerset. It often happens that gentlemen are retained without their knowledge. Indeed it seldom occurs that they know by whom they are retained at the moment the retainer is given. Not trusting, therefore, to my own knowledge, I, to make assurance doubly sure, had my fee-books searched for the last ten years. I did this, not so much in justice to myself as to Lord Charles Somerset; for if I could vary, though it was not very likely, my parliamentary course for a fee of a guinea (the thing is so ridiculous it hardly deserves that a moment should be wasted upon it), it was at least proper to ascertain whether the noble Lord had thrown even that temptation in my way. I say, then, that I caused my books to be searched for the last ten years, and the result is that which I have given. That being the denial to this complaint, I really do not see how it is possible to go farther into it. The House, however, will favour me with a few moments' indulgence, and they will then see how very unjustly towards Lord Charles Somerset (for me it does not affect)—how very unjustly towards Lord Charles Somerset has this colour been given to the transaction. The circumstances of the case are simply these:—I presented a petition to this House on the subject of the Government of the Cape, and that petition contained one very grave charge against Lord Charles Somerset—it was that of having indirectly taken a bribe from a party to a suit which he was about to decide. It was alleged that he had called on a party to buy a horse at the sum of 10,000*l.*, a sum greatly exceeding, of course, the value of the animal, and one which was supposed to have been given to influence the judgment of the noble Lord in a suit in the Court in which he presided, the real value of the horse being stated at 700*l.*; and it was alleged, that after this transaction, Lord Charles Somerset decided in favour of the party who was the purchaser. Though this charge was in a parenthesis of the petition, I said at once, it was so immeasurably more important than the rest, that if I found there was any foundation for it (which I did not believe, but about which I would inquire), I should myself, in the capacity of a Member of this House, which I could do without a seconder or a support, and, indeed, without a majority of the House, impeach Lord Charles Somerset. I was then Counsel in a cause, in which, it was true, Lord Charles Somerset was in some way concerned; but he was not a party to the cause, nor did he retain me as Counsel; nor was I retained after the charge I had brought against him on the petition in this House.—The fact was, he had been the judge in a case in which an appeal was brought against his judgment; and, though I was engaged to support his judgment, I was no more connected with him than I am with any judge in support of whose decision I may have to plead in this country. Of course, having to defend the judgment appealed from, I was bound to look into the case, and it turned out that that case arose from the same in which the transaction of the horse was stated to have occurred. I looked into the case to see what it was. I was Counsel for the respondent, and it therefore became a matter of necessity that as such Counsel, I should support the judgment which had been given in favour of my client. I was bound to support the judgment before the Privy Council. As soon as I found this out, I stated to the House the conflicting duties I had to perform; I was in what our neighbours, the French, call a "false position;" that is, I had in the morning to argue as a Counsel in favour of Lord Charles Somerset's judgment before a Court attended frequently by Members of this House, and in the evening I had to come down here, and before many of the same Members, to impeach that judgment as a Member of this House. I ask whether, under these circumstances, there was any thing very strained, or very refined, in stating to the House the position in which I stood, and in asking whether there was not some hon. Member who would relieve me from the difficulty of my position, and undertake the management of the matter of that petition, for if not, I would give up the case, and do my parliamentary duty? I am sorry to take up the time of the House, but I must beg the attention of hon. Members, for it is an easy thing to attack any man, and he ought to be allowed every advantage in making his defence. I have stated that it was alleged in the petition that on a certain day the horse was sold for the large price of 10,000*l.* If that statement had even the shadow of a foundation, I should have been bound to bring the impeachment; but when I looked into the case, I found, in the first place, that the sums stated were wrong. The horse was sold not for 10,000*l.*, nor for any sum of the kind, nor was its value 700*l.* or 800*l.*, but 300*l.* or 400*l.*, which I believe is a usual price for such animals as these. That was the first error. In the next place, it was physically impossible, as I will satisfy the House, if they will do me the honour to attend, that this transaction of the purchase of the horse could have had any effect upon the judgment of Lord Charles Somerset, for it occurred some months after the judgment had been delivered. The judgment was delivered on the 30th of April, and the sale of the horse took place on the 1st of September. But that was not all: for if the purchase of the horse had been made to influence the judge, his judgment was all the wrong way, for it was against the man to whom the horse was sold. Now, after this, suppose I had had ever such good reasons, in the first instance, to confide in the statements in the petition, I ask whether I was bound to go on with it, after I had thus discovered its material error? I must at the same time say on behalf of the gentleman whose petition I presented, that I thought then, and think still, that he was ill used; and I should be willing to present the petition from him, or any other man, under similar circumstances: but it is one thing to present a petition, and another to go on and impeach the government mentioned in it. I cross-examined the gentleman who furnished me with the petition, and did what I could to assure myself of the truth of the statements in it; but it was not his own case, and of course he could only speak to the best of his belief. When I found I must fail in that charge, I resolved not to go further; and within a week afterwards I stated to the House that it was too late that Session to put a public officer on his trial, and that the question must therefore be postponed to the next Session—it was so postponed; in the next nothing was done; but in the Session after, I gave the same explanation which I have now given, and which I hope I shall not be called on to give again. I acquit the hon. Member who has brought the matter forward of any intention of attacking me personally; but I must express, on behalf of the profession of the law, not of myself, a doubt whether a more complete, and perfect, and satisfactory answer could be given to any charge brought against one of its members.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, that the hon. and learned Member who had just addressed the House had but done him justice in saying that he had no intention of attacking any particular individual. He had no such intention; but he would not abstain from doing his duty under the dread of falling under the exercise of the powers of any hon. Gentleman, even of the hon. and learned Gentleman himself. He confessed he had thought that it was impossible for a man to be in such a situation without having his judgment influenced by it in the performance of his duty in that House; and it occurred to him the more strongly, from the peculiar locality of the hon. Member in that House—for it happened just about that time that the hon. and learned Gentleman took a conspicuous situation on the other side of the House. After he had expected to have seen the noble Lord impeached, he was surprised, and his surprise was not singular, at the course the hon. and learned Member so peremptorily and unexpectedly took: but it was obvious then, and it appeared now to be the fact, that he was engaged professionally in the same matter, and the result appeared to be, that it produced in his mind an impression the most perfectly different from that which he had expressed when he read the petition in that House. He had never given any opinion on that case—he entertained none; but he had no doubt, after the satisfactory statement made by the hon. and learned Gentleman, that he had exercised a sound judgment on the subject. There was only one circumstance which was at variance with what the hon. and learned Gentleman had observed, and that was an observation which amounted to this, that it was preposterous to suppose that any gentleman in the profession could be Counsel and Judge in the same cause at the same time. Did the hon. and learned Gentleman forget that there were fourteen Courts, or divisions of a Court (for such were the lists of Commissioners of Bankrupts) sitting at the same time, and that as almost all the persons composing these Courts were practising barristers, each might be retained to plead before the Court of which he was a member. He would not say it was a seemly practice, but so it was. The hon. and learned Gentleman had asserted that he (Mr. Harvey) was ready to join with the crowd in raising an outcry against his branch of the profession, and assaulting the magnitude of barristers fees He really had no wish to do any such thing; but at the same time he must say, that there was ample room for amendment in that respect, and that no reform would be effectual which did not place that portion of the profession under control and regulation. If a solicitor charged 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the Master struck off 6*s.* 8*d.*, the party got the benefit of the disallowance; but if a fee of fifty or one hundred guineas was marked on the back of a brief, and the Master disallowed one half of the sum, or even if the barrister did not attend in Court, he knew no means of getting back the sum that had been disallowed. Such a statement of his opinion was certainly not an attempt to run down a branch of the profession incapable of defending itself. He was however, a reformer; and being so, he was desirous that reform should be carried into every department where it was required.

Mr. *Brougham* affirmed that the hon. Member was still in error as to the facts, as much as the petition alluded to had been, with respect to the charge of bribery against Lord Charles Somerset. The hon. Member alluded to the locality of his (Mr. Brougham's) position in the House, which he observed had become changed about that time. Now it did so happen that in this he was altogether wrong. The transactions respecting the petition were in 1825. They were begun, continued, and ended in eight days, in the month of May or June in that year. It was a great mistake, therefore, to connect his change of position in that House with the circumstance, for that change did not occur until long after. He repeated, that he would never again trouble the House on this subject, for he had given the same explanation two or three years before.

DEPUTY SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.] Mr. *C. Fergusson* in moving for certain Returns from the Court of Session in Scotland, took the opportunity of asking the right hon. Secretary of State a question, in relation to the late learned Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. That learned Lord had retired, and had, as he believed, obtained a pension on the ground of infirm health. By the 29th of Geo. 3rd., his Majesty was empowered to grant to the Judges of the Courts of Westminster Hall certain annuities, upon their retiring from the Bench. That power was limited to cases in which these learned persons had been fifteen years upon the Bench, with the excepted case of persons who retired from permanent infirmity. The question he put was; Whether that noble and learned Lord was about to be appointed to another office; to one of high trust, great responsibility, and considerable labour; he meant the office of Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords; an office which embraced, among many other labours, that important duty of deciding on Appeals from Scotland? He hoped that what he had said would not be construed in the slightest manner to reflect upon the Noble and learned Lord; for, except for the reason he had stated, he should not have said a word on the subject. The question he wished to put was, Whether the Government intended to appoint Lord Wynford Deputy Speaker of the House of Lords?

Mr. *Peel* said, that the Government had it not in contemplation to make any special appointment of Deputy Speaker. The Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by virtue of his appointment as such, and the Master of the Rolls in the same manner, would sit in the House of Lords in the absence of the Lord Chancellor. There was no intention of making any special or individual appointment; there would be a general appointment; but in any event, whether Lord Wynford was appointed or not, there was no intention whatever of attaching any salary to the office.

MALT DUTIES.] Mr. *Slaney* presented a Petition from one thousand persons, comprising the principal land-owners of three hundreds in the county of Salop, praying for the repeal of the Act relating to the Duty on Malt.

Mr. *Portman* reminded the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, early in last Session, he agreed to bring in a bill to regulate the Malt Duty. He had not yet pressed the right hon. Gentleman to perform that promise, because he wished and expected that the delay would induce him to change a bill to regulate the Malt into a bill to repeal the Malt Duty altogether.

DISTRESS IN DROGHEDA.] Mr *O'Connell* presented a Petition from certain inhabitants of the town of Drogheda, complaining of great distress. The petitioners stated, that there were 16,000 inhabitants in the town, 8,000 of whom were so destitute of food, clothing, or fuel, as to be dependent on a subscription for their relief, the amount of which did not exceed 25*l.* a-week, and which would not afford more than three farthings per week to each. They also added, that the Corporation of Drogheda were in possession of lands belonging to certain charities, which produced 20,000*l.* a-year, and yet they refused to appropriate any of that amount to the relief of the poor. They therefore prayed that means might be adopted for affording them some relief.

BOROUGH OF NEWARK—DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.] Mr. *Poulett Thomson* rose to present a Petition from the inhabitants of the borough of Newark. The subject involved a question of great importance, and he therefore hoped for the patient indulgence of the House to the few observations which he should feel it his duty to make on it. He regretted that the subject had not fallen into other hands, and the more so as it would be his duty, before he sat down, to state certain matters inculpating the conduct of a noble Lord, who, though he could not be said to be unrepresented in that House, was not present to defend himself. If the charges which he had to make on behalf of the petitioners should receive a sufficient answer by those who might address the House on the part of the noble Duke, it would give him great satisfaction to acknowledge his error, and to retract any thing in which he might find he had been misinformed. He hoped the House would do its duty by supporting the Motion which he intended to found upon the petition, as that Motion would rest, not so much upon the inculpation of the noble Lord as on general principles. He would now briefly state the substance of the Petition. The borough of Newark consisted of 2,000 houses, and about 10,000 inhabitants. Considerable property in the town was possessed by the Duke of Newcastle, to whom 200 houses belonged. Large portions of property, in some instances amounting to eighty or ninety houses, belonging to other individuals. The property belonging to the Duke in the town was not of itself sufficient to give him a commanding influence in the town, though he held the manor with copyhold right, the market, and the tolls on that and the bridges. His principal influence was derived from being the lessee of a portion of land, amounting to 960 acres, which formed a sort of belt surrounding the town for about three fourths of its circumference. This property included the land in the neighbourhood of the principal roads near the town, and was of great importance to the occupant. He wished he could, consistently with the forms of the House, lay a map of this property before it, for that would convey a more correct notion of its nature and value than any verbal description that he could give. In the case of Newark we had an example which but too aptly illustrated the truth that the greatest blessings might be so perverted as to become a source of calamity to those for whose benefit and advantage they were intended. That was in the nominal possession of that inestimable constitutional privilege which ought to have been imparted to Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds: but what had the privilege in which it was thus preeminently favoured produced? By the genius of the Constitution it was designed for the happiness of the possessors, but it had been so perverted as to prove fruitful of misery, suffering, and persecution. What was the reason of this? The land which he had described as a belt surrounding the town was held by the Duke of Newcastle as the lessee of the Crown, and he used all the influence it bestowed to convert Newark into a close borough. Was this to be endured by a free people; was it to be permitted by the British Legislature, when the means of redress were at once within their reach? Would they suffer this immense power, which had been obtained from the Crown, but more correctly speaking, from the people themselves, to be turned to the disadvantage of the people? Assuredly they would not. Let them only for a moment reflect how his Grace the Duke of Newcastle lorded it over their fellow-subjects the inhabitants of this town. It was the natural progress of prosperous towns, and such was Newark, to branch out in all directions. That town carried on a flourishing trade in malt, which made large premises indispensable. But at Newark, did a farmer want a barn for his husbandry, did a mechanic require a workshop for his labour, did a cottager apply for shelter for his family, he must have recourse to the underlings of the Crown-lessee; he must pay the highest monopoly price for the tenement he sought to obtain, and sell soul and body besides in consideration of his purchase. He must from that hour abjure all his rights as a citizen and a subject, he must thenceforward forswear all political power, all moral volition as a sentient rational being, and give his entire confidence and co-operation to the proprietor of the borough and arbiter of his fate. In saying this, he did not mean for a moment to impugn the just and natural influence of a landlord over his tenant. That influence originated in condescension on the one hand, and gratitude on the other; the landlord gave protection and encouragement, and the tenant, in return, owed him deference and respect; but he appealed to that House whether the power arrogated in the instance before them did not rather resemble the tyranny of the slave-owner than the proper influence of a British landlord? The facts on which the petition was founded were these:—In the course of September last year it happened that the individual who had been Member for Newark lost his seat for not voting according to the dictation of his patron, and in consequence, a vacancy occurred in the representation of that borough. Indeed, the gentleman he alluded to was particularly unfortunate in honourably asserting his independence, as he was likewise deprived of his office under government, because he exercised the same privilege of judging for himself in a division on which his vote was expected by the Adminstration. (The hon. Member alluded to Sir W. H. Clinton.) The result, however, as he already stated, was a vacancy in Newark, and the individual sent by the Crown-lessee to the electors (the present hon. Member for Newark) was duly returned. To that hon. Gentleman he did not mean to impute any impropriety whatever; but it was needless to disguise the facts, that he came amongst the inhabitants of Newark as the nominee of the Duke of Newcastle; that the parties who supported him had been canvassed by the Duke's rent-receiver, and that he was in all respects rather the representative of the Crown-lessee than the chosen of his ostensible constituents. The inhabitants of the borough, it appears, were of opinion that they had a right in this matter to consult their own inclinations, and selected a gentleman at least equally fitted to take charge of their interests,—an assertion which, he trusted, he might advance without any disparagement to the hon. Member who at present represented them. A contest followed, during which every possible means of intimidation had been employed towards the electors. Intimidation and menace were unfortunately not novelties in the history of Newark. In 1796 and 1826 efforts were made to obtain for the town its constitutional privileges, and the vengeance then taken by the Crown-lessee might sufficiently serve to show the refractory electors what tender mercies might be expected by those who should in 1829 unsuccessfully assert the privilege imparted by the Constitution. Nevertheless, in the face of these examples, and despite these convictions, 587 electors were found independent and public-spirited enough to vindicate their right of choosing a representative for themselves; but the result had been, as the House was aware, that their attempt was unsuccessful, and the gentleman nominated by the Crown-lessee was ultimately returned. The noble Duke, in his opinion, might have rested satisfied with the result of that election, with having been the means of returning a representative who was opposed to the interests, or at all events to the inclinations, of a large portion of the inhabitants. But the parties who had incurred his displeasure better knew with whom they had to deal. Although his vengeance seemed for a time dormant, it turned out to be an assumed slumber, like that of the cat before she darts upon her prey. As soon as the whole business of the election was over, and the time had gone by when that House could interfere, every person who had presumed to vote for Mr. Serjeant Wilde, and possessed land under the Duke, was served eventually with a notice to quit. But he was not quite correct in this statement as he remembered that one of these voters proved to be an exception, and he particularly requested the attention of the House to the fact, as it showed the avaricious spirit which instigated the actors throughout the whole of these discreditable proceedings. The elector in question went to the office of the agent of the Crown-lessee, and stated in his vindication, that he had voted for the obnoxious candidate by mistake. To which excuse the official dignitary replied, "Then your notice to quit was a mistake also." Did he but possess the eloquent powers of the present hon. Member for Newark, who had often in that House pathetically described the sufferings of his miserable countrymen, he would endeavour (and even then very inadequately) to depict the misfortunes of those poor outcasts whose meed had been banishment for the conscientious and manly declaration of their honest opinion. They were driven forth with their helpless families, the infirm and the aged, the infant and the female, from the home in which all their affections had been centred, which was endeared to them by their earliest associations, and in which they hoped to spend their last days. Neither merit nor respectable character, nor duration of service, could save them from this ungenerous and vindictive persecution. They were not accused of being in arrear of rent, of being bad tenants, or insolvent,—they were not charged with being guilty of improper conduct, of general immorality, or dissolute life; but they did worse than all this in the eyes of Him whom they had offended,—they were guilty of that most unpardonable sin,—the assertion of the right belonging to every freeman in this free state,—they refused to prostitute their votes at the good pleasure of their landlord. The delinquency and the punishment were not, however, wholly unobserved by the public. A meeting was called for the purpose of considering of a remedy, and offering the combined representations and remonstrances of those who suffered and those who witnessed the proceedings by which they had been aggrieved. To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle a letter, most respectfully worded, had been sent, inviting him to attend: and a similar communication had been sent to the hon. Member for Newark. That hon. Gentleman did not think proper to attend, nor was it for him to question the propriety of the course which he had pursued with reference to his own constituents. But the Duke of Newcastle sent an answer, in which he justified, or pretended to justify his conduct towards the electors of Newark. And what were those grounds of justification? Was he dissatisfied with their moral conduct, or their impunctuality with his rent-collector? No such thing: he never affected any excuse or exculpation of the kind, but boldly and unequivocally declared, that he considered their franchises as his property. There was neither round-about phraseology nor shuffling sophistry employed: it was a plain straightforward assertion, however little in conformity with the declared resolution of that House; viz. that it is a violation of the privileges of Parliament for Peers of the realm to interfere in elections: the noble writer boldly asserted that he "had a right to do what he pleased with his own." That right, however, he most solemnly denied, and most earnestly protested in the name of the Commons of England against any such assumption. He was prepared to canvass the principle, and would readily undertake to extinguish it by fair argument. The power which the noble Duke possessed, and thus openly exulted in, had been obtained through the instrumentality of Government, who, he trusted, would at length be induced to turn to the benefit of the people that which the noble Peer had so painfully perverted to their disadvantage. It was much to be regretted that, previous to the assumption and exercise of such a power some communication had not taken place between the noble Duke and his respected nominee, the hon. Member for Newark, as that Gentleman would have inculcated a very different doctrine. He would take the liberty to read to the House a single sentence from a celebrated work of the hon. Member, which was peculiarly apposite to the case before them, and expressed an opinion quite in accordance with the feelings which he himself had always entertained upon the same subject. The passage he alluded to ran as follows:—"The usual justification of those proprietors—'May we not do what we will with our own?'—I shall not pause here to discuss, but will merely observe, that it has been made the apology for more cruelty and oppression than all the other excuses put together." In this passage the hon. Member for Newark had expressed all that he wished to express, and spared him the odious task of speaking in due terms of the conduct he had described to the House. Having then stated the nature of the petition he should proceed to state his own motives for desiring that it might be referred to a select committee. He wished that the allegations which it contained might be thoroughly examined in order that an address to the Crown should be presented, praying that the Duke's lease, which had been so wrongfully employed to interfere with the elective franchise, might not be hereafter renewed. It involved a severe pecuniary loss to the country; but, what was incalculably more important, it affected the constitutional character of the representation, and violated this most sacred institution of a free people, perverting it till it became a source of private profit, public profligacy, or political persecution. The Commons had made a bargain by which the revenues of the Crown-lands brought in much less than their value to the public purse, but they must be unfaithful stewards indeed, if they did not address the Crown not to allow 960 acres to be disposed of henceforward for the inadequate returns which it had hitherto received. The property consisted, as he understood, besides the land, in quit-rents, copyholds, and influence over public charities. The first lease of this great property was granted in 1760 to the Earl of Lincoln by the Duke of Newcastle, the then prime Minister, and for what rent did the House suppose? He would allow a long time for conjecture, and he was sure nobody would conjecture right. It was neither 1,000*l.* per annum, nor the half of that sum, nor yet 100*l.*, but literally the extortionate rent of 36*l.* a year. The lease was renewed in 1806, nine years after it had expired, and the fine exacted was no more than the nine years rent which had not been paid. The rent since 1806 had been 2,060*l.* a year, which, in itself, fully attested the advantages enjoyed by the noble duke's predecessors, when the aforesaid 36*l.* was so long the consideration. But the present rent, he believed, was much inferior to what it should be, as the Duke of Newcastle was said to receive 3,500*l.*, or at least 3,000*l.* a year from the property. Thus the pecuniary loss was a point worthy of their attention, even setting aside the fact that the property was yearly increasing in value and importance; but that was nothing compared to the loss of liberty and independence by the people. The Crown lessee never gave a lease for more than a year, in order to keep the voters completely within his power; were he to act otherwise, they might with impunity vote against him. Not long since, four acres of land, the property of Lord Middleton, were sold in the neighbourhood of Newark, and brought 4,000*l.*, 1,000*l.* an acre! This fact might give them a just conception of the general value of all the adjoining property. Why was the Crown land not sold to the highest bidder? He might be answered, that the lease had not yet expired; but were not the reversions available for sale? Instead of renewing the Crown lease, how much more eligible would it prove to sell the lands altogether. A greater pecuniary value would be obtained for the public, and the parties now suffering under such intolerable persecution would be relieved from the degrading political subjection to which they had been reduced. But by following and persisting in the course heretofore so unhappily pursued, the Government would in the first instance prevent the people from obtaining the means of extending their buildings, and of increasing in prosperity; and in the next, it would unavoidably permit the present possession to be converted to the pecuniary injury of those who had property in the neighbourhood. Lastly, if the Commons suffered it, they would violate the genius of the Constitution, by allowing the Crown to become instrumental in empowering the aristocracy to return a Member to Parliament. Should the Government renew the lease, it would necessarily thereby continue injustice; but if it sold the property, it would as necessarily bring money to the people, vindicate the principle of representation, and assert the dearest political privilege of a British subject. He would move that the present Petition should be referred, not to a Committee of Privilege, but to a Select Committee, his object being to have the allegations which it contained minutely and circumstantially inquired into. At the same time he most distinctly disavowed an intention to hold up any individual to public obloquy, as the interests of truth and justice were the only objects which he had in view. He sought no vengeance—he had no personal pique to gratify. He only called on the Legislature to prevent the recurrence of a most grievous evil, to vindicate the Crown from the obloquy with which it had been, to a certain degree, mixed up, and to support the dignity of a Constitutional Representation. It was his intention afterwards to move an humble Address to his Majesty, in order to obtain a promise from Government that the lease of the Crown lands should not be renewed on the same terms as hitherto, if it were to be renewed upon any terms whatever. The hon. Member concluded by presenting the following Petition:—

"To the Right Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.—The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Town of Newark-upon-Trent, in the County of Nottingham.

"Showeth,—That Newark is a Borough Town, containing two thousand houses, or thereabouts, with a population of nearly ten thousand; and the resident inhabitants paying scot and lot have the right of voting in the election of two Members to serve in Parliament for the said Borough:

"That the town possesses considerable commercial advantages, and from its being surrounded by the best markets for grain, and from having the facilities which good water carriage affords, it has, during the last few years, very greatly increased in wealth and population, and is become one of the principal towns in the kingdom in the manufacture of malt and of meal, largely supplying Manchester, Sheffield, and other manufacturing towns with those commodities:

"That there are not appertinent to, or in the neighbourhood of, Newark, any town lands or open pastures for the accommodation of the freemen and other inhabitants of the town.

"That his Grace the Duke of Newcastle possesses a lease from his late Majesty (granted by the advice of his Privy Council) of the manor of Newark, with all the quit rents and copyhold rents, and of the markets, the bridges, the tolls, and fairs therein, and of the rights of fishing in the river Trent, and the rivers and streams within the manor; and also of several houses situate within the town, together with upwards of nine hundred and sixty acres of land, lying in and contiguous to the Borough, and almost encircling the same, the whole being within the township of Newark, and the several parishes of Averham, Stoke, Balderton, and Farndon:

"That the family of his Grace first became possessed of the said property in the first year of his late Majesty (1760), when a lease was granted by the Crown; which, by the recital therein contained, appears to have been granted by the advice of the then Duke of Newcastle (who was at that time First Lord of the Treasury) to the then Earl of Lincoln, he having married a sister of his Grace:

"That in the year 1815, a lease of the said property was granted to the present Duke of Newcastle, for a term which will expire in the year 1836:

"That the houses and lands comprised in the said lease are occupied by tenants at will, and the land (with the exception of two of the most distant farms, held by influential families) is let in small allotments to persons residing, and having votes and interest, within the Borough, as yearly tenants; and although the same is let at what would, under other circumstances, be deemed full average rents, yet, from the exclusive possession by the Duke of the whole of such land, and from the peculiar pursuits of the principal trading population, he is enabled, by means of the great accommodation it affords, to exercise, and he does actually exercise, an absolute control over the votes of a great portion of the inhabitants:

"That the political control of the Borough is of much more value to his Grace than any advantage he could derive from the improvement of the Crown lands; and, therefore, in order to preserve such control, the said Crown lands have been so managed (by being only let by the year) as necessarily to prevent their improvement:

"That the evil of such system has not been limited to the injury of the Crown lands, but has extended its pernicious influence to the town, as the lands form a complete girdle round the town, and the system referred to necessarily prevents those local improvements which the increasing wealth and advantageous position of Newark would otherwise give rise to; and your Petitioners humbly show, that, but for the contractive operation of this system, the growing population of Newark would naturally have spread itself over a considerable portion of that part of the Crown land which immediately adjoins the town; whereas, the poorer class of the people have been compelled to reside in confined and unwholesome courts and alleys (a large portion of the tenements in which belong to the Duke's private estate, and are thus enhanced in nominal value), while the more opulent inhabitants are deprived of those essential comforts to which their situation entitles them, and of those conveniences which their increasing commerce imperiously demands; and even the limited accommodation at present afforded to some of the inhabitants, by a temporary and uncertain occupation of the land, they can only obtain by the surrender of their political independence, and by what his Grace terms "entire confidence and a grateful co-operation" with him in his political views, and in the election of those Members for the borough who are nominated by himself:

"That although your Petitioners admit, that the possession by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle of the property hereinbefore mentioned as forming his own private estate would naturally confer upon him a large portion of that influence which ordinarily results from the relation of landlord and tenant, yet your Petitioners humbly represent, that it would be wholly insufficient to control the election of Members of the said borough, unaided by the enormous unconstitutional power over the voters, which his Grace has acquired by the possession of the Crown lands, and by his system of managing the same:

"Your Petitioners humbly show to your honourable House, that such Crown lands are of very great value, a large portion thereof abutting on the principal roads adjoining to the densely-populated parts of Newark, and being applicable to building purposes, and, in point of situation, of equal value to contiguous land (also within the borough), which has realized upwards of 800*l*. per acre; and your Petitioners represent, that even such part thereof as would not, from its situation, be at present in request as building land, would find ready tenants or purchasers at very considerable prices, were it the pleasure of the Crown to let, or otherwise dispose of, the same in allotments suited to the increasing wants of this improving town.

"Your Petitioners further humbly show, that his grace the Duke of Newcastle does not occupy, and has not, during the whole period of the lease, occupied, or held in his own hands, any part of the said Crown lands: and that he has not, by building or otherwise, improved their value; and that the trifling improvements which have been made thereon have been wholly made by the tenants and actual occupiers, who have no security whatever for continuing to hold the same, and who are thus further bound to vote according to the dictation of the Duke, for fear of losing as well the land they hold as their outlay for improvements thereon:

"That, in the month of February last, Sir William Henry Clinton, who had been returned under the influence of the Duke to sit for this borough, accepted the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, when Michael Thomas Sadler, esq. who had previously been unknown to the inhabitants, became a candidate for the vacant seat, and was taken round the town by the agent of the Duke and receiver of his rents, and introduced to his Grace's tenants as the successor of the retired Member:

"That at that particular period there were many momentous questions pending in both Houses of Parliament, deeply affecting the tranquillity and prosperity of a large portion of his Majesty's subjects; and his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, as your Petitioners have been informed, was most anxious for a dissolution of Parliament, in order, as he represented, that the wishes of the people might be ascertained from the return of the Members to your honourable House:

"That Mr. Serjeant Wilde likewise became a candidate to represent this Borough at the same election:

"That Mr. Sadler was returned by the Mayor as duly elected:

"That the return of Mr. Sadler was obtained by means of the prevailing belief, founded upon the experience of former elections, that such of the Duke's tenants as should vote against his Grace's nominee would be expelled from their tenancies; and many of the voters who polled for Mr. Sadler avowed that but for the fear of such result they would have polled for the other candidate:

"That although many of the Duke's tenants, under the influence before-mentioned, did vote for Mr. Sadler, yet there were many others who, choosing to exercise their elective franchise independently, gave their votes to the opposing candidate:

"That since the said election, every one of the tenants of his Grace who so voted for Mr. Serjeant Wilde has received notice to quit his holding, whether the same was house or land; and whether it constituted a part of the estate of the Crown or the private property of his Grace:

"That a large portion of the electors, as well of those who had, as of those who had not, received notice to quit their lands and houses, convened a public meeting of the inhabitants, to take into consideration the proper measures to be adopted, justly deeming the proceedings of the Duke's agents not only injurious to the character and prosperity of the town, but calculated to destroy every vestige of political independence within the Borough.

"The persons concerned in convening the said meeting deemed it expedient, as well as respectful, to inform his Grace by letter of their intention to hold the same, to announce its object, and to invite his attendance thereat; to which his Grace replied, neither denying the act of giving such notices, nor disavowing the motive, but justifying the same, upon a claim of a right 'to do what he would with his own.'

"Your Petitioners do, however, humbly submit to your honourable House, that, whatever right, or rather whatever power his Grace may have 'to do what he will with his own' private estate, he has not the right, and ought to be deprived of the power, of using the property he holds as lessee of the Crown to the injury of the Borough, the oppression of the inhabitants; and that the said lease ought not to be renewed, by reason that for election purposes his Grace has used the same in a manner that has diminished the present and reversionary value of the public property; impeded the progress of local improvement; repressed the growing prosperity of the town, and controlled the reasonable comforts and enjoyments of the inhabitants; and further, that by the possession of such lease, his Grace has been enabled to keep alive, from year to year, the most odious distinctions, and to foment feelings of dissension and party spirit; and finally, he has employed the power it conferred to overawe the inhabitants, control the election, and thus secure the return of his own Members to serve in your honourable House; all which facts your Petitioners are ready, and pray leave, to prove at the Bar of your honourable House, or in such other manner as to its wisdom may seem meet.

"Your Petitioners do therefore most humbly pray your honourable House to take into consideration the matter of this Petition, and to address his Majesty, that no further lease may be granted to his Grace; but that the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Land Revenues may be directed to sell or let the same in suitable lots, whereby the revenue will be increased, the property improved, the town enriched, and the inhabitants restored to the free and independent exercise of the inviolable right of electing Members of their own choice to represent the Borough of Newark in your honourable House."

Lord *Lowther* said, he must declare in the outset that the allegations in the petition, as he had been able to collect them, if not gross mis-statements were at least perversions of fact. He should not think it requisite to go through the speech of the hon. Member in detail, but would rest satisfied with noticing two or three of his observations. Admitting the number of the population and of the Houses to be correct, in some of the other averments there was obviously a want both of caution and of accuracy. The municipal revenue of the town, including all its tolls and rates, was certainly much smaller than it would appear had been inferred. By a charter in the reign of Charles 2nd the toll on the bridge, averaging 80*l.* a year, was made over to the Mayor and Corporation; but the Corporation of Nottingham was entitled to one third. The nine hundred and sixty acres of Crown-lands mentioned were not in the immediate neighbourhood of the town as represented, but in reality would be found scattered about through the adjacent villages to a considerable extent. By the last determination of the House, those householders had a right of voting who paid scot and lot. Notwithstanding all that had been said about the tyranny and persecution which the tenants had to undergo, it was rather remarkable that the Crown had but twelve houses and twenty-six cottages at the renewal of the lease. This fact, he apprehended, would seem to warrant a conclusion very different from that which the hon. Member wished the House to draw. He could not help expressing his surprise that the hon. Gentleman's sight should have been so bewildered in the office of Woods and Forests as to lead him to suppose that there was a girdle of Crown-land immediately about the town, for he would have found, had he looked a little closer, that three sides were open. There were three or four proprietors in the neighbourhood of the town who had property to a larger amount there than that of the Crown. What had fallen from the hon. Member would induce the House to suppose that under the last lease, and up to 1815, the tenant to the Crown only paid 36*l.* a year; the fact was, that the lease was renewed in 1806, and the rent was then fixed at 2,200*l.* a-year, although the actual receipt was only 2,026*l.*, but in addition a fine of 2,500*l.* was also paid. In 1815, in consequence of a small property falling into the possession of the Crown, the lease was surrendered with a view to facilitate business, but with an understanding that it was not to be extended to the advantage of the lessee. At the same time he believed that as high a rent was now obtained from the land as it was worth. It was alleged that his Majesty's Government were interested in supporting one candidate more than another, relying in return upon his support in that House. Now it turned out that the Gentleman supported by the Duke of Newcastle did not generally support the Government. He had only to add, that he wished all the circumstances of the case to come before the House previous to its coming to any decision. Acting upon this view of the question, he would not oppose the petition in its then stage, but should reserve his observations on its merits to a future occasion.

Mr. *F. Clinton* begged leave, as one acquainted with all the details of the transactions which had given birth to the present petition, to say a few words in explanation of those transactions. He confidently assured the House, that there was never submitted to its notice a petition more full of misrepresentations, and of most unfounded insinuations, than that just presented by the hon. Member for Dover. The noble Lord who presided over the Woods and Forests, had so fully and satisfactorily explained the circumstances connected with the original granting and subsequent renewal of the Crown-land lease held by the Duke of Newcastle, that he need not say another word on that part of the subject. He would merely ask the hon. Member for what purpose he had entered into a statement of that lease having been granted in the first instance in the time of George 2nd, to the Earl of Lincoln, the nephew of the then First Lord of the Treasury, unless for the purpose of insinuating something by which he perhaps might hope to win a cheer? The hon. Member was in error as to the facts connected with the last renewal of the Duke of Newcastle's lease, which took place in 1806, and not in 1815, as the hon. Member had stated. The noble Duke's rent on that occasion was raised 2,000*l.* per annum,—a sum which he firmly believed was, all things considered, a fair rental. It was stated in the petition that the Duke of Newcastle's tenants at Newark were all tenants at will; that for the purpose of securing a preponderant political influence at the election for that borough, the noble Duke had let his tenements out by the year, making the renewal of the next year's tenure dependent only on his single pleasure. Would it not be inferred from this statement that the Duke of Newcastle differed from all other landed proprietors, in the management of his property at Newark? What, however, was the fact? He appealed to every hon. Member at all acquainted with Nottingham and the adjacent counties, whether all the property held there, whether of land or houses, by tenants like the Duke of Newcastle's at Newark, was not, like his, held only from year to year, renewable at pleasure? Was it, therefore, fair to omit this fact, and by that omission to insinuate that the noble Duke had, in the leasing of his lands and houses at Newark, departed from the usual system under which lands and houses were leased in Nottinghamshire, and, he believed he might add, in most of the midland counties? It was next stated in the petition, that the noble Duke's property circled the town of Newark in such a manner as to prevent the erection of any new house beyond the present precincts, but at the Duke's pleasure, so as to compel the inhabitants to dwell in narrow, filthy, unwholesome courts and alleys,—that, in fact, the Duke's Crown property was a kind of wall round the town of Newark, of which he possessed the only gates and keys. The noble Lord who had last addressed the House had shown how unfounded was this mis-statement; he therefore would only say, in addition to what had fallen from the noble Lord, that the Duke's property did not immediately adjoin the town of Newark, nor did any Crown-lands leased by any other landed proprietor, nor any other property or estate of the Duke of Newcastle. Nay, he would go further and state, that so far from the "accommodation land" of that town at all belonging to the Duke, all the accommodation land in the neighbourhood was the property of other families, with one of which the right hon. Gentleman who filled the chair in that House was nearly connected. Then with respect to the assertion that the inhabitants, from want of room, were compelled to dwell in close unwholesome residences, he could assure the House that there was not a town in England of the size of Newark so over-built, though it was stated that no land for building could be procured for less than 1,000*l.* per acre. It was true that some years ago a small tract immediately contiguous to the town was sold at that high rate, but twelve months had not elapsed till land possessing equal advantages for building was put up for sale without obtaining a single bidder, so completely was the building market in Newark, so to speak, overstocked. Was it not, then, evident, after these statements, that the petition was a mere election affair? Indeed, this was quite evident from the manner in which the successful candidate at the late election was alluded to in it. The hon. Member was spoken of as a perfect stranger to the people of Newark. Would it not, he asked, be supposed from this statement that the learned Serjeant (Wilde), who had opposed the hon. Member, was one long connected by ties of residence or birth with Newark? that in fact his only object in the contest was to rescue his native borough from the disgrace of being represented by a perfect stranger? But what was the fact? Why, that the learned Serjeant, he believed, was never in Newark or even Nottinghamshire in his life, till he went there on his late electioneering adventure. On that occasion the learned Serjeant posted down to Newark and favoured the electors with divers eloquent speeches; but his hon. opponent was returned by a large majority. After all his trouble the learned Serjeant was naturally unwilling to abandon his pretension to the representation of the borough, and of course omitted no opportunity of making himself popular. An occasion presented itself, which he was too skilful an advocate not to endeavour at least to take advantage of. It happened that on the Michaelmas after the late election the Duke of Newcastle gave some of his tenants at Newark, notice to quit: but the hon. Member for Dover, not content with stating the fact, added that the noble Duke did not give this notice till the time for an election petition had elapsed. In answer to this imputation, he thought it would be sufficient to remind the House, that the noble Duke could not give notice till the next half-year audit had arrived; so that the charge of his having awaited the termination of the period within which a petition complaining of undue influence should be presented, fell to the ground. Well, the notices, as he had stated, were served; and the occasion of popularity was eagerly snatched at by the learned Serjeant, at whose suggestion a public meeting was called of his partisans and the tenants of the Duke of Newcastle who had received notice to quit. In the hand bills for the meeting it was stated that not less than 200 families had been turned out of their residences by the Duke, for no other cause than voting according to the dictates of their conscience; while the fact was, that but forty notices were served altogether. To that meeting, which he begged leave to assure the House was chiefly composed of the lowest rabble of Newark, an invitation was sent to the Duke of Newcastle, and the chief topic of the several speeches which were delivered on the occasion were attacks on his Grace's contumacy, for not having accepted the invitation. Was it not evident, that if a heavier charge lay against him it would have absorbed the attention of the speakers? and was it not evident, that if the learned Serjeant had any other ground, (he being grievously disappointed in not attaining his object), to question the validity of his opponent's success, he would have advanced it? in fact, would have presented a petition complaining of the hon. Member's return, instead of merely treating his partisans to long speeches. The learned Serjeant knew too well that speeches would not suffice in themselves, however eloquent: hence the present petition, the prayer of which was perhaps unexampled in its modesty: it simply asked the House to advise the Crown to— what?—merely not to renew the lease of the Duke of Newcastle. Really this was a little too much. He believed it was quite new for Parliament to be called upon to address his Majesty as to whom the Crown-lands should be let or should not be let. He was inclined to think that he was right, for if he were not, he asked what would be the next step of interference with the exercise of the royal prerogative, unless to tell his Majesty, not only whom he should not let the Crown-lands to, but to whom he should, from the confidence which the House of Commons had in the one, and not in the other? In fact, such a proposition, he was convinced, had no parallel in the Constitution, save in the times of the Commonwealth. The whole matter, he begged to assure the House, sprang from a disappointment at an election, and should therefore be treated altogether as an election petition. The hon. presenter of it disclaimed any wish to interfere between landlord and tenant, so that there existed no ground whatever for the House's entertaining it. The hon. Member, however, said, that though he disclaimed all interference between landlord and tenant, he thought it right to present the petition, with a view to preventing abuses of the great lessees of Crown-lands. Now what was the fact with respect to the number of Crown-land tenants of the Duke of Newcastle that had voted for the learned Serjeant at the late election? Why but seven voted for the learned Serjeant, and but seventy-four altogether for his hon. opponent, out of 1,388, which constituted his gross poll. Had these seventy-four votes been given for the learned Serjeant, would, he confidently asked, a word have been heard of the present petition? The hon. Member concluded by stating, that he would oppose the hon. Member's Motion for a Committee, as he considered it would be both unusual and unconstitutional.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, he could not subscribe to the doctrine advanced by the hon. Member who had just addressed the House, that referring the petition under consideration to a select committee would be either unprecedented or unconstitutional. He was not wanting in respect to the hon. Member or to the noble Lord who had preceded him; but still he thought that the House was bound not to make their statements, or the statements of any individual, the ground for not referring a petition like the present to a select committee. He said, the House was bound to determine for itself how far the allegations of the petitioners were or were not borne out by fact, and this it could best do by the proposed inquiry. "But before I enter," said the hon. Baronet, "into a detail of the grounds on which I shall vote for referring the petition before the House to a select committee, I beg leave to say a very few words on a subject which personally affects myself, and which, though not directly connected with that before the House, is not, perhaps, altogether out of place. The noble Duke who has been so frequently alluded to in the course of the present discussion, has done me the honour of addressing me a letter, with reference to a statement which he charges me with having made in this House a few evenings since. The letter to which I allude, was addressed to me through the medium of one of the public journals. I by no means complain of this circumstance; indeed, I have no complaint to make of the letter itself, for it was as agreeable a one as perhaps an idle man could desire; it required no answer. I say that it did not call upon me to write an answer, for any proposition that might appear to require explanation in the beginning, was sure to have another refuting it at the end. In fact, no better answer could be given, so far as the matter of discussion was concerned, than was contained in the Letter itself. There is one point, however, on which I should be extremely sorry that any misconception should exist in the mind of the noble Duke. I should be extremely sorry that the noble Duke should believe that I had applied to him personally any opprobrious terms. He charges me with having designated him as a "notorious boroughmonger." Now I did not apply this term, or any one similarly harsh to him. In fact I do not, under the present constitution of this House, I beg leave to say, consider boroughmongering as a great evil, but as a palliation of an evil. As this House is at present constituted, I repeat that I consider the purchase of a seat effects some good, by admitting men of talent, who under our present vicious system, could not otherwise obtain that seat, to an opportunity of devoting their services to the benefit of the country. I think it necessary to state my belief of this one palliating influence which our present corrupt system of election affords as a set-off against its numberless evils. Entertaining these opinions, therefore, I could not consistently apply an opprobrious epithet to the noble Duke for an act which I do not consider, under the existing state of our Representation, to be one of unmingled evil. The noble Duke says, that at the time the transaction took place, I on a former evening alluded to, he was quite a boy, in fact, an infant in law, and therefore could not have been a party to it. Now, though somewhat older than the noble Duke at the time, I certainly was young in life myself, and, in fact, was as little a party to the affair as he possibly could have been; indeed, I did not desire a seat in Parliament at all,—there was nothing I thought less about at the time, and should, had I followed the bias of my own feelings, have been still innocent of any concern in the matter. But I was induced to acquiesce in the wishes of my friends, and without any interference whatever on my part was told, one day, that I was returned for Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. So that, of the two parties to the transaction, if the noble infant in law was wholly innocent, I, the other party, in point of fact, was equally uncontaminated. The noble Duke, then, was not the only Simon Pure in the business. The matter was arranged, as such matters usually are under similar circumstances, by other parties; a sum of money was received on the part of the noble Duke, and paid on mine, and I became the independent Member for the borough of Boroughbridge. I am bound to say, that the sum which procured me my seat was not by any means unusually large, all things considered—it amounted to 4,000*l.*: and for that I was guaranteed for six years, no matter if a dissolution took place in the mean time. This, I repeat, all things considered, was by no means a high price; and I beg leave to state, that when I said I purchased my seat from the Duke of Newcastle, I did not mean this or that member of the house of Pelham, but the Duke of Newcastle, whoever he was, of the time being, the proprietor of the borough of Boroughbridge, for which I first sat in this House as a Representative. I stated that that Duke of Newcastle was a trader in boroughs, and I quoted my own case as one in point. I find that my own case was not the only one; for, if I am not very much mistaken, the father of the present Member for Dorsetshire succeeded me in the very same way, by purchase, as Representative of the Duke of Newcastle's borough of Boroughbridge, thus proving the truth of my general assertion. There was a circumstance connected with Mr. Portman's purchase that appears to me worth mentioning: he did not make the stipulation which was made for me, of being guaranteed a seat for a certain number of years, though a dissolution should take place in the interim, and the Duke of Newcastle, to his honour be it stated, returned a part of the purchase-money, according to a valuation of the time for which he actually sat as Member. I therefore, in my statement of the transaction a few evenings since, could not have meant to direct my observations personally against the present Duke of Newcastle. My objection was not to the individual, but to the system; and be the noble Duke a borough-monger, a borough-master, or a borough-forcer, or *quocunque nomine gaudet*, I stated the fact as I have now repeated it, with a view to exposing the evils of our present corrupt system of

Representation in their undisguised nakedness. The blame, if blame there is, I say, does not lie with the Duke of Newcastle, but in the system: the blame lies with this House, which is not what it ought to be, the House of Commons of England." The hon. Baronet proceeded next to argue that the clear and irresistible statement of the hon. Member for Dover made the necessity of a Committee of Inquiry into the allegations of the petition convincing to, he thought, every one who had heard it. It was impossible to adopt the recommendation of the hon. Member for Aldborough (Mr. F. Clinton), and treat the petition as an election one, that had been presented too late for the House to act upon it. He would not, indeed he could not, say whether its statements would be borne out by facts; but he contended that it was due to the electors of Newark, to the noble Duke himself, and to the dignity of that House, that an investigation should be instituted into the grounds of those statements. The petition he conceived to be a petition of privilege, that could not be overlooked without compromising the dignity of Parliament. It was one, he thought, of the most important nature in a constitutional point of view, that had ever come under the notice of that House: one, therefore, to which too much attention could not be given, and which he maintained could not be blinked in the manner recommended by the hon. Member for Aldborough. The electors of Newark complained that for the conscientious exercise of their duties they had been punished by a powerful individual, whom the law of the land and the law of Parliament forbade from using any influence whatsoever in the choice of Members of that House; and that complaint it was the bounden duty of hon. Members to inquire into, for the purpose of redress if it should appear well founded. The offence charged in the petition was not only a misdemeanor in the eye of the law, but a constitutional outrage in the eye of Parliament. There was no part of our common law more ancient than that which asserted the freedom of elections. *Fiant electiones liberæ, procul e causa timoris* was a common law maxim, which, if the allegations of the present petitioners were true, had been set at nought by one who came under the denomination of the '*haut homme*' spoken of in Sir E. Coke's Comments on the First Westminster Statute. The hon. Baronet contended, that the interference of the '*haut homme*' in elections was a violation of not only our common law, but also of the ecclesiastical. One of the articles, he said, of the *Articuli Ecclesiæ*, expressly forbad all interference, whether by force or fraud, in the election of a church dignitary. The House, he thought, could not but entertain the petition as one deeply affecting its own privileges. It was bound to inquire how far the common-law maxim, which declared that elections should be free, had been violated by the Duke of Newcastle at Newark. He knew not, he repeated, whether the allegation of the petitioners would be supported by fact, but he thought that the House should determine the truth for themselves, uninfluenced by statements, however plausible, of any individual Member. If those allegations could be proved to be unfounded, so much the better for the noble Duke implicated, and so much the more satisfactory for the House inquiring. Indeed, he thought that no persons ought to be more zealous for referring the petition to a committee than the noble Duke's friends; and that in proportion to their confidence in the goodness of his cause. If, on inquiry, however, it should be found that the noble Duke had interfered unconstitutionally with the freedom of election, he trusted that the House, which was just now so energetic in its expression of indignation at the corrupt practices of the electors of East Retford, would assert its privileges, and with at least equal indignation punish the far higher offence of the Duke of Newcastle,—higher, he said, inasmuch as it was aggravated by the use of violence. If it were deemed expedient to punish the corrupt electors of East Retford for acts unaccompanied by violence, how much more should an aggression, in which force—actual violence—was the means employed to ensure its being successful, call down the arm of justice on the offender. We punished a pickpocket who stole our property with a cautious avoidal of every thing like force; but we punished still more him who robbed us by putting a loaded pistol to our head, and demanding our money: and this we did because we considered the force employed to be a great exaggeration of the crime.—And why not deal in the same way in punishing those who effect, through means of terror, an outrage upon our sacred right of choosing our Representatives in Parliament? It was impossible, he contended, for the House to persist in disfranchising East Retford, and to shut their eyes on the allegations of the present petition. He therefore should vote for its being referred to a Select Committee. By that means only could the ends of truth and justice be attained.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* said, that as he had already given notice of a motion for the 30th of March, to bring the state and value of the Crown-lands before the House, he would not trespass then long upon its attention. With the constitutional branch of the subject, which had been so ably dwelt upon by the hon. Baronet, he should have nothing to do; for indeed he saw no difference between the conduct of the Duke of Newcastle in turning his property where he could into borough-representation profit, and that of any other noble Lord, or hon. Member, who indulged in similar speculations. Indeed, he should avoid studiously the hypocrisy of taking partial views with reference to such transactions. But it had been asked, did they mean to interfere with the rights of the Crown, or to dictate what ought to be the condition or disposition of the rents of the Crown? To this he would at once reply, Yes. This was not the property of the Crown—on the contrary, it had been bought at a high and perilous price for the people. Ever since the time of Queen Anne the people had been paying 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.* a-year for property which had not returned them so many pence. The noble Lord had said that all discussion about the Crown-lands had better be reserved for the 30th of March, and the hon. Member said that there was no precedent since the time of the Commonwealth for this interference. Perhaps even at that period the hon. Member might be able to find that some precedents had occurred, which even the most rampant loyalty could adopt. However, he would now give them a precedent quite in point, though not drawn from times so dangerous to monarchy. After King William had given nearly five-sixths of the county of Denbigh to the Earl of Portland, the House of Commons addressed his Majesty against the disposal of the public property in that sweeping way, and King William replied, that although he was under great obligations to the Earl of Portland, yet in obedience to the expressed opinion of the House, he would endeavour to give him compensation in another manner, of which, perhaps, by the way, the descendants of that Peer might hear some further particulars on the 30th of March. The very circumstance of this petition coming as it did, ought to make the House happy to have an opportunity of dealing with such abuses as it described. And indeed he could show, by the letter of an inhabitant of Newark, who was totally unconcerned with noble or ignoble persons in these borough matters, that if this property were fairly put up to sale, it would produce at least 200,000*l.*: he said that this was the valuation affixed by Mr. Fordyce. He had read the twenty reports of Mr. Fordyce, and in one of them he found a strong recommendation not to let on lease this kind of property in the immediate vicinity of great towns, for he foresaw the solid importance which would attach to such property. With reference to this particular branch of Crown property, it appeared to produce only 2,200*l.* a-year, and yet it would, if fairly put up for sale, produce 200,000*l.* The petitioners, therefore, complained with justice of these oppressive transactions, and were desirous of getting rid of the undue influence from which they sprung. He knew it was said, that suppose this sale took place, what would become of the persons holding unexpired leases for four or five years? Why, he would suggest to buy out the unexpired interest of the principal party. The noble person who could sell a seat for 4,000*l.* would not, of course, object to sell a share of his freehold. Let them only pay him the value of his 2,200*l.* a-year,—let them buy up this Duke, and the noble Lord opposite could have no difficulty in calculating what he was worth from his tables, after his great recent experience in the valuation of local interests under the St. Martin's Improvement Act. In fact, only let the Government once say that this property was to be put up for sale, and it would soon find 200 or 300 persons, at present enchained under the Duke's bonds, ready to buy up their shares to serve themselves, and also benefit the public. At all events, on the 30th of March he should be prepared to show the Members of that House such a train of abuses in this Crown property, as they were never before acquainted with; which, once named, must be remedied.

Mr. *Sadler* said, although this subject, in the event of a select committee being granted, would again come under discussion, yet he did not think that he should be discharging his duty if he suffered the present occasion to pass without endeavouring to explain the circumstances which had been so misrepresented. And in the first place he begged to ask the hon. Member for Dover whether the petition he had presented was carried at a town's meeting, and whether the full notice of that meeting had been given.

Mr. *P. Thompson* said, the petition was carried at a public meeting, convened after full notice, not only to all persons residing in the town, but one of the notices was even sent to the hon. Gentleman himself. The letter, however, which contained it, travelled in the most extraordinary way about the country, and it was not till long after, that the hon. Gentleman wrote a letter to the Chairman of the meeting, stating that he should have written before on this subject had the letter come to him sooner.

Mr. *Sadler* said, the hon. Gentleman, in his opinion, had not given a specific answer as to whether the petition emanated from a public meeting. It was of importance to ascertain this point, because the principal part of the voters of Newark had already expressed their opinion of the petition, as he looked upon it to be, to all intents and purposes, an election petition. As the hon. Gentleman, in his answer to the question just put, had alluded, and somewhat facetiously, to the circumstances by which the notice was prevented reaching him (Mr. Sadler), he would say a word or two on that subject. All the travel that that letter had had was entirely owing to accidents; and had it reached him in time he should have had no hesitation in answering it in the negative; and he should have done this because he had already waited upon his constituents since his election, and when circumstances called him to a distant part of the country he did not see that he was bound to return to Newark, after having so recently visited it. Besides which, he said, that he should have had to appear before a committee, every one of whom had been his opponents at the election. The letter, however, as he had already stated, was delayed by some mistake; not that he made any accusation against the Post-master. But first it had gone to Leeds, and then to Manchester; then it was sent on to Gainsborough, by mistake; and after a delay at all these places he got the letter. He was afraid that he was wearying the attention of the House, by entering into all these details. He had now to make a few observations on the conduct of the hon. Gentleman himself, who, though he, no doubt, intended to be courteous, had not been very much so in this instance. It was not till the Wednesday that he received notice from him that he intended to present the petition; and he certainly had expected that a copy of it would be sent to him; he, however, had had no opportunity of perusing it till that evening. That petition represented that he was not known in Newark: that, however, was not true, for he had been known to several influential persons there for many years. It was erroneous, it was false. He thought, as the petition had been concocted in London, sent to Newark to canvass for subscribers, and then back to town, he might have been furnished with a copy sooner, so as to have been able to make some inquiries on the subject, in which case he should have been able to approach the House with something beyond mere impressions. What had fallen from the noble Lord at the head of the Woods and Forests coincided with the impressions on his mind, and must, he thought, have destroyed the erroneous impressions sought to be conveyed by the petition. It certainly was not for the House to deal with leases that were already in existence; they could never admit an *ex post facto* law, such as the hon. Member for Colchester had proposed. There had been a great deal of gross exaggeration about the conduct of the noble individual to whom so much allusion had been made. If that were the proper place for explanation, he could state many circumstances infinitely to that nobleman's honour, he would only say that many of the attacks made on him were direct falsehoods. It had been asserted that he had discharged 200 of his tenants, which was known to be untrue, and though it had been immediately contradicted, it was afterwards reasserted and circulated through the whole kingdom. The few ejectments that had been made might be accounted for without looking to political motives, and might be easily defended, but he did not think that it was in Parliament, one of the first duties of which was to preserve inviolate the right of property, that he ought to justify that noble person, for exercising a right as he pleased, which was unquestioned in the meanest subject of the land. The cruelty of those ejectments was descanted on, but it was never said, that the noble Duke was a kind and liberal landlord, which he was known to be. At the same time he was at a loss to reconcile the cruelty of those ejectments, with the fact that Newark was over-built, that there were many tenements vacant, and many landlords who would be glad of tenants. Harsh, however, and injurious as were the accusations made in that House in reference to the ejectments, vituperation as gross was indulged in before any one of them had taken place. His learned opponent seemed at the time of the election and before, to have been ignorant, that there was another landlord in the place, and he levelled all his vituperative eloquence against the one noble individual. From the beginning to the close of the election, vituperation to the entire exclusion of every topic connected with public principles or national policy, was the sole business of his opponent. The object evidently aimed at was, to influence the tenantry of the noble person alluded to against him, simply because he was their landlord. Nothwithstanding this unfair proceeding, which was not more prosperous than it ought to be, he had been returned by a majority respectable both by its number and its property, so as to entitle him to say that he appeared there as the Representative of one of the most independent boroughs of the British Empire. The hon. Member for Dover had done him the honour to make a quotation from a book of his—a practice which he observed had of late been frequent in the House, though he should not repel it, did it make any impression favourable to humanity. What he felt himself called on to complain of was, that the hon. Member had quoted the passage without the context, and had he read the whole of it, the House would have seen that it was directed against those general clearances of the land, in obedience to certain doctrines about population, enforced by mercenary motives, which too often deprived many wretches at once of home and bread, and banished them from their country. He did not mean to disguise the fact, that he had the good wishes of the noble person already alluded to, but he also had the good wishes of many other noble and hon. Gentlemen connected with Newark. He had endeavoured to obtain the good will of the landed proprietors, and he had been successful. He had been honoured by the support of several ancient and honourable families seated in that neighbourhood, and among others, of that family, one of whose most distinguished members then filled the chair. To him it was most abhorrent to array landlords and tenants in mutual hostility, and he had sought to recommend himself to both, but he had used no means of corruption. Nor had he been betrayed into any servility; he had been returned for a most respectable and populous place, and had used no bribery, and knew nothing of any coercion. Newark was no decayed borough, and even if the motion for Parliamentary Reform, made by the noble Member the other evening, had been carried into effect that would not have disfranchised Newark. It contained upwards of 10,000 inhabitants, all, except paupers, having votes, and many of them being opulent and highly respectable. Those who represented Newark as a rotten borough, under the control of any individual, were guilty of a manifest falsehood. He apologized to the House for having so long trespassed on its attention, and perhaps wandered from the subject before it, which was rather an attack on a noble individual, for his mode of managing his property, than an attack on himself. Some allusions, however, had been made to him, which, would, he hoped, appear sufficient to the House to justify him for what he had said of himself. As to that noble individual, he would repeat that the accusation brought against him of pursuing unprincipled courses, with a view to obtain parliamentary influence, was false. His property was not managed with a view to obtain such influence. Those who were as willing to listen to a just eulogium on a fellow creature as to an idle calumny, would be glad to learn that among his Grace's tenants at Newark, there were some who gave him no votes, who had indeed nothing to give him, but their gratitude and their prayers. Had his Grace been so eager to acquire political influence as he had been represented to be, he would have dispossessed the poor widows who then occupied his tenements at Newark, to make room for voters. But he had taken a kinder and an honester course—a course consistent with the long-established character of his family, which had seated him firmly in the hearts of those who had known him the longest,—he had never dispossessed one such tenant to make room for a voter. The virtue of that noble individual was unsullied, and his patriotism exemplary. As to any influence exerted on himself, he declared to God that he had been exposed to none. He felt proud in possessing the confidence of the noble person mentioned, but that noble person had best respected his own conscientious feelings in respecting those of the humble individual who was then addressing the House. That noble person, contrary to what had been said concerning dictation, had left him as a Representative of the people, to promote and secure their intersts, according to his own judgment. The influence of that noble person was not that alone of property, it was that of a kind master, and of a man estimable for all the domestic virtues, which, even more than his elevated rank, had secured him universal respect. He thought himself called on to say thus much, as it seemed to be the chief business of some individuals to assail that noble person with the most rancorous hostility.

Lord *Howick* said, he only rose for one moment, lest his silence should be misconstrued, as he conceived there was no appearance of the Ministers opposing the present Motion. He should only, therefore, notice the observation of the hon. Member who spoke last, that it would be in vain to deprive the Duke of Newcastle of his influence in the town of Newark. He honestly and candidly confessed, that during the continuance of the present system, were he a borough proprietor, he should avail himself unscrupulously of that interest for himself or his friends: therefore he did not complain of the Duke of Newcastle doing the same; but they did not want to deprive the Duke of his fair influence in the existing state of things at Newark. All they asked was, that he should not be privileged to exercise a right which he derived from the country, against the true interests of that country, and that he should not have the means of preventing the improvement of the national revenue, and of violating the Constitution. Let the House inquire into the facts stated by the petitioners, and see whether there did not exist abuses which were capable of due correction. The hon. Member for Colchester had given them some heads of the value of this property,—he did not mean to say that the computations were correct, still to ascertain the exact amount, inquiry was the only course. As far as the House knew at this moment, there was a *prima facie* case, that a considerable amount of national property could be more advantageously managed than it appeared to be at present. It was no sufficient answer to say they were to have another motion for a similar inquiry on a future day, which ought to obviate this application; for they were bound to inquire at the time when an alleged grievance was brought before them, and such was, he thought, the case at present. [*Cries of* '*Question.*'] He saw by the clock that five minutes had not elapsed since he commenced, and as it was not his custom to trespass at any length upon the House, he claimed a fair hearing, and would not be prevented from continuing his address. He repeated that there was a *prima facie* case for an inquiry, which might possibly in its results show that a certain branch of national property could be more profitably managed for the country, as well as with more convenience for the inhabitants of Newark. The House could not in justice refuse the prayer of this petition, and therefore he should vote for the Motion.

Mr. *Hobhouse* observed, that it appeared to him that the hon. Gentleman who had spoken last but one, and the noble Lord (Lord Lowther), had left the question exactly where they found it. He was induced to think, from the early part of the speech of the hon. Member for Newark, that that hon. Gentleman was about to proclaim that he was setting up for himself; but at the latter end of the speech he had fairly confessed that he came in on the interest of the Duke of Newcastle, confessing at the same time that he was sitting there in defiance of all the rules and regulations of Parliament. The hon. Gentleman had been sent there by a Peer, and had avowed it. Did not the hon. Gentleman tell the House that he had received his seat from a Peer of Parliament?

Mr. *Sadler*.—I did not say so.

Mr. *Hobhouse*.—I will make bold to ask the hon. Member, Is it so? Did not the hon. Member say, on a former occasion, that his Grace the Duke of Newcastle had allowed him to vote as he pleased. What was the inference (Mr. Hobhouse continued) to be drawn from this? What inference could be drawn from this disclaimer other than that which the petioners draw—that the hon. Member is returned by the Duke of Newcastle?" He would not say whether it was by seventy-four votes or any other number derived from the Crown-lands, of which the Duke was the lessee; but he would say that by the admission of the hon. Member the allegation of the petitioners was proved, and that a case was made out that a Peer of Parliament had dared, in violation of the privileges of the Commons of England, to use his influence in sending a member to that House. That was the question; and his noble friend, at the head of the Woods and Forests, had not properly considered it. It might be very proper for the noble Lord to make a joke of the subject, and talk of all the details, map and all, which were to be found in the Office of the Woods and Forests, but that had nothing to do with the constitutional question. The noble Lord might give that information *ex officio*, to the magistrates of the town of Newark for their guidance, and he must say, from the communication he had had with the Office of Woods and Forests, he had no doubt that every species of information was there given with great civility, but the question did not relate to the Office of Woods and Forests, it affected the constitutional privileges of Parliament. His noble friend was not disposed, as he ought to be, to acknowledge the fact of a member having been sent into that House by the influence of the Duke of Newcastle. That was the fact, and he would not say that other individuals had not also been sent there by the influence of other Peers. That assertion, however, was no defence of the single instance, but rather an increase of the offence. He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman (the Member for Liverpool) was not then present, for he had stated that when the House found a blot, it should take care to hit it hard, and take care that the people had no reason to reproach the House. Here was a blot, and if it were not hit—if the great Duke of Newcastle, though he were the best of all possible Dukes, and the best, too, of all possible patrons—if he were allowed to escape, the House would tell the people that its resolutions were mere waste paper. The evils of the system, though known, were not avowed, they were practised, but concealed: *deprĕndi miserum est;* and having caught the Duke of Newcastle, it might as well at once tear up the Resolution which was then lying on the Table, and put the Mace under the Table, and not allow the Resolution to be repeated Session after Session, that no Peer of Parliament ought to have any influence in returning Members to that House, nor ought to dare to meddle with the elections of the people, if it did not go into the inquiry and take measures to vindicate its unsullied privileges. He was sorry to hear the noble Lord (whom he had long known, and the kindness of whose nature he was well acquainted with) he was sorry to hear that noble Lord make a taunt of his hon. friend's pathetic account of the sufferings of the men banished from their homes, and represent the picture he had drawn as not connected with the question. He was not astonished at what had fallen from the learned Gentleman, it was his calling, he was bound to advocate a particular cause; but the noble Lord was not sent to Parliament for such a purpose. It was well to talk; but he would put a case which would illustrate the question. He would suppose that the King's Government should send a message to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, that he should no longer be the beneficial Lessee under the Crown, and that he should be stripped of all the valuable possessions he held under the Crown, amounting to 960 acres, he would suppose that this individual should be ejected because he had given an adverse vote on the losing side of a defeated question; and if this were done to the Duke of Newcastle, how would they hear of violated rights, of an infringement of the best birth-right of Englishmen—the right to do with his own as he liked. He would compare this case with the conduct charged against the Duke of Newcastle. The people of Newark were turned out of their houses because they did not vote as his Grace wished. The hon. Member said, let them go to the other untenanted houses in Newark that had been thrown up on the occasion. They were to leave all that was dear to them, their own houses, their own homes and happy firesides, which were, perhaps, all their comforts, because they did not vote as his Grace bade them. Was this a picture that the noble Duke would like? Could it be compared to the case of his Grace, whom he had supposed ejected from the Crown Lands? He could not compare the persons, but the cases were similar; it was the same thing—they had given their votes according to their own wills, and not according to the wishes of another. His Grace might find other houses if he were ejected, and other lands; but when these poor persons were ejected, where were they to find other homes? Banishment was a severe punishment to a rich man, but to a poor man it might be death; it might deprive him of all the means of subsistence, and be so severe that no person could wish to inflict it. The hon. Gentleman said, that the case was exaggerated; that it had been represented that two hundred persons had been ejected, and that in fact only forty had been made miserable. Suppose there was only one, that would be sufficient to make out the case, and would prove the interference of his Grace. But the allegations in the petition had not been, and could not be denied, they were admitted even in that famous letter which might make his Grace exclaim, with a famous man of antiquity, *Quam vellem nescire literas*—it would have been better that he had never put pen to paper, and if such conduct were permitted in his Grace, if he were allowed to commit acts that were contrary to the Resolutions of that House, then it would be better to tear up those Resolutions, and not leave them on their Journals. It had been said inquiry was without precedent, but he would show that there were other parallel cases. A Peer of Parliament, a Bishop, in 1701, had chosen to interfere in sending a member to that House. He had said to his ecclesiastical tenants, that he would not renew their leases, unless they voted for the person he nominated. The case was brought before the House of Commons by Sir John Packington, and the Bishop charged with the offence was Lloyd, a very good man, and one of the Seven Bishops. The case was heard at the Bar of that House, and an account of it was to be found in Howell's State Trials, vol. 14. After an examination at the Bar, it was referred to a committee, and the committee reported to the House that there had been an interference with the privileges of the House, by a Peer of Parliament, and the House resolved that an Address should be presented to the Crown, praying that the Bishop might be deprived of his Almoner's place, which was the only way he could be punished. And what was the answer of Queen Anne? In her answer the Queen said, "I am sorry that there is occasion for this Address against the Bishop of Worcester; I shall order and direct, that he shall no longer continue to supply the place of Almoner, but I will put another in his room to perform that office." The Bishop therefore was dismissed. At that time the decency was observed of defending the privileges of the House, and he did not think it possible that a case of that kind could ever be brought before the House of Commons without the House coming to some such determination. There were other similar instances which he would quote. In 1747 Mr. Pitt, who was afterwards called the celebrated Mr. Pitt, and was then Paymaster of the Forces, was petitioned against by the people of Seaford, in Sussex, as having been returned by the interference of a Peer, who at a certain dinner had used his influence with some persons, and had appeared on the hustings when Mr. Pitt was elected. The Parliamentary History* in which this was contained went on to say that Mr. Pitt made a joke of the whole matter, and treated it with contempt, and laughed at the petitioners, just as the complaints of the present petitioners had been laughed at. The nobleman concerned happened, oddly enough, to be another Duke of Newcastle. He did not know if all Dukes of Newcastle were the same, but there was at least one of the Pelhams who had tried to influence the return of a member to that House. Unluckily Mr. Pitt was not then so great a patriot as he afterwards became, and as he represented the Prime Minister, a very small minority only voted for the examination. He could find another strong case. The Duke of Chandos had interfered with the election of Southampton, when he was Lord Lieutenant of the county, in consequence of which a strong Resolution was placed on the Journals of the House. The noble Lord was deeply implicated, and the House resolved that it should be examined in a committee; but when the committee made a report, which was, that the Duke of Chandos had interfered, the House, in consequence of a facetious speech made by Lord Nugent, who was a relation of the family, passed to the order of the day. But the case was proved against the Duke of Chandos, and the

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* See Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 106.

House had then declared its opinion that no Lord Lieutenant should in future presume to interfere with its privileges. The case was therefore so far in point, and went to establish that for which he was contending. For what object was the hon. Member for Newark sent to that House? Was it not plain that he had been sent there to vote as the Duke of Newcastle, pleased in return for the votes which his Grace had procured for him? To what did that hon. Member owe his seat in that House, but to the interference—the undue and unlawful interference—of the Duke of Newcastle? Was that a mode of election to which that House should give its sanction? The present case was of more importance than either of the others; and if such things were not examined with a serious assurance of remedying them, the country would look with aversion on their proceedings. What objection could there be, to sending for the individual who is the Duke's agent, and who was said by the petitioners to have accompanied the hon. Member for Newark in his canvass. The House of Commons was bound to send for Mr. Tallents, and call on him to explain how it was that the hon. Member's Letter was sent to him under the cover of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. The allegation had been made that this agent had desired certain freemen to vote for a particular person, and what prevented the House from ascertaining if that allegation was true? If they did not do this, they would reduce the people of England to regard that which they ought to consider as their greatest blessing, as a curse; and that which should be a badge of freedom, would become a chain of dependence, and a sign of servility. It would be far better not to allow them to have votes, than, having votes, to compel them to vote against their will. They ought not, like cattle, to be sold to the highest bidder; they were sold, however, when they were made to vote against their wishes and their conscience. The hon. Member for Newark had said, on one occasion, that he hoped nobody would be harmed on his account. Did he not say that? He believed he did; and if he did, was that freedom of election? The House had been told by the hon. Member for Aldborough, that the petition had emanated only from the lower rabble: was that the mode in which they were to turn round upon the people when they preferred their just complaints to that House? When the dearest privileges of Englishmen were trampled upon,—when their most sacred rights were invaded, and when they came forward to prefer their complaints to Parliament, were they to be called a "rabble," and to have their complaints ridiculed and laughed at? Was the expression denied? Did not the hon. Member say, that the meeting in question was only composed of the "rabble?" [*Cries of "No, no," from Mr. Sadler*]. The hon. Member might not have called them a rabble, but the learned Gentleman (Mr. Clinton) had certainly called the meeting a "rabble." Was it to be tolerated, that any portion of the people of England should be first robbed of their rights, and then stigmatized as a "rabble," when they justly complained of the spoliation? Was it to be endured that the people of England should be despoiled of that liberty which was the proudest portion of their inheritance of freedom, and the most beneficial constituent of the Government under which they lived, and then be stigmatized as a "rabble" for presuming to complain of such a proceeding? If only the lowest rabble had the sense to petition and take care of their rights, for his part he thought such rabble as much deserving attention as the proudest and best amongst themselves. It was a little too much that that House was to be composed of representatives of Peers. He for one should always speak strongly on this point. The question was, whether they were to be considered as the independent Representatives of the People, or whether they were to allow themselves to be the creatures of certain Peers. The very question was a disgrace. There might yet be some doubt of it in the House—out of the House, however, it was only a matter of history. He held in his hand a petition from the Friends of the People, which would show hon. Gentlemen that he was quite impartial, and that he was justified in being vehement. The petition represented the opinions of the country, and showed that the people had sufficient grounds for their assertions. Honourable Members laughed, but he was sent there to be vehement on such occasions. He mentioned that, to show that he was in perfect good-humour, and that he had no feeling against the hon. Member for Newark. The petitioners he had referred to stated that they were ready to prove their assertions at the Bar of the House. The petition was presented to the

House by the father of the noble Lord behind him (Lord Howick), and it stated what he would then read—

"They affirm that seventy of your honourable Members are returned by thirty-five places, where the right of voting is vested in Burgage and other tenures of a similar description; and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable House to mention any number of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a mere matter of form. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

"They affirm that, in addition to the seventy honourable Members so chosen, ninety more of your honourable Members are elected by forty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds fifty. And this your petitioners are ready to prove.

"They affirm that, in addition to the one hundred and sixty so elected, thirty-seven more of your honourable Members are elected by nineteen places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds one hundred. And this your petitioners are ready to prove."

He would ask the hon. Member for Newark, could he approve of such a system?—did he think that the Commons' House of Parliament should contain a certain number of nominees of Peers? The people were perfectly sensible that all this was a farce and a cheat; that the House did not represent the people, but a certain number of persons, who had appropriated the franchise of the country. As to the influence of the Crown, that was a point he had not forgotten. By Act of Parliament, the persons holding the smallest offices under the Crown were not allowed to interfere at elections. An Excise Officer, or a Custom House Officer, who should do so, was liable to be fined 100*l.*, and to be punished with infamy and imprisonment. If the officers of the Crown were not allowed to interfere, was it to be suffered that a person holding property under the Crown, like the noble Duke, was to employ it for that purpose? The noble Duke must not do that with his own which would deprive all the freemen of Newark of what ought to be their own; he must not think so to deal with his property, as to overthrow and destroy the Constitution, which secured to him the possession of his property, and even the enjoyment of his life. The allegations in the petition could be proved he believed; and if the House did not allow them to be proved, if it refused the prayer of the petition, if it did not take the petition into consideration, he did not see how it could ever again punish any corrupt boroughs. If it were a crime to sell a vote, it was a greater crime to drive people out of their houses because they did not vote in a particular manner. If one was an act that could not be justified, the other was the greatest crime a citizen could be guilty of towards his country.

Mr. *Sadler* said, in explanation, that he had never denied that Peers might exert influence over some of the Members of that House; but the allegation that the noble Duke in question had exerted influence over him, he positively denied.

Sir *R. Wilson* supported the prayer of the petition. He said that, upon a former night, he had alluded to this transaction, and if his feelings of disgust had been strongly excited by it then, they had been still more increased by the facts that had come out during this discussion. He saw persons avowedly sent to that House as representatives of the Peers who sent them there, and who were compelled to give their votes as the persons by whose influence they had been elected chose to order them. If the present system were continued, it would make the people all slaves instead of freemen. The hon. Member for Newark had denied the influence of the Duke of Newcastle over him; but was it not true that forty persons had been turned out of their homes because they had given their votes for the other candidate? It was said, that one of the electors explained that he had given his vote for the wrong candidate by mistake, and that then the Duke's agent told him that the notice to quit was also a mistake. The hon. Member said no coercion had been used; but if that were the case, how came he to be Member for Newark? The hon. Member had written a book from which a quotation had already been made, but one was to be found equally applicable to the hon. Member and his patron in a great dramatic writer:—

You have among you many a purchased slave,
Which, like your asses and your dogs and mules,
You use in abject and in slavish parts,
Because you bought them. Shall I say to you
Let them be free?

This was what he said, if the Duke had really bought his slaves, he must set them free—

Why sweat they under burthens? Let their beds
Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates
Be seasoned with such viands.

You will answer, the slaves are ours; but he would tell the great Duke that he must not make slaves of the people of England, nor convert their Representatives into instruments for his own profit. He would have all parties treated alike; and as punishment had already been inflicted for corruption, he hoped, with a view to further inquiry, that this petition would be referred to a committee.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, that the first question the House had to decide was, should the petition be brought up? the next question was, should it be referred to a committee? The discussion had better be confined to the first question; and he should so confine it, as conforming to what he thought was the general sense of the House. His principal object in rising was, to prevent its being supposed that he supported the petition. He meant to decide the question without making it a political question. He had read the letters of the noble Duke, and he saw no reason why, from the profession of the noble Duke's political tenets, he should be favourably disposed towards him; but he saw no reason, at the same time, why the petition should be considered in a different light from other similar petitions, and he should go to a vote on it on the principles of common sense and reason. There were two questions involved in the petition in relation to the Crown-lands—one, whether a case had been made out to call for the interference of Parliament; and the other, if the House, after establishing the interference of the Duke, should take any other step: and with respect to the Crown-lands, the case was, he thought, a complete failure. The hon. Member who had said he was vehement because he represented a populous place, had admitted that he had found all the Commissioners of Woods and Forests courteous and attentive. [Mr. *Hobhouse:* undoubtedly he had always found them very civil.] Well, civil and attentive to the interests of the hon. Member's constituents when he had occasion to call on them. The hon. Member who spoke last, and represented the borough of Southwark, must know that the Crown had a considerable property in that borough, and yet it had not interfered with his election. He would say the same of Dover. If the hon. Member who presented the petition, and represented that place, had found any such interference, he would, no doubt, in a parenthesis, have managed to inform the House of it. He had found no disposition to exert the influence of the Crown in his election. So much for the influence of the Crown over elections. With respect to the property which the Duke of Newcastle held under the Crown, he had received the lease in 1806, and it was to run for thirty years. At the period of granting the lease, it was not said that any larger tender than that offered by the noble Duke had been made. It was not said that the Crown required less of the Duke than it could obtain from other persons. When the lease was renewed, the sum was raised to 2,000*l.* Lord Grenville was then First Lord of the Treasury, and as he was opposed to the noble Duke in politics, the House might be certain that no favour was shown him, and that the lease was not renewed but at its full value. The lease was granted in 1806, and it was granted in the interest of the Government. It was the duty of the commissioners to attend to that. In fact, the Crown was quite unfettered, except as to the duration of the lease, and it had been granted on the same principle as governed the granting of all similar leases. He could say also, that there were no negotiations pending for the renewal of the lease; no engagement had been entered into, and there was no implied engagement between the Crown and the Duke. His noble friend had also stated, that it was the duty of the department over which he presided to consult the interest of the Crown, and let the Crown-lands to the greatest advantage. If, for example, the ground could be built on so as to yield a larger sum than that given by the noble Duke, it would be the duty of the Board to let the ground on a building lease. There would be no difficulty in such a case, he believed: but that the House of Commons should address the Crown to affix a brand and stigma on the Duke of Newcastle, to say that he is not to have the lease of these lands, was what he could not consent to. The Duke was in this respect entitled to the same privileges as others, and must be left capable of taking lands from the Crown like any other person. He apprehended that the property of which the Duke had a lease for thirty years could not be distinguished from his other property, and it was no breach of the privilege of that House for him to use the influence which that property gave him. It was impossible to preserve any distinction between the property leased from the Crown and other property. The Duke might let it to tenants at will, or for a term of years, and might deal with that as with any other property belonging to him. There was on this ground no reason for the House of Commons to interfere. Then it was said, that seven individuals had received notice to leave their houses [Forty!—several voices called out]. No; he begged leave to say only seven. What had been proved to show that the Duke made any improper use of the property held under the Crown? The petition went to pray that, having made an improper use of this land, his lease might not be renewed. He believed that the House would not think it necessary that he should make any excuses for the privileges which were derived from property over which the Crown had no control, and which were exercised in the same way. The Duke of Newcastle had a right to use his property, whether hired from the Crown, or derived from any other source, as he liked.—The hon. Member (Mr. P. Thompson) founded his argument for the interference of the House on the ground that these persons were dispossessed because they had refused to vote for their landlord; but he did not see that there was any proof of that—nor was there any proof that menace had been employed in order to make them vote for the Duke of Newcastle. The hon. Gentleman, had, however, assumed that there was some menace, and that they were required to vote; for if it were not so, why, he asked, were they dispossessed? Now, supposing that such was the state of the case, and that the Duke of Newcastle had used improper and unconstitutional means to procure the return of the member he fancied, was it not the duty of those who felt aggrieved by such conduct to proceed in that course which had been provided by the House for such grievances? Was it not their duty to present a petition and complain of an undue return at the election? If they had adopted that course, then the whole expense of the petition would have justly and properly devolved on the parties who had an interest in the question which the committee would be called on to decide. But what would be the consequence of the adoption of that Motion brought forward by the hon. Gentleman? Why, by applying to Parliament at this late period for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the merits of the petition, the whole of the expense would be thrown on the public. If the House were prepared to maintain the inviolability of that jurisdiction on the subject of election petitions which he thought admirably qualified for the accomplishment of all the purposes it had in view, he was of opinion it should scrupulously abstain from any interference, or, at all events, that it should be well satisfied of the imperative necessity of putting these disappointed parties in possession of such a power, after so long a time had elapsed, and after they had abstained from having recourse to the measure which Parliament had provided as a remedy for such complaints [*hear*]. He would beg the House to observe the peculiar distinction between the two courses to which he had alluded. If the parties had appealed by the ordinary method of petition, Parliament had provided a tribunal before which the merits of that petition are tried, and the parties examined to the truth of all allegations on their oath. But then, on the other hand, he would beg them to look at the consequences of adopting the Motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the merits of the Petition. The consequence would be, that they would send the facts to be inquired into before a tribunal where the evidence could not be taken on oath, and where the whole of the proceedings were likely, therefore, to be subject to great objections. If they consented to adopt such a course at the present moment, and in such a case, they at the same time would go far to supersede that peculiar jurisdiction which, in his opinion, the House ought, by every means in its power, to fortify and defend. He was not prepared, with the limited information he possessed, to say, whether the Duke of Newcastle had, or had not, dispossessed any of his tenants in the manner which the hon. Member had been induced to state. That the Duke had treated his tenants in that manner, he repeated, he was not prepared to admit or deny, although, perhaps, from the fact of there being several untenanted houses, it might be presumed that those who had occupied them were ejected by their landlord. He confessed, however, that there was a question connected with that subject which appeared to him even more important than anything connected with the privileges of the House. The right of property in every man, whether a Peer or a Commoner, was to be held sacred. There was, he repeated, no proof of any menace being used—none that those persons were dispossessed because they refused to vote for their landlord. Seven tenants were, he believed, the whole number who had been deprived of their houses out of seventy. But passing over that, if the House was prepared to say that those who exercised on such occasions their just right of property were to be subjected to the interference of Parliament, whenever it pleased the parties to come before it, it would place itself in a situation equally embarrassing and inconvenient, and lay the foundation of a very dangerous precedent. He would say, they could not do anything more dangerous or prejudicial than to leave it to be inferred, that a tenant who refused to vote for his landlord had a right to remain in possession of that landlord's property in defiance of his wishes. Henceforward every tenant who chose to vote against his landlord would answer when he was called on to leave that landlord's property, "Oh, you wish to make me a martyr to your party prejudices in this case. I recollect what was done in the case of the Duke of Newcastle and the people of Newark, and I shall bring you before the House of Commons." So far, therefore, from protecting a good tenant, and maintaining the purity of election, they would be giving a premium to a bad tenant to retain possession of his landlord's property, and yet control and thwart his wishes whenever it might suit his prejudice or caprice to do so. While he alluded to this matter with reference to its effects on the right of property, he begged it to be understood that he did not see any material difference in its application, between a Peer of the realm and any great landed proprietor. The hon. Gentleman had referred them to a Resolution of the House; but if a tenant owed an obligation to a landlord he was bound to repay it; and if the hon. Gentleman hoped, by any means he could devise, to exclude the duty owed by the tenant to the landlord from operating in the disposal of his vote, he was confident he would be disappointed; and standing in his place in that House, he was not ashamed to avow that he hoped he would be disappointed. [*hear*] He thought that property, whatever might be the nature or extent of the constitutional part of the question, ought to have a due influence in the State, whether the possessor was a Peer or a Commoner; and he could not bring himself to believe that the Resolution the hon. Gentleman had alluded to was intended to exclude that species of influence. In conclusion, the right hon. Gentleman observed, that he was not prepared to give his vote for a committee which never could properly determine the question at issue, independent of all the objections which might be taken to its appointment. That committee never could determine either the motives of the Duke of Newcastle in ordering the ejectments, or the facts which preceded it, and therefore, upon principles of common sense and reason, and divesting the question of all private or political prejudice, he should feel himself bound to give his vote against the Motion for referring the Petition to a Select Committee.

The Petition was brought up and read.

Mr. *P. Thompson*, in moving that it be referred to a Select Committee, said, he should not, after the discussion the subject had already undergone, trespass for any time on the attention of the House. He had heard but one word which could induce him to think the Motion might be spared; but on consideration he did not think even that word would prove sufficient. The noble Lord (Lowther) and the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Peel) had assured the House that the Government had no intention at present to renew the Crown-leases granted to the Duke of Newcastle. He thanked them for the announcement, and rejoiced at it; but it did not give any security to the people of Newark. The present Government might be determined not to renew the leases, but the Duke of Newcastle was at the head of a considerable party in the State—he might come into power, and, by means of that power, procure to himself a grant of the leases which the present Government might be inclined to withhold. The right hon. Gentleman said the committee would be a committee appointed to inquire into motives. He would say, it was a committee to inquire into facts. If, as he thought it would prove, that these facts were correct, then the House was bound to interfere, not to punish the Duke of Newcastle, however oppressive might have been his conduct; not to shake the last election; but to prevent the renewal of leases which have proved injurious to the properties of those who live under them, and which are calculated to support a violation of the spirit of the

Constitution. The question to be tried was, he repeated, one simply of facts; and one of two results must follow from the inquiry into these facts: either the charges must be proved to be true, and a remedy applied to the evil; or they must be declared false, and the character of the Duke of Newcastle would then be relieved from imputations which must continue to attach to it until that inquiry took place. The right hon. Gentleman said, the leases were granted in 1806; but the fact was, that although the old lease expired in 1806, it was renewed as early as 1801. He had one word more to add on the measure. The right hon. Gentleman said, the people of Newark had received little injury, because only seven were ejected; he should think one too many; but the only reason for the number not being greater was, that a great many persons, through the fear of consequences, refrained from voting. The right hon. Gentleman had asked why the parties did not present an election petition? He could tell the House why they had not: it was possible that menace and a number of indirect means might be brought into operation, to influence the disposal of votes, although nothing direct could be effectually proved to the House: that was the reason why they did not petition. In many cases, however, there was no need of menace, because the tenants had the example of the elections of the years 1796 and 1826 in their recollection, when numbers were dispossessed of their holdings, because they presumed to give a vote contrary to the wishes of the then Duke of Newcastle. The hon. Member having concluded, by expressing a determination to press the Motion, the House divided. For the Committee 61; Against it 194;—Majority 133.

List of the Minority.

Althorp, Lord
Baring, F.
Baring, Sir T.
Brownlow, C.
Burdett, Sir F.
Brougham, H.
Bright, H.
Beaumont, T. W.
Calvert, C.
Clive, E. B.
Cavendish, W.
Cave, O.
Denison, W. J.
Dawson, A.
Davenport, W.
Easthope, J.
Ewart, W.
Guise, Sir B., Bart.
Graham, Sir J.
Grant, hon. C.
Grant, R.
Howick, Lord
Honywood, W. P.
Harvey, D. W.
Heneage, G. F.
Hume, J.
Kemp, T. R.
Littleton, E. J.
Lumley, J. S.
Lambert, J. S.
Marjoribanks, S.
Maberly, J.
Marshall, J.
Marshall, W.
Monck, J. B.
Morpeth, Viscount
Martin, J.
O'Connell, D.
Osborne, Lord F.
Palmerston, Viscount
Poyntz, W. S.
Palmer, C. F.
Pendarvis, E.
Philips, G.
Price, R.
Protheroe, E.
Robarts, A. W.
Russell, Lord J.
Robinson, Sir G.
Sefton, Lord
Stanley, E. G. S.
Slaney, R. A.
Smith, W.
Smith, V.
Taylor, M. A.
Wilson, Sir R.
Warrender, hon. G.
Wood, Alderman
Warburton, H.
Wilbraham, G.
Webb, Colonel E.
Ward, C.

TELLERS.

Mr. Poulett Thomson
Mr. Hobhouse.

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.] Sir *G. Clerk* moved the Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of Supply.

Sir *James Graham* said, that in consequence of a new arrangement which he understood had been made, respecting the salary attached to the office of Treasurer of the Navy, he should withdraw, for the present, the motion on that subject of which he had given notice. In so doing, he reserved to himself the right of renewing his motion, if the new arrangement did not satisfy him, whenever the vote for the salary of the Treasurer of the Navy should come regularly before them in the Navy Estimates.

Mr. *Hume* said that, as new arrangements were forming by the Ministry, he trusted that some new arrangement would be formed by which the millions of revenue arising from the Customs and Excise, now under the separate control of Government, might be placed under the more immediate control of the House of Commons.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Supply.

NAVY ESTIMATES.] Sir *George Clerk* then addressed the Committee, but in consequence of the low tone of voice in which he spoke was frequently inaudible in the gallery. He was understood to say, that had it not been for the observations which had just fallen from the hon. Member for Cumberland, he should have confined himself to a simple enumeration of the number of men and the amount of wages which would be wanted for the service of the Navy in the course of the present year. In consequence, however, of the hon. Baronet's having withdrawn his motion upon the understanding that he should state all the arrangements which had recently been made respecting the Navy, he should proceed to state the reductions which had been made in the estimates for the naval service of this year, as contrasted with the estimates for the naval service of last year. He would commence by stating that the salary of the Treasurer of the Navy was this year 1,000*l.* less than it was last, and was thus reduced to only half the amount of what it was in the year 1797. The Committee, he trusted, would bear in mind that the last time when any discussion took place respecting the expedience of retaining this office was in the year 1826, when a proposition was made, to increase the salary of the President of the Board of Trade to 5,000*l.* a-year. It was suggested that it would be better to make the salary of that officer 2,000*l.* a-year, and unite with it the salary of the Treasurership of the Navy, 3000*l.* a-year, that office being generally held, as it then was, by the President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Tierney, who had been Treasurer of the Navy, was the person who had first made that suggestion. After agreeing that 5,000*l.* a-year was not an over-payment for discharging the offices of President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy, he proceeded to say, "that he could by no means concur with those who thought that the office of Treasurer of the Navy should be abolished. It was an office of very old standing, of considerable public importance, and of great personal responsibility to the holder. He had held the office, and speaking from the recollection of twenty-three years back, he could assure the Committee that it was by no means a sinecure; on the contrary, it was one which required no inconsiderable degree of care and attention." From this opinion the honourable Member for Montrose dissented, although he did not seem to think the office useless, for he proposed, as an amendment, that an inquiry should be instituted to ascertain if any and what alteration could be made in the office and salary of the Treasurer of the Navy. He did not propose to abolish the office. His amendment led to an almost unanimous expression on the part of Parliament that the office should not be abolished, but that the salary should form part of the emoluments of the right hon. Gentleman who then held the situation of President of the Board of Trade. From these circumstances he could not help supposing, that the objections which the hon. Baronet felt to the late mode of filling up the office of Treasurer of the Navy arose from his imagining, as that office was attached to another high and responsible office, that it was in itself a sinecure. He would, therefore, remind the hon. Baronet of one or two facts, which might, perhaps, induce him to alter that opinion. In the year 1817, the Treasurer of the Navy had a salary of 4,000*l.* a-year, with a house and other advantages worth 700*l.* or 800*l.* a-year more. In that year the Committee of Finance presented a Report, in which they stated, that they considered the salary paid to that officer as much too large, and recommended a reduction on any future appointment to that office, so as to place it on a level, in respect to emolument, with the Paymaster of the Forces. In compliance with that Report, the emoluments of the office were reduced under the administration of Lord Goderich to 3,000*l.* a-year, and Government now proposed to reduce it by another 1,000*l.*, thus leaving it at 2,000*l.* a-year. He assured the House, that the Treasurer of the Navy had other duties to perform besides that of paying the bills and orders drawn upon him by the Commissioners of the Navy. He had to take charge of, and was responsible for, all money paid or payable upon seamen's wills and powers. The Committee should understand, that the duties of the office had been considerably augmented, in consequence of two Acts recently passed; the first of which transferred the whole management of the out-pensioners of Greenwich Hospital to the Treasurer of the Navy, and the other imposed upon that officer additional duties relating to prizes. Last year an Act was passed for altering the constitution of Greenwich Hospital, and the business that was formerly transacted there, was now performed by five commissioners, of whom the Treasurer of the Navy was president. The Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests was another commissioner of this Board, and both he and the Treasurer of the Navy executed their duties there gratuitously. It was the intention of Government to abolish the office of Paymaster of the Navy as soon as a proper opportunity occurred, and to transfer the duties of that office to the Treasurer of the Navy, which would be an additional saving of 1,200*l.* a-year. Thus it appeared that in consequence of the arrangement which had been made, there was an immediate saving of 1,000*l.*, and there would be an ultimate saving of 2,200*l.* In other public departments reductions to a considerable extent had been effected. Two commissioners of the Navy Board had been reduced. The reductions made with respect to the public departments in London would have been much greater had it not been for the transference from Greenwich Hospital of a great number of clerks to the office of Treasurer of the Navy. In the course of the ensuing year, however, their number would be considerably reduced, and a further saving under this head would be apparent in the next estimates. In the department of the Dock-yards there was a saving this year in the salaries of officers of 28,000*l.* This saving had chiefly arisen from the reduction at Deptford dock-yard, which would no longer be used as a place for ship-building, but only as a depôt for stores for the supply of the fleet. With respect to the wages of artificers, there was this year a saving of 21,000*l.* as compared with last year. The sum of 450,000*l.*, now charged for artificers' wages, included the charges for small craft, lighters, &c., which were formerly placed under the head of Ships in Ordinary. It had frequently been objected that Government maintained a greater number of artificers than was necessary. It was impossible to deny that more artificers were retained than full employment could be found for. It was the intention of Government to reduce their number; but the reduction was delayed for the present on account of the great distress which necessarily would be created in the neighbourhood of the naval arsenals by the discharge of any considerable number of men, at a time when there existed such difficulty in procuring employment. Government, however, had effected a reduction by abolishing the allowances which were granted to the artificers thirty years ago in commutation of an abuse which then existed. It was formerly the perquisite of the artificers in the dock-yards, to carry away as many chips as they could. It therefore happened that, during the last hour of their stay in the yards, they employed themselves in collecting their chips into bundles, instead of pursuing their labours. In 1801 this practice was commuted for an allowance of 6*d.* per day to shipwrights, and 4*d.* and 3*d.* per day to other workmen. The men had been informed that this allowance would be discontinued, and they knowing that they were only retained in employment from motives of humanity, gratefully acceded to the proposed reduction. He ought to state, however, tha 450 artificers had been wholly discharged from Deptford, Under the head of stores a small increase would be apparent; but this arose from the transfer of various miscellaneous items to that head. Under the head of foreign dock-yards also there was an increase of 14,000*l.*, which could easily be accounted for by the events of the last year. The next head under which there had been a material reduction was that of the wages of men in ordinary. The reduction there was 40,000*l.* In the half-pay there was this year a saving of 19,000*l.* It had frequently been made a subject of complaint that there existed no restriction on promotion in the navy. With a view to remedy that evil, the Admiralty had lately come to a resolution, that no promotion should take place in any rank except in proportion of one promotion for three vacancies. The admirals on foreign stations had the power of filling up vacancies occasioned by death or the dismissal of officers. With that patronage it was not intended to interfere further than this—the admiral would, in future, be allowed to fill up only one vacancy, but not those consequent upon it. For instance, if a captain died, the admiral might appoint a commander to his situation, but he could not,as at present, promote a lieutenant to be a commander, or a midshipman to be a lieutenant. He had no doubt that this restriction would soon have the effect of reducing the amount of the half-pay. There appeared to be an increase in the superannuation account, which arose from an alteration that had taken place in the mode of providing for the deficiency of funds for the support of officers' widows. It had formerly been the custom to enter on ships' books a number of names as the representatives of efficient men, and the wages which were paid to these supposed men were transferred to the fund for the payment of widows' pensions. These fictitiuos men, or widows' men, as they were called, were now abolished, and the whole sum required for the payment of the pensions was voted at once. This branch of our expenditure was constantly increasing. During the present year the number of widows put on the list was three times as great as that of those who died. The question whether pensions should be continued to officers' widows after their re-marriage was at present under consideration. In the sum required for provisions there was this year a material reduction. He now begged to call the attention of the Committee to the reductions which had been made in the navy estimates during the last nine years. It was frequently asserted in that House that Government had made no reduction at all. He would show what had been the reduction in salaries alone since the year 1821. Since that period there had been reduced in the Admiralty 14 officers, whose salaries amounted to 7,015*l.*; in the Navy Pay-office 24 officers, salaries 10,800*l.*; in the Navy Office, 37 officers, salaries 12,000*l.*; in the dock-yards, 468 officers, salaries 88,630*l.*; in foreign yards 29 officers, salaries 36,000*l.*; in the Victualling Office, 48 officers, salaries 8,000*l.*; in the victualling yards, 37 officers, salaries 5,280*l.*; in the medical department, eight officers, salaries 3,600*l.* This reduction was equal to a third of the whole amount of the expense of the establishments on which it had been effected. It could not be said that these reductions had been confined solely to persons holding inferior situations, because the number of persons reduced was in proportion to the sum saved, namely, a third of the whole. Last year, the number of men voted for the service was 30,000*l.*, but in the course of last autumn, the situation of affairs in the Mediterranean rendered it necessary, in the opinion of the Government, materially to increase our force in that quarter. The consequence was, that the number of men at the present moment exceeded 32,000; but owing to recent events, orders had been sent out to recall the greater part of the additional force which had been despatched to the quarter he had alluded to. A considerable time must elapse before the men could be brought home and paid off, and therefore it was impossible to take the average number of men for the present year at less than 29,000. The wages proposed for seamen were at the same rate as those proposed in the Estimates of last year. The hon. Baronet concluded by moving the first Resolution, "That 29,000 men be employed for the service of the present year, including 9,000 royal marines."

Sir *J. Graham* said, he did not think the hon. Baronet had made out a satisfactory case for the recent apppointment to the office of Treasurer of the Navy. The hon. Baronet said it was intended to retain both the offices of Treasurer of the Navy and the Paymaster, until an opportunity occurred for abolishing the latter. That seemed to be an admission that both the offices were useless. In his opinion, the Treasurership of the Navy might have been attached to some other office held by a privy councillor, by which the entire salary would have been saved. The recent junction of the offices of President of the Board of Trade and the Master of the Mint, afforded a precedent which might have been followed with regard to the office of Treasurer of the Navy. He did not however intend to enter at length into discussion on the point. He would take an opportunity of consulting his friends around him, and if he perceived that he was likely to be supported, he would on some future occasion, before the vote passed with respect to the Treasurer of the Navy, move the resolution of which he had given notice.

Mr. *Hume* asked the hon. Baronet to state the aggregate amount of the Estimates.

Sir *G. Clerk* said, the aggregate amount of the Estimates was 5,595,000*l.*, and the aggregate saving, as compared with last year, was 282,939*l.*

Mr. *Hume* thought the whole establishment most extraordinary, and considering the changes that had been made, the Estimates appeared to him nearly the same as last year, and the deductions were upon the large items. When he considered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew that it was almost the unanimous opinion of the Finance Committee that the payment of the Marines and Navy, and of all the officers of both should be consolidated, the vote was brought forward in utter disregard of that Committee. The hon. Baronet had said that great deductions had taken place since the war, but he (Mr. Hume) asked, were they not to expect deductions as soon as the country was in a state of peace? Notwithstanding the great credit which Ministers took to themselves for their economy, the House was called upon to vote estimates exceeding, by 400,000*l.*, that which was voted in 1821 and in 1822. No objections had been made on that side of the House to the artisans of the Naval Establishment, except the practice of keeping them only three days at labour, instead of during the whole week. The general complaint of that side of the House, and of the country at large, had been directed to the large amount of the Civil Establishment of the Navy. With reference to what had been said upon the subject of promotions, he would ask, why was one single promotion allowed, when they had 5,000 naval officers, and were not able to employ one third of them? Government had no sympathy whatever for the Royal Marines, not an individual of that corps was promoted, except when a general promotion took place. Government was partial to one class of officers, because this afforded them an opportunity of promoting their friends and relations, and to support a system of corruption in that House. Every frigate carried on board an extraordinary number of young men; and consequently, numbers were pressing on the Government for promotion. They would never beat down the 6,000,000*l.* of pensions, unless they came to a resolution of allowing no pensions at all except to disabled persons. Could the antipathy of all classes to the system of pensions be wondered at, when in the paper he held in his hand, there appeared such names as Dundas and Bathurst palmed on the country for pensions of 500*l.* a year. Was not this enough to make the poor rise and say, "No more of this — we are starving?!" Admiral Shield and Admiral Cunningham had double pensions of 450*l.* and 500*l.* each. He could show the hon. Baronet that this was the case [here Mr. Hume read the printed paper corroborating his statement]. He hoped the members would show themselves alive to such gross abuses, and not suffer another pension to be granted until a committee called each individual before them, and pronounced whether he was a fit object for a pension. Persons as fit for service as he, had two or three allowances. One of the greatest improvements that could be made in our system would be to put an end to all pensions and to all allowances. He now came to consider the vote in the Chairman's hands. In his opinion Ministers had no reason to congratulate themselves on the reductions which they had made in these Estimates. As large a sum was charged for the superintendants of the workmen as for the workmen themselves. Nothing could be more extravagant. What he wished to ask was, whether we were at peace or at war? Let that question be distinctly answered, and he should understand what we were about. Taking it for granted, however, according to his Majesty's declaration in the Speech from the Throne, that we were at peace with all the world, he would then say that the proposed vote was much too large. Let the Committee consider what our peace establishment had been in former years. When in the Finance Committee the question of numbers was agitated, the majority determined that the Committee had nothing to do with that question; although it had been said in the House, that the Committee was appointed for the purpose of determining that question. If his Majesty's Government would come forward and make a fair and honest exposition of the relative situation of this country to other states, and of the real prospects which existed of maintaining peace, the question might be better dealt with; but the House was kept in the dark on that subject, and yet an establishment was kept up as large as if for war: it was difficult at present to guess for what purpose. In 1821 and 1822 the number of seamen and marines voted for the service of the year was 21,000. In one subsequent year, 1,000 men were added, on the pretence of the state of South America; in another year another 1,000 men was added, on account of the Burmese war; and so the estimate went on increasing until 1827, when it amounted to 30,000 men. It was then asserted that when the causes of its increase had ceased it would be reduced. What prevented the estimate now from being carried back to the state in which it was in 1821 and 1822? Was there anything in the condition of South America to prevent it? Was there any Burmese war to prevent it? In 1792 the whole number of men voted for the naval service was only 16,471, including 4,000 marines: so that the number of seamen was little more than 12,000. At present, the numper proposed was 29,000, being 13,000 men more than in 1792; and yet let the Committee consider what the situation of England was in 1792 with regard to other naval powers, when compared with her situation at present. In 1792 the naval power of France, of Spain, of Holland, was much more formidable than at present. The only naval power that had risen since that period was the United States of America. According to the opinion of a most competent judge, whom he had consulted on the subject, 1,000 seamen and marines would be amply sufficient for the West-Indies (where we had now 2,347); 1,000 for South America; 685 for the Cape of Good Hope; 765 for Africa; 800 for North America; 6,750 for Home Service; 2,672 for the blockade; 600 for the Mediterranean, &c. &c. making in the whole 20,750. Why not throw in another 1,000 and reduce the proposed number to that amount? Why keep up 5,000 more marines than were necessary? The marines at present employed were 9,000; in former times they were only 4,200. At least a reduction of 4,000 might be made with great advantage. The expense of the officers nearly amounted to a third of the expense of the men; the charge for the former being 71,000*l.*, that for the latter, 245,000*l.* The pay of the superior officers of the marines was enormous. That of a General was 1,728*l.*; that of a Lieutenant-General was 1,303*l.*; that of a Major-General, 1,037*l.* Now as all these individuals were naval officers, and had other appointments and emoluments, he would ask why might not their pay as officers of marines be reduced? He should be told that the commissions in question were given to meritorious persons; but he would repeat that those persons had other things to depend upon. As to the officers of marines, properly so called, God knew that their promotion was very slow, and that their advantages were very limited. They apappeared to be utterly neglected by Government, and the only prizes in their profession to which they might aspire were given to naval men, who had nothing to do with the marines. These were all matters which demanded revision and reduction. On the whole, he repeated his conviction that the number of marines might be advantageously reduced by 4,000 men. He could show from the evidence of an hon. and gallant Officer opposite to him, given before the Finance Committee, that the naval establishment in time of peace might be reduced to 21,000 or 22,000 men. That number would be 6,000 more than we had in 1792, and would be equal to what we had in 1821. He was anxious to hear what reasons could be assigned for not reducing the number to that amount. If his Majesty's Government were engaged in considering how to make further reductions, he would give them the opportunity of doing so, by merely moving as an Amendment, that the number of men proposed should be voted, not from the 1st of January, 1830, to the 1st of January, 1831, but from the 1st of January 1830, to the 30th of June 1830.

Sir *G. Cockburn* begged, as his evidence had been referred to by the hon. Member, to say a few words. The House must recollect that the hon. Member had said the same thing last year; and he had then been answered as now, that it was an unfair mode of stating that evidence. The question put to him was, what would be a proper peace establishment for the navy? He replied, that it was almost impossible to give an answer to the question, for it depended upon so many circumstances. Being then pressed by an hon. Member on the Committee to say something on the subject, he stated that he must know the exact state of things; that if we were at perfect peace without the slightest prospect or chance of war, and no power interfering with our commerce or any chance of it, he did not think we ought to have a man-of-war on the sea. The remark was, that that was not a proper thing; and then, at the request of the Committee, he had stated what he had thought was the lowest establishment for each station. That was the manner in which the evidence had been drawn from him; and he again said that it was unfair to use it as the hon. Member had done. Looking around, the Committee could not consider the country in a state in which his answer had supposed it. War had just closed between Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres, which had interfered with our merchants, who were still applying for a force to protect their trade on the South American station; and although the Burmese war had indeed closed, there were rising settlements in New Holland which required a naval force to protect them. With respect to doing away with half of our Marines, he (Sir G. Cockburn) had never argued that the number of Marines now voted was absolutely required. But they constituted a most valuable corps, and it was desirable to have such a body ready for duty in case of war, instead of taking raw men, who would be sea-sick. When the war of 1793 broke out, a part of the army had been obliged to embark instead of marines, whereby the army was disorganized, and the men were so sea-sick, that if an enemy had been met with, it would have been much better to have thrown them overboard. It should be recollected that the Marines were double-handed men, and half manned the ships, as well as did duty on shore. He hoped the House would not think of reducing them, and would vote the whole number asked, which was as small as was consistent with the service of the country.

Sir *G. Warrender*, even on the principle of economy, could not concur with the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) in his proposition for reducing the Marines, although there were other points in the Estimates on which he should agree with him in voting for a reduction. With respect to the Treasurership of the Navy, after a resolution passed by the House on the 12th of February, "that it is the opinion of this House, that in all the establishments of the country, civil and military, every saving ought to be made which can be effected," he had not expected to see that office separated from other duties, for the first time, when a new writ was moved for Radnor a few days after. When he (Sir George Warrender) first came to the House, the Treasurership of the Navy was filled by Mr. Rose, who, though he disbursed 19,000,000*l.* of the public money, executed also the office of Vice-president of the Board of Trade; and any person recollecting that period, must remember the activity of Mr. Rose. The duties of these two offices might easily be executed by one individual, with a saving of 3,000*l.* to the country. He (Sir G. Warrender) concurred with the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) in what he said with respect to the pensions to young gentlemen after three or four years' service. He could say, however, for a young friend of his (Mr. Dundas), that he had been a very efficient member of the Navy Board, and it would be proper that he should be restored on a vacancy. As to Commissioners Shield and Cunningham, they had been long in the public service, and no pensions were more properly bestowed than those they enjoyed. With respect to the vote before the Committee, he was of opinion that, on grounds of economy, and on all the other grounds assigned by the gallant officer (Sir George Cockburn), it was a wise measure to maintain a large proportion of Marines.

Mr. *Labouchere* felt considerable difficulty in voting upon this question on the spur of the moment, and without the opportunity of sufficiently investigating the Estimates. He could not go so far as the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) in contending that no pensions should be granted to public servants. He was not surprised, however, at his proposition, considering the extravagant principles acted on by the Government; though he could not concur in it. As to the example of America, he (Mr. Labouchere) had conversed with sensible men of that country who lamented the system, and he (Mr. Labouchere) had witnessed the most discreditable scenes in consequence of the adoption of that system. Individuals had retired from the public service into beggary. He disapproved of the American system with respect to pensions, which had been frequently commended by the hon. Member for Aberdeen, and was far from desiring its introduction into this country: at the same time he wished to have no pensions except such as the House might be disposed to grant. As he thought the reductions were not such as the country had a right to expect, he should support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Aberdeen.

Mr. *Maberly* was desirous of noticing one point with respect to the superannuations, which amounted to 500,000*l.*, and would entail a debt of 6,000,000*l.* on the country at twelve years purchase, so that we were debtors to the Pension List to that amount. He was anxious to call the attention of the House to so grave a subject, so that we might have an opportunity of reducing this enormous charge before it proved too late. He opposed the system—not individuals; but he must ask, why an individual (whose name had been mentioned), who had only served the country three or four years, stood on the Pension List at an allowance of 500*l.* a year for life? Would the country support that? If so, never could we anticipate, with any prospect of its being carried seriously into effect, the permanent reduction of a single shilling of taxation. It was useless to make any further struggle for economy or retrenchment; the House might as well let Ministers do what they pleased, if it allowed these superannuations to remain untouched. He thought his hon. friend the Member for

Aberdeen fully justified in the Amendment he had proposed, as to the period for which the grants were to be voted. When we came to deal with numbers, it belonged to Ministers to say in what state the country was,—whether we were at war or peace. As yet, we had had nothing but an incidental statement from the gallant officer opposite, who was not a responsible person in such matters; no Cabinet Minister had made any statement as to what was the real situation of the country; yet the House was called upon to vote 29,000 seamen and marines, in the absence of all information calculated to enable hon. Members to judge of the number actually necessary. His hon. friend only called on the House by his Amendment to suspend its vote till some Cabinet Minister came down and made out a case calling for a particular amount of force. In 1817 the Finance Committee recommended 19,000 seamen and marines as a proper force: what were the circumstances which required that 10,000 more should now be kept up? Hon. Gentlemen opposite could not make out that more than 3,000 or 4,000 additional men were necessary beyond the Estimate of 1817. Allowing the correctness of their reasoning, that addition to the force of 1817 would make 23,000, yet we were asked to-night to vote 29,000 men. If an objection were made to the Marines, the gallant officer opposite said, "Oh, we must have marines, for soldiers will be sea-sick and useless." Well, if Government chose to keep up a large force of Marines, why not make them more available to the army and reduce the army? It was said that marines did garrison duty: perhaps so; but they were not rendered so useful as they might be (assuming for argument's sake that we wanted so many of them), and no reductions were made in the army in consequence of their services. But he contended that the country could not possibly require one marine for every two sailors; and yet these were the relative proportions of the two descriptions of force. No doubt it would be said that the numbers now proposed were necessary; but he asked why require 10,000 men more than were recommended by the Finance Committee of 1817? Till that question was answered, he should be justified in voting for a reduction of the force now proposed; but without going so far, he supported his hon. friend's Amendment, which he considered an extremely proper one, because, if adopted, it left the House an opportunity of dealing with the subject at a future time. If the men were voted for six months, there would be plenty of opportunities for Ministers to come down and make an explicit statement as to the state of the country. They might soon find themselves at liberty to speak out on the subject, and state that it was necessary our establishments should be kept up as at present; or they might soon, perhaps, see the necessity of reduction.

Mr. *Peel* said, that he always felt pleasure in communicating any information he could, consistently with the proper performance of his public duty as a Minister of the Crown. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down wished Government to make out a case for the increase in the number of men in the naval service in 1830, as compared with the number in 1817. It would be admitted that it might not be consistent with the interests of the country for Ministers to state in detail the particular reasons of a given increase in a particular year. Was it not obvious that there might exist reasons connected with our naval power, which would justify an increase in that department, and at the same time dictate silence on the subject? However, so far as his duty permitted, he would give the information required. The hon. Member took the year 1817, and asked why in 1830 should our naval force amount to 29,000 men, when in 1817 it was fixed at 19,000? This question imposed upon Government the task of accounting for an increase of 10,000 men. In 1830 we had 3,000 marines more than in 1817. The House had discussed the policy of keeping up an effective establishment of marines, and it appeared to be admitted that there was something so peculiar in the constitution and character of that force, that it was necessary to keep it up in its present state, if we wished to have an effective Navy. The Marines at present amounted to 9,000 men, of whom 4,500 were afloat, and 4,500 on shore. These divisions alternately replaced each other, and each thus became qualified for the full discharge of the peculiar duties of such a force. The 4,500 who remained at home were occupied in mixed naval and military duties; and it appeared that even those who were ashore were only two nights out of three in bed; so that their duties were not trifling. He felt the full force of observing principles of economy in time of peace as far as was consistent with the public safety; but he asked, whether we were not adopting a large and wise economy, and adding to the chances of continued peace, by keeping the naval power of the country in a good and effective state? Without saying any thing of the jealousy of other powers, and giving them full credit for peaceful intentions, he declared it to be his opinion, that the consciousness of a country's strength would be to rivals and opponents the best incentive to peace. We were called upon to adopt a decided tone in our foreign policy: how could we do so, except we were prepared to act, as well as to speak if necessary? There was a peculiar reason why, even in reference to the maintenance of peace, we should keep up our navy, and be prepared to make vigorous demonstrations if necessary. If a country were called upon suddenly to build and man ships for war, it was admitted that two years must pass (and those the most valuable and important years in a naval contest), before she would be able to defend herself with effect from a vigorous adversary, or to attack an opponent with advantage. Under the head of Marines, he had accounted for an increase of 3,000 men in our naval force of the present year as compared with 1817. He might here observe, that since 1817 events had occurred in the Mediterranean which were not foreseen at that period, and which consequently were not then provided for. He would add, that our naval force must partly depend upon that of other powers: and that last summer Russia had six sail of the line, France six or seven, and England eight sail of the line in the Mediterranean. Surely our proportion was not too much for a great maritime power to maintain under such circumstances. It was not too much when it was considered that Russia had assumed a belligerent aspect towards Turkey. But Government had taken the earliest opportunity of reducing its force, as far as it could consistently with the public interest and safety. In the last summer (although the Government had asked for only 30,000 men for the navy) it was necessary to employ 32,000. Thus the actual reduction of men in the present Estimate was not merely a reduction to 29,000 from a previous force of 30,000, but from 32,000, giving an actual reduction of 3,000 men in the department of the navy. The squadron in the Mediterranean would account for an addition of 5,300 men as compared to the force of 1817; 5,300 being employed in the Mediterranean in the summer more than at the beginning of the year. Adding this increased force of 5,300 to the 3,000 marines, he accounted for an increase of 8,300 in 1830 above the estimate of 1817. Then came the whole of the coast-blockade, which did not exist in 1817. It was perfectly true, that the coast-blockade was not to be considered as merely belonging to the navy—it was a guard against smuggling, and was prepared to perform a double service should it be required: in any exigency the men of the coast-blockade would man our ships. The coast-blockade accounted for an increase of 2,200 men; which, added to the preceding items, gave an addition of 10,500 (so accounted for) to the force of 1817. It only remained to mention the Packet-service, which was, however, merely a transfer from the Post-office to the Admiralty. It accounted for an increase of 700 men in the navy. We had thus an increase in the present year, as compared with 1817, of 11,200 men fully and satisfactorily accounted for; and Government might have fairly added to the navy by that amount; but so great an increase had not been made; a reduction of 1,200 men was made in some other respects, so that the total increase of 1830 upon 1827, amounted in the naval department to 10,000 men: the difference between 29,000 at the present, and 19,000 at the former period. Looking at the events of the last two years, at the station which we ought to hold as a maritime power, at the occurrences in the Mediterranean, at the dissensions in South America, which might by possibility affect our colonies, seeing the collisions between South American vessels and our own, looking at the war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, at the fact of the new States of America not always adhering very scrupulously to the legitimate laws of warfare, of which they were partly ignorant, to which they were, perhaps, partially indifferent, looking at the nature of the warfare carried on there, considering all these things, it did seem necessary to have a strong naval force to control excesses in one quarter and observe the issue of events in another. If Gentlemen were aware of the repeated complaints made at the Admiralty, they would think that an increase in the navy was less to be deprecated than a decrease, which would not afford sufficient protection to our trade and commerce. All these circumstances made out a *prima facie* case for an increase of our naval force. He should not go further into matters of detail, as his hon. friend only proposed a vote for the number of men upon that occasion. Neither did he wish to fight a by-battle upon other matters, as had been done by hon. Gentlemen opposite. When the question came on as to the office of Treasurer of the Navy, he should be able to show that no censure could be justly cast upon Government, notwithstanding the motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Cumberland. He trusted that the hon. Baronet would persist in his vote of censure upon Ministers, of which he had twice given notice, in order that they might take the sense of the House upon it. It would then be seen if Government deserved public reprobation for making an immediate saving of 1,000*l.* a-year, by separating the offices of President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy, and for arranging a prospective saving by these means of 2,200*l.*, by doing away with the contingent salary of Paymaster of the Navy. He could not refer to the alteration without regretting the opportunity that gave rise to it. It increased the attachment and regret which he felt for his right hon. friend the late President of the Board of Trade, when he recollected that it was by his assiduous attention to the discharge of his public duties and labours that his health became unfortunately reduced to that state which rendered it impossible for him to continue longer in office. A man of his experience, activity, and talents, found himself by the labour of the two offices of President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy, such a victim to over-exertion and anxiety, arising out of his attention to the duties of them, that he was obliged to press upon his colleagues, against the will of every one of them, the necessity of his retirement. He could not conceive a more powerful proof of the necessity of separating those two offices, as Government had done. Nothing could have been more easy for Ministers than to fill up the offices as before. If they had done so, there would not have been one word of complaint, but they separated the offices because the joint labour was too great, and because they wished to effect a public saving. He hoped when the House came to take into consideration the hon. Baronet's motion, that it would take a liberal and enlarged view of the subject, that it would recollect what had been the consequence, within the last few years, of subjecting public men to excessive labour and exertion. As a proof of the spirit of economy which actuated the Government, he should mention that the Comptrollership of Army Accounts had become vacant by death, and, instead of showing a wish to appoint any body to the office, Ministers allowed it to remain vacant, thus effecting a considerable saving for the public. He might also take this occasion to state a circumstance which reflected infinite honour upon the present Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. That noble person, taking into consideration the amount of the salary of his high office (27,000*l.*), and that it had been raised since 1797, as he assumed, in consequence of the increased price of articles of consumption and the diminished value of money, of his own accord submitted a proposition to Government to reduce his allowance from 27,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a-year, making a reduction of 7,000*l.* per annum upon the salary of one office alone. [*hear, hear.*] Under such circumstances he trusted, when the House came to dispose of the vote of censure upon Government to be proposed, and which had been twice postponed, by the hon. Baronet, that they would bear in mind the reductions that had been made, the whole course of policy adopted by Ministers, and above all, that they would not forget, whatever was the amount of expenditure of the present year, that Government had manifested no disposition to retain any part of the expenditure connected with patronage.

Sir *J. Graham* said, the right hon. Gentleman seemed disposed to taunt him for postponing his motion: he would shortly state his reasons for its postponement. When he first heard of the appointment of Mr. F. Lewis, he was forcibly struck by the discrepancy between the resolution proposed and carried by Ministers, as an amendment on his own motion, and their conduct in disposing of the Treasurership of the Navy. The resolution of Ministers was, "that it is the opinion of this House that in every establishment of the State every saving ought to be made consistently with the due performance of the public service, and without the violation of existing engagements;" this was agreed to on the 12th of

February, and on the 15th the appointment of Mr. F. Lewis took place. It was clear that there were no "existing engagements" between Government and the right hon. Member for Radnorshire, for he was in his place on the 12th of February (which he could not have been if he had been newly appointed treasurer of the Navy,) and voted on the Motion. As to the public service, he denied that it would be benefitted by the change. The question was, could not a public saving have been effected by adding the Treasurership of the Navy to the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to that of first Commissioner of Woods and Forests, or to the Vice-presidency of the Board of Trade? Again, he said the right hon. Secretary taunted him with postponing his motion on the subject; he assured the right hon. Gentleman (notwithstanding the explanation offered on the subject) he pledged himself that the sense of the House should be taken on the question. The right hon. Gentleman might be justified in calling on him to bring forward his motion, but he should not have called it "a vote of censure" upon Ministers. What he promised to do was, to bring forward a resolution condemnatory of the mode in which the office of Treasurer of the Navy had recently been filled up. He did not say that he was prepared to propose a vote of censure. The right hon. Gentleman would permit him to judge when he should move a vote of censure on Ministers. Perhaps the time was near, but whenever he thought fit to do so, he should not take the right hon. Gentleman's advice as to the time or mode of doing it. Considering that the Bosphorus and Dardanelles were in the possession of Russia,—that France was arming in the Mediterranean and the Channel, that the fate of the ministry of Prince Polignac was now upon the balance, that it was supposed to be tottering to its fall, and that it was a cabinet which was generally supposed (right or wrong) to have emanated from the influence of the British Government,—viewing all these circumstances, and looking at our foreign policy and relations, he was not prepared to vote for a reduction of men in the navy; but was nevertheless for voting the present estimates only for six months, by which time he hoped that, according to the favourite phrase, all the clouds that now overhung the horizon might be dissipated, and when the real nature of our foreign policy, now studiously concealed, might perhaps be explained. Perhaps the hon. Baronet opposite would answer these simple questions. It had been stated that since June 1821, 150,000*l.* had been saved upon salaries; but he now asked the hon. Member what had been the amount of superannuations since that period? And with respect to the superannuation allowances granted to two sons of Cabinet Ministers, he asked whether they had not been made on account of offices from which the holders were removeable at pleasure?

Mr. *Peel* said, he had never presumed to advise the hon. Baronet on the subject of his Motion. The hon. Baronet twice gave notice of his intention to move a resolution condemnatory of the mode in which Government had filled up the office of Treasurer of the Navy; and after hearing the explanation offered to-night in reference to that transaction, the hon. Baronet still persisted in his resolution, and pledged himself to bring the question before the House: let the hon. Baronet do so. He repeated, he gave the hon. Baronet no advice on the subject: he only expressed a hope that the hon. Baronet would persevere in proposing a resolution "condemnatory of Government." The hon. Baronet appeared to draw a distinction without a difference between a "condemnatory resolution" and a "vote of censure" upon the Government. For his own part he could see no difference. He had already expressed a hope that the hon. Baronet would bring forward his resolution, which had certainly been twice postponed, and was now glad to hear that the hon. Baronet intended to do so. In saying this he was far from attempting to dictate to him, he would not even presume to advise the hon. Baronet; he only expressed a hope that the motion would be brought forward, in order to obtain the opinion of the House on the subject of the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers.

Mr. Alderman *Thompson* said, it would be destructive to the commerce of the country if our naval force were further reduced. He knew it to be a fact, that British merchant ships had more than once owed their safety to the protection of French men-of-war. It was disgraceful to the country.

Sir *R. Wilson* begged to state his reasons for voting against the Amendment. While Spain was carrying on war against South America, he could not vote for reducing our seamen, because it would peril our commerce. Again, while Russia had a force of thirteen sail in the Black Sea, and of twelve sail in the Levant, and France was fitting out an expedition, he thought our Naval power would not bear reduction.

Sir *John Wrottesley* contended, that the hon. Baronet opposite had not made out his case. He could not conceive any necessity for such a large force of Marines, for he knew that between 1790 and 1793 fifty regiments of the line had been embarked in the Navy, and he also knew that they had behaved in the most gallant manner. Sir G. Cockburn had only stated that Marines accustomed to the sea were better than land soldiers.

Sir *G. Clerk* said that, with respect to the questions that had been put to him by the hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) opposite, he begged to observe, that the annuities and allowances of reduced officers were regulated by act of Parliament. As to the commissioners of the Navy and Victualling Boards, they could not properly be said to hold their offices for life. They were appointed by warrant, though it was not customary to remove them; and they were entitled to retire on a superannuation allowance of three-fourths of the salary of 1,000*l.* a year.

Mr. *George Lamb* said, that he could not have voted for the proposition of reducing the number of men, nor could he support the proposition that the vote should be taken for six months only, because he was unwilling, under existing circumstances, to give foreign nations an idea that we thought of nothing but reducing our force.

The House divided. For the Amendment 47; Against it 148.—Majority for the original Motion 101.

The following is a list of the Minority.

Bernal, R.
Benett, J.
Baring, Sir T.
Baring, B.
Buck, L. W.
Carter, H.
Calvert, C.
Denison, W. J.
Dawson, A.
Duncombe, T.
Davenport, E.
Davies, Colonel
Ebrington, Lord
Euston, Lord
Fazakerly, J. N.
Fyler, T. B.
Guise, Sir W.
Gordon, R.
Graham, Sir J.
Hobhouse, J. Cam
Honywood, W. P.
Heron, Sir R.
Ingilby, Sir W.
Jephson, C. D.
Labouchere, H.
Martin, J.
Macdonald, Sir J.
Maberly, J.
Monck, J. B.
Morpeth, Lord
O'Connell, D.
Philips, G.
Palmer, C. F.
Pallmer, N.
Protheroe, E.
Rickford, W.
Robarts, A. W.
Robinson, Sir G.
Sibthorp, Col.
Townshend, Lord C.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Webb, Col.
Whitmore, W. W.
Warburton, H.
Wood, C.
Wood, Ald.
Whitbread, W.

TELLER.

Hume, J.

Sir *George Clerk* then proposed the following Resolution—That 980,200*l.* should be granted for wages, for the said 29,000 men, at the rate of 2*l.* 12*s.* a man, a month.

Mr. *Hume* objected to going on at that late hour.

Sir *G. Clerk* understood that, as the number of men had been voted, the hon. Member could have no objection to pay their wages. He assured the hon. Member that to delay this Resolution would be an inconvenience to the public service.

Mr. *Hume* had no wish to produce such an effect.

The Resolution was then agreed to, and the House resumed.

WAYS AND MEANS.] On the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House went into a Committee on the Ways and Means.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* proposed a Resolution, that towards making good the supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of 12,000,000*l.* be raised by Exchequer-bills.

Mr. *Gordon* took this opportunity of asking the right hon. Gentleman if he intended to introduce a new set of Stamp Laws and to increase the Stamps on Legacies. He had heard in the legal profession that such was the intention of Government, and that it had already given rise to great speculation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that for some time past, the consolidation of the Stamp-laws had been under consideration, and that he hoped shortly to be able to lay the result before the House. It was natural that the consolidation of acts should give rise to speculation, but, as to debate the subject at that time would tend to increase that speculation, he should abstain from entering into further particulars.

The Resolution was agreed to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved a Resolution,—That there should be issued and applied, for advances on account of Public Works, &c. any sums paid into the Exchequer by the 5th April, 1831.—Agreed to.

The next Resolution was,—That towards making good the supplies granted to his Majesty, there should be issued and applied the sum paid into the Exchequer before the 5th April 1831, by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

Mr. *Hume* thought that the Bank ought to be paid less than it was at present for management.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the charge for management was a matter of engagement which could not be broken through.

Mr. *Maberly* thought it no more a matter of engagement than others which had been modified.

The Resolution was agreed to.

The next Resolution was, that towards making good the supplies granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 60,000*l.*, to be paid into the Exchequer by the East-India Company on account of Forces serving in India.

Mr. *Hume* thought that the Company ought to pay more. They did not pay half enough.

The Resolution was agreed to.

The next Resolution was, that towards making good the supplies granted to his Majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of 80,785*l.*, being the surplus of Ways and Means in the years 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829.—Agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, March 2.

MINUTES.] On the motion of the Earl of SHAFTESBURY, "an humble Address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct, that there be laid before the House the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd Reports of the Committee appointed to inquire into the collection and management of the Revenue in Ireland, and of the collection of Revenue arising from certain departments in Great Britain."—The Consolidated Fund Bill was read a second time.—The Clerks of the Peace Balances Bills went through a committee.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, March 2.

MINUTES.] The House ballotted for a Committee on the Wexford (town) Election Petition. The following Members were elected and sworn;—Lord John Hay, Mr. Panton Corbett, Mr. Edward Webb, Mr. R. Howard, Mr. Philip Charles Sidney, Mr. Robert V. Smith, Mr. John Easthope, Sir H. F. Cooke, Mr. J. W. Maxwell, Mr. H. Clive, Mr. F. Baring.—Mr. Calvert was ordered to be discharged from the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, on payment of his fees—Returns of the contract prices of Meat per lb., and Bread per quartern loaf, in the military districts, from 1793 to the present time; and of the prices of Timber per load, and of Oak-bark per ton at the Royal Forest, from 1819 to the present time, were ordered.

Lord *John Russell* said, that a petition had been put into his hands, some time since, complaining of the manner of voting in the town of Wexford. He had not thought it right to present it, fearing it might be mistaken for the Wexford Election Petition. If, after the Committee appointed to consider that election had formed their decision, he should bring forward the petition intrusted to his care, he hoped it would not be said that the petitioners had endeavoured, first to obtain their remedy by means of the Committee, and afterwards by another means; he had purposely withheld the petition.

SAINT GILES'S VESTRY BILL.] Lord John Russell moved the second reading of the St. Giles's Vestry Bill.

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, he did not wish to divide the House on this bill, but begged the noble Lord to postpone his motion for the second reading till the parties interested had had an opportunity of knowing something of the bill. Besides, a public committee was now sitting upon Select Vestries, and it might be well to wait for their Report on the subject.

Mr. *Ward* said, there had been a lawsuit in the parish, and it was necessary to determine upon some mode of settling these parochial differences.

Sir *T. Freemantle* was of opinion that the state of the parish required the immediate interposition of Parliament. The parish was in debt to the amount of 10,000*l.*, and a further sum of 5,000*l.* would be required to carry on the parish concerns till Lady-day. In consequence of the disputes between the Vestry and the Churchwardens, it was found impossible to collect the rates. The Vestry had 2,800*l.* in their own hands, but that sum would last only a very short time. Owing to the unsettled state of the parish, 6,000*l.* arrears of poor-rates could not be collected. He was a member of the Committee alluded to by the hon. Member for Westminster, and entertained hopes that some plan might be struck out for the management of all these parishes. However, he should support the second reading of the bill, which, he trusted, would remove some of the grounds of difference at present existing in the parish. It was not fair to say that parties were taken by surprise: due notice had been given of the Bill.

Lord *J. Russell* declined postponing his motion, on the ground that the Bill would be advantageous to the parish.

The Bill was read a second time, and committed.

CURRENCY.] Mr. *Huskisson* presented a Petition from Henry Burgess, of Lombard-street, London, on the subject of the Distress of the Country. The right hon. Gentleman observed, that in the view which the petitioner took of the distressed state of the country he partly concurred, but he did not concur in the propriety of the remedy suggested by the petitioner, an issue of small notes, and extension of the Currency.

Mr. *Western* confessed he did not approve, generally speaking, of individuals presenting their opinions to the House upon matters which did not particularly relate to themselves. However, he admitted that in some instances this course might be attended with advantage, and was disposed to consider this as one of those cases. He recommended the statements and arguments contained in the petition to the attention of the House. Last Session Mr. Burgess petitioned the House on the subject of the Currency; the Petition had been since published, and was well deserving of their consideration.

Mr. *Huskisson*, in moving that the petition be printed, concurred with the hon. Member for Essex as to the general inexpediency of individuals presenting what might be called political treatises to the House in the shape of petitions; but he thought that justice should be done to the views of the petitioner; and although he differed from some of them, he considered it desirable to present the petition, without wishing thereby to encourage the practice alluded to.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor* said, the petition was neither more nor less than a dissertation on the state of the country. He dared to say the petitioner might be a very respectable gentleman, but he must object to the expense of recording his lucubrations upon the Journals of the House.

The Petition was ordered to be printed.

COMMISSIONS OF LUNACY.] Mr. *M. A. Taylor* said, he would only trouble the House for a short time upon the Motion of which he had given notice. He hoped hon. Gentlemen would give him credit for being influenced by no motive except the good of the country, and by no view except that of benefitting the public by remedying existing abuses. He begged to be heard. If the House supposed he was going to enter into the original question respecting the custody of lunatics by the Crown, they would find themselves happily mistaken. He would take up the subject upon other grounds, and very briefly. The expense of Commissions of Lunacy had struck the public eye, and affected the public mind forcibly. He would bring forward one or two cases, which would not trench upon the duty of the Commissioners. There was, for instance, the case of Lord Portsmouth. It was dreadful to contemplate the expense that had been incurred in this; it amounted to something about 25,000*l.* He had conversed ,with several of the most eminent lawyers upon the subject, and all agreed with him; indeed two of the most celebrated had drawn up the present bill for him. He would next allude to the case of Mr. Davies, and he would say it was really frightful for any man to look upon, who might have one of his family under the jurisdiction of the Chancellor. For he knew from one of the parties that out of a fortune of some 16,000*l.*, which he (Mr. Davies) had made by his industry, he was put to an expense of nearer 4,000*l.* than 3,000*l.* He did not think that there was any Member who had not heard of this case; but, if there were, he wished him to examine it before the second reading of the bill. Well, after all this expense, Mr. Davies was found sane; he did not mean to question the sanity of Mr. Davies, but if such a case could be referred to a less expensive tribunal, it would be advantageous. As he before said, he would not enter into the details of the original statutes, which conferred upon the King the power over the person of the lunatic. It was enough to say that the King might grant to the Lord Chancellor his full powers over the lunatic: but then it was necessary that his Lordship should appoint a commission to inquire whether the party were sane or not. This commission was bound to enter into the general question, for the purpose of reporting on it to the Chancellor, three of the commissioners forming a Court. Now there were cases which could be at once decided by these commissioners; but there were others of extreme difficulty, requiring a species of knowledge in which these gentlemen, as Chancery barristers, could not be so well versed. From their want of familiarity with oral evidence, they were not *au fait*, were not up to, what the *nisi prius* advocates were about, they were not acquainted with the mode of conducting a *viva voce* examination. In the next place, he would ask how did this Commission sit? Frequently from ten or eleven in the forenoon to four in the afternoon. The present Chancellor had certainly, much to his credit, diminished the expense by curtailing the jurors of the dinner formerly allowed. But he would take upon himself to say that Mr. Davies's case, which had gone on for week after week, might have been decided by a Judge and Jury in two days. Were they then to suffer this to go on, when they could find another tribunal which might be more happily applied to the conducting of such inquiries? The Judges ought, in his opinion, to be employed in them. Some, he understood, objected, on account of the pressure of business; but there were others, such as the Puisne Barons of the Common Pleas and Exchequer, who had no right to complain of want of leisure. His proposition, therefore, was a very simple one—it was to empower the Lord Chancellor, if he should think it advisable, to inquire by a Jury in his Majesty's Courts of Record into questions of lunacy, in lieu of sending them before a Commission, as at present constituted. His opinion decidedly was, that the Lord Chancellor already possessed the power of sending the question respecting a man's sanity to be tried in any of the Courts of Record, as he might the common issue whether a man was of sane mind when he made his will, although a doubt concerning his sanity might afterwards arise; but the consideration to be entertained was whether, as the statute conferring this power was obsolete, it would not be more prudent to make a new act upon the subject. That was the course pursued in the case of the Earl of Portsmouth, and the result every body was acquainted with. The Bill he proposed to introduce was a very short one, and would only empower the Chancellor to issue a commission to one of the Judges to try the fact whether the person was a lunatic or not, instead of directing it to such gentlemen as were now usually appointed commissioners. At present he knew there was a Jury, but from the rank and situation of the Commissioners, the Jury paid less attention to them than they would do to one of the Judges, and the Commissioners themselves were frequently unacquainted with *nisi prius* law, so that the consequence was, that the parties were really in the hands of the counsel. He did not think that this system could be continued with any advantage to those who might be concerned in such transactions. The Commissioners possessed none of that influence which was always attached to the Judge, and could not say with the same confidence of authority, when evidence was tendered to them which they thought improper, that such evidence was inadmissible. In his opinion, no one could look at the case of Mr. Davies without coming to the conclusion to which he had arrived. He was not prepared to say at that moment that the course he recommended should be adopted in all cases. This was not the proper time to discuss that question. He merely proposed to give the Chancellor a certain power, where the exercise of it would be attended with manifest justice to all concerned. He asked permission to introduce a bill which should give the Lord Chancellor the same power to order the question of lunacy to be tried before a judge, that he now possessed to order it to be tried before commissioners. The responsibility attached to the exercise of this power might be placed in the hands of the Chancellor or the Keeper of the Great Seal, who should say whether the trial ought to take place before a judge, upon the consideration of the importance of the case, of the time it was likely to occupy, and other circumstances, on which it might be in his option to adjudicate. He had collected upon this subject all the opinions he could, in order to guide him in forming his own judgment, and he had not found one gentleman who did not think that his object would be well attained by the measure he now proposed. He should be glad to hear any objections that might be made against the measure, in order the more to consider it, and the better to fit it for the purpose for which it was designed. As to that purpose itself, he thought there could be no objection to it, since he was satisfied that no one willingly entertained the idea of supporting a system which was no better than a legal mode of plundering the property of a lunatic. He did not mean to attribute such an evil to the commissioners themselves, for the objection existed to the nature of the tribunal itself, and not to the men of whom it was composed. If that tribunal were changed, and a Judge of a superior court were substituted for these commissioners, he believed it would be seen that a case involving a question of lunacy, like that of the late Lord Teynham, tried a short time since, would be, as that had been, disposed of in three days, and justice would be perfectly attained, instead of occupying a period of three weeks, at a most enormous expense, like that of Mr. Davies. The hon. Member concluded by moving "for leave to bring in a Bill authorising the Lord Chancellor, in all cases where he should think it advisable, to issue his Commission to any one of the Judges of one of the superior Courts of Record at Westminster, empowering him to inquire before a Jury into cases of alleged lunacy, instead of the present Commission issued for that purpose."

The *Solicitor General* thought, that in the description which the hon. Member had given, he had taken the exception for the rule, and had supposed that these enormous expenses were incurred in all cases, instead of a very few. He lamented that they should be incurred in any case; but he must say, that in his opinion the hon. Member had over-rated the evil. In admitting that the expense was sometimes very large he must observe that the occasion on which large expenses were incurred ought to be recollected. It was generally a contest between near relations; and when that was the case, every body was aware that they were carried on in a more bitter spirit than contests between any other persons. But besides this, the question to be decided was always one of importance: it was not merely whether a man should be deprived of his civil liberty, but whether he should cease to be treated as a rational creature. For the purpose of proving or denying the imputation of insanity, clouds of witnesses were required, and surely no one could object to expenses incurred to put an end to so terrible a charge as that of insanity. If the system were objectionable, the hon. Member, instead of confining his motion to this particular portion of it, ought to go into a revision of the whole, and not attempt to patch up that which was in itself defective. He thought, considering the great delicacy and difficulty of the subject, that it would be better to leave it to the Chancellor to pronounce on the circumstances of each particular case, and to direct such inquiries to persons conversant with cases of lunacy, instead of submitting them to a mode of inquiry which was subject to all the inconveniences arising from the hurry at *nisi prius,* to which he should most certainly object. In trials of such a nature, a verdict might be returned that would leave the unhappy person to deplore, during his whole life, the change which the hon. Member had effected. The bill was, besides, needless, for the Chancellor had now the power to name whom he pleased as commissioners on these inquiries, and Lord Chancellor Eldon had often acted upon that power. If he thought that the measure affected the character of the leading persons now usually appointed commissioners, he should certainly oppose it. As to their being often practising barristers, he could assert from his own knowledge, that they would not be wanting in authority if that was conceded to knowledge, though they might if it was only yielded to knowledge when united to judicial rank. The case of Lord Teynham was not to be cited on this occasion; for it was a very different thing, in every respect, to determine after a man's death whether he had been a lunatic, and to decide the question during his life. He thought there was an advantage in a mixed Commission, and there was one objection to making the Judges Commissioners in such cases, namely, that the question of lunacy must by the law be tried in the neighbourhood of the place where the subject of inquiry lived. He wished to see what the bill was, and should reserve his objections, if he had any, to the second reading.

Mr. *R. Gordon* believed that no one who remembered the cases of the Earl of Portsmouth and Mr. Davies could doubt that the present system was defective. He should propose to go further than the hon. Member, and inquire into the whole system. He thought that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the mode of conducting these investigations, and the expense attending them. He objected to the great expense in the first steps of such a cause, and he thought these expenses should be investigated, though he admitted that great caution ought to be used before a man was put upon what might be called his trial for lunacy.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he was disposed to defer the discussion till after the Bill had been brought in. The appointment of practising barristers had been referred to as a cause of delay and expense. In one respect it might be so; and if they went further, and no barrister was appointed a judge, then we might hope to get rid of a portion of our present legal expenses, by getting rid of the technicalities which practising barristers were sure to acquire, and the love of which they carried with them to the bench. He agreed with the Solicitor General, that to attack a part, instead of the whole of the system, might prove an aggravation rather than a mitigation of the evil. If it were said that a difficulty existed in the law, requiring the inquiry to be carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of the alleged lunatic, the answer was, that the object of this Bill was to change the law, and of course to get rid of such a difficulty. It was of no use in such a question to talk of the hurry of *nisi prius*. If there was not a sufficient number of functionaries more might be appointed, though at the same time the emoluments of particular individuals might be diminished. This was a portion of that particular reform, the reform in the law and its administration, which was the most necessary kind of reform in this country, with one exception only, which he could mention.

Sir *C. Wetherell* said, that the law had in different ages and times been the subject of attack; but in the direction of this branch of the jurisdiction of his Court, there never had been an impeachment on the honour and integrity or humanity of any Lord Chancellor. He, therefore, for one, would not consent to the revision of a system, against which there never had been any complaint; but he should be glad to discuss the question, whether there might not be some cases in which the Chancellor might, with advantage, submit the decision to a Judge, instead of sending it, as at present, to be adjudicated upon before Commissioners. So far he should have no objection to the Bill, but he would oppose it if it went to effect any diminution of the power of the Great Seal.

Dr. *Phillimore* said, the present mode of conducting such inquiries had been successful in its results. None of the decisions of Commissioners and Juries had been reversed.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor*, in reply, said he had no intention to intrench on the jurisdiction of the Chancellor, but to substitute what he thought would be a better tribunal than the present for the determination of lunacy cases. The excellent manner in which Lord Teynham's case was tried in three days instead of three weeks, satisfied him that the change he proposed would be a great improvement.

Leave was given to bring in the Bill.

MR. NASH—CROWN LANDS.] Colonel *Davies* rose, he said, in the fulfilment of a pledge he had given last Session, to bring forward an inquiry into the conduct of an individual against whom he was under the necessity of making a charge of the gravest nature, and which had already been the subject of inquiry before a Select Committee. He assured the House that he felt considerable pain in the discharge of this duty. The world was so apt to attribute motives of a private nature to an accuser, that their sympathies were generally excited against him, and in favour of the accused. If that were generally the case, his situation was tenfold more embarrassing, as he had, in some degree, to contend with the resolutions of a Committee, appointed at his own suggestion. Nothing but a sense of public duty and a feeling of the public interest, which was involved to a great extent in the present inquiry, could have induced him to proceed with such a charge. On that occasion too he had not only to accuse Mr. Nash, he had also to prefer a serious accusation against one of the principal Ministers of the Crown—the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the Committee that right hon. Gentleman had exerted his talents and his influence to throw a cloak over the delinquencies of Mr. Nash; and, instead of discharging the duty of an impartial judge, he had assumed the character of a zealous partisan. The House would recollect, that last Session a Select Committee had been appointed to inquire into the conduct of Mr.

Nash, architect and surveyor to the Crown. He would not fatigue the House by reading the voluminous evidence given before that Committee, though he should beg leave to draw its attention to some points in it. The history of the case was this; in 1819, when the improvements in Pall-Mall East, and Suffolk-street, were in contemplation, Mr. Nash received directions from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to survey and report upon the Crown-lands in that neighbourhood. Shortly after the report was made, a person of the name of Edwards, a near relation of Mr. Nash, applied for a large plot of the ground which had been cleared, admitting that he had consulted Mr. Nash upon the subject. He finally obtained a grant upon the valuation made by Mr. Nash, and, according to his statement, employed him as his agent to sub-let the ground. Edwards then went abroad for about a year, and on his return, according to the evidence, an interesting scene took place between him and Mr. Nash in the country, in consequence of which he surrendered his interest to Mr. Nash, who in a most friendly manner offered Edwards 4,500*l.* for his bargain (which bargain Nash had himself made), and for that sum he became the purchaser. It ought not to be forgotten that, during the absence of Mr. Edwards, Mr. Nash had let the plot of ground at improved rents, although he had not laid out a single shilling in the improvement of the property. Having thus become the purchaser for 4,500*l.*, Mr. Nash received no less than 14,600*l.* in improved ground-rents. Thus Mr. Nash himself became the lessee of the Crown, although that fact was not known until three years afterwards; and in the mean time the Office of Woods and Forests supposed that he was acting on behalf of the Crown, in order to let the land to the best advantage. In order to make out a case, Mr. Nash had brought forward a highly respectable and eminent surveyor and architect, of the name of Shaw, who had also valued the land, and had arrived at nearly the same conclusion as Mr. Nash; but then he omitted a very material circumstance, that this ground, the rental of which to Mr. Edwards was 900*l.*, was to be held for the three first years at a peppercorn rent, making, as he himself acknowledged, a difference of no less than 2,700*l.* Mr. Shaw had said, as a reason for putting a lower value upon the property, that it was a hazardous speculation: he (Colonel Davies) denied that it was so, and after the old buildings were once removed, the applications for the ground were numerous. The noble Lord at the head of the Woods and Forests had proved himself a most efficient public servant, and as soon as he became acquainted with some of the leading facts of the case, he wrote upon the subject to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, objecting to the course that had been pursued, especially to the circumstance that Mr. Nash had become the purchaser from Edwards, and stating in addition, that the frontage, which had been stated by Mr. Nash to be only eighty-two feet, was, in fact, between ninety-seven and ninety-eight feet. These were points which the noble Lord had urged; it was fit that Mr. Nash should be called upon to explain. The discovery of the difference of frontage was made by the noble Lord himself, who, on coming one day from the University Club, stepped the distance and found that it had been greatly understated; from 1820 to 1829, however, this important variance had escaped notice. It could not be alleged by Mr. Nash that he was ignorant of the true measurement, because the extent of frontage to each house was stated in the margin of each lease he had granted, as the purchaser of the interest from Edwards. These were the principal outlines of the evidence; but he (Colonel Davies) begged to refer the House to the evidence of Mr. Shaw, in which he strongly censured the situation in which Mr. Nash had placed himself; and, in answer to a question, said, that as a broad principle, no agent ought to be allowed to become a party. Mr. Nash, employed by the Crown, had first become the agent of Edwards, then the purchaser of the grant to Edwards, and kept the Crown in complete ignorance of the whole of the transaction. He (Colonel Davies) had found some difficulty in establishing these facts; but they ought to be taken as facts the more readily, as they were extorted from reluctant witnesses, and were matters they could not deny, and would willingly have concealed. Even Mr. Milne, the Secretary to the department of Woods and Forests, had not given his testimony without considerable repugnance. Having gone through the case as far as regarded Suffolk-street, he would now proceed to the circumstances connected with the grant of Crown-lands in the Regent's Park. If what he had already advanced were worthy of attention, what he was now about to offer was still more deserving notice. About this period of his (Colonel Davies's) statement last Session, a right hon. Gentleman, who was shortly to take his seat as Treasurer of the Navy, moved that the Gallery should be cleared; the consequence was, that the right hon. Gentleman injured the cause he meant to aid, inasmuch as the first charge he (Colonel Davies) had made, went forth to the public without an answer. The facts of the case connected with the Regent's Canal were these:—In 1816, the directing Committee of that undertaking made application to the Office of Woods and Forests, to obtain a lease of four acres of Crown-lands abutting on the Regent's Canal, in consideration of various expenses in making a collateral cut, basin, &c. Mr. Nash was at that time a very active member of the Committee of the Regent's Canal, and being called upon as the Surveyor of the Crown-lands to make a report on this subject, he made such a report to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, who upon that took the matter into consideration. The Commissioners, in the result, thought and expressed their opinion, that it would be more advantageous to have the Canal Company for tenants instead of an individual, and accordingly it was determined that the request of the Company should be conceded. It was suggested, however, that no valid lease could be made with the Company; and in order to avoid this legal difficulty, the Committee of the Regent's Canal Company consented that the lease should be made out in the name of Mr. Nash. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests believed that the reason for this change was merely to overcome the legal difficulty, and that Mr. Nash was only to stand forward as the trustee of the Company. The understanding, however, between Nash and the Company was, that he was to be its nominee; and some of the members of the Company, when examined before the Committee, stated that they thought that Mr. Nash had stepped forward to relieve the Company, and not for his own pecuniary advantage. Nevertheless, six years afterwards, the Committee of the Canal Company applied for a grant of four more acres of Crown-land, and the application was signed by Edwards and Lyon, as solicitors for the Company. Strange as it might appear, the Company were in no respect privy to this request, they knew nothing of it; for it happened that Edwards and Lyon, besides being solicitors to the Company, were also solicitors to Mr. Nash, and they had applied for a further grant of Crown-land in the name of the Company, when, in fact, it was for the sole private benefit of Mr. Nash. This fact came out in the evidence of Lord Macclesfield before the Select Committee. Mr. Nash, singular as it might appear, was required by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to report upon these circumstances; and instead of saying, as he ought to have done, I cannot properly report upon a matter in which I am personally interested, he did execute his task; and what was the result of his inquiry? He recommended that the subsisting leases, to which he was a party, for fifty years, should be extended to sixty-one years. All this time the department of Woods and Forests supposed that the leases had been granted to the Regent's Canal Company; and five years afterwards, as was evident from the correspondence, they were in profound ignorance of the real nature of the transaction. The next step was, an application further to extend the term of the leases from sixty-one to ninety-nine years, on the ground that tenants for the wharfs could not be procured at a shorter term. Such was the allegation at the time; but before the Committee, the solicitor for Mr. Nash was obliged to admit that fifteen out of seventeen wharfs had been let for terms not exceeding fifty-four years. Upon these wharfs Mr. Nash had not been at the expense of a single shilling beyond the walling of the Canal Basin, which was, in fact, paid for in other ways. The case then stood thus: for the first seventeen years of the term it was stipulated that Mr. Nash should pay for the wharfs a rent of 54*l.* 14*s.* And what was the amount he actually received from his tenants for the same wharfs?—No less than 1,698*l.*, leaving him, therefore, a clear profit of 1,643*l.* 6*s.* For the next seven years he was to pay 63*l.*, so that his profit would only be reduced to 1,635*l.* For the next fourteen years his rent to the Crown was to be 634*l.*, and he would, consequently, gain 1,064*l.* during that period. For the remainder of the term the rent to the Crown was raised to 1,321*l.*, by which his profit would be reduced to 377*l.* per annum. This extraordinary advantage had been obtained, as he (Colonel Davies) contended, on false pretences, Mr. Nash having taken advantage of the situation he filled and of the influence he enjoyed. Under these circumstances, he put it to the law officers of the Crown whether leases so obtained were valid, and though no lawyer, he would venture to assert that they might be set aside. He had only one further circumstance to mention. It was the duty of Mr. Nash, as surveyor and architect of the Crown, to take care that all the building materials used were most substantial. The Committee charged Mr. Nash not with fraud—they said there was nothing in the evidence laid before them to raise a doubt of his integrity; but Mr. Nash himself afforded the fullest evidence that he had been guilty of fraud; he sold bricks at 16*s.* a thousand as bricks of the best quality, and those intended for Cursitor-street he used in Regent-street, though they were of an inferior quality, and though it was stipulated that none but those of the higher qualities should be used in the latter. There was no one who thought proper to take the trouble of looking from the back windows of the University Club-house, who might not see one of the most extraordinary pieces of patch-work that ever had been dignified with the name of architecture. Again, Mr. Nash was paid for reporting upon his own work: it was also in evidence that he first got four acres of ground, and then eight; and disposed of that land at a profit of 1,643*l.* and that was effected under false pretences. The hon. and gallant Member then proceeded to read from the Report of the Committee its Resolution, stating that there was no ground laid before the Committee for impeaching the integrity of Mr. Nash. Now, should the Chancellor of the Exchequer job in the public funds as Mr. Nash had jobbed in the public land, what would the House think of it? Yet the whole conduct of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that of a partisan—yes; through every stage of the proceedings directed against Mr. Nash, the right hon. Gentleman threw around him the shield of ministerial influence. He defied the right hon. Gentleman, or any of his friends, to show that a single question had been put by the Chancellor of the Exchequer which had not, or did not at least appear to have, for its object to screen Mr. Nash. Certain charges, as the House knew, had been brought before the House last year, but they did not amount to one-tenth of the evidence that he now adduced. If the House could be induced to grant a new Committee, he (Colonel Davies) had pledged himself to the House that he could throw much new light upon the matter which had been referred to the former Committee; and he had no doubt that the result of that further information would be, that the House could then have little difficulty in coming to a resolution to agree to an Address for the removal of Mr. Nash from his present situation. Would it be believed, that in a time like the present, when the cry of distress was universal through the land, that anything like the show of a defence could be set up for conduct like that of Mr. Nash? Could the cry of economy now proceeding from every quarter be stopped by a ministerial majority? Was the present a time when such jobs as those which he then endeavoured to denounce, would be tolerated by a suffering people? He concluded by moving, "that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the conduct of Mr. Nash with respect to the Crown-lands in the county of Middlesex."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that last year the hon. and gallant Officer had made some hardy assertions, which were certainly not borne out by the evidence laid before the Committee; and by the results attendant upon those assertions they could judge how far his assertions of this year were to be regarded. Every man who attended that Committee must have seen how much at variance those assertions were with the facts. The hon. and gallant Member had thought proper to charge him with defending Mr. Nash at the expense of integrity, honour, and every principle which should govern the conduct of a public man. Yes, he told the House that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had throughout acted like a partisan, proceeding as if he were determined, right or wrong, to carry Mr. Nash through, and that in the most improper and corrupt manner; that was language which the hon. Member was not entitled to apply to him anywhere else, except in that House; but those who heard it would judge of it by the former unproved assertions of the hon. Member; and by those unproved statements of his they would judge how far it was likely that, if a new Committee were granted, he would succeed in laying before it, and proving, charges ten times as great and important as those the hon. Member preferred last year. As to the charges made against himself, of partisanship and improper support of Mr. Nash, he was sure the House would do him the justice to believe that his sole object was to do his duty to the public on the one hand, and to the individual accused on the other. Influenced by a motive such as that, he had carefully attended to the evidence on both sides; and having arrived at a different conclusion from the hon. Member, he certainly felt bound to propose to the Committee a resolution expressive of the view which he took of the subject generally, and of the conduct of Mr. Nash; and he should most certainly defend that resolution, without being deterred by any threat or by any imputation that might be attempted to be thrown upon his honour or character. Such imputations, he confessed, came upon him as a matter of complete surprise; for he was perfectly unaware that the hon. Member meant to make his conduct a subject of accusation. If he thought that accusation could have any weight with the House, he could satisfy every Member, as he had satisfied the Committee, that the views he took of the conduct of Mr. Nash were perfectly correct. The House had entertained charges against Mr. Nash; had appointed a Committee to inquire into those charges; and would they then, at the instance of a minority of that Committee, retry the same individual on the same charges? The hon. Member had charged him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) with being a partisan of Mr. Nash, and with endeavouring to secure his acquittal against justice, and against the sense of the Committee. How could he, proposing a Resolution in that Committee, carry it against the sense of the members of that Committee. The hon. Member selected that Committee. [*no, no.*] And how could he suppose that a person opposed to him could have any success? In saying that the hon. Member selected that Committee, he merely meant that he had chosen the members of it as persons likely to judge fairly, and who were capable of coming to a sound decision; that they were amongst the fittest that could be chosen, and the least likely to be under the influence of Government, could be proved by reference to their names, many of them including the names of the hon. Member's own friends. It had been said that he came down to the Committee with a Resolution ready drawn up, exculpatory of Mr. Nash, and that he came down determined to force it upon the Committee; yet the facts were opposed to that, for the Resolution was not agreed to till after considerable discussion. Again, no Committee could be found less affected in his favour by political prejudices—if they could be supposed to have any weight in an inquiry wherein the question was one affecting the honour and character of an individual. Here was a gentleman tried and acquitted before a Committee; and if a new Committee were to be appointed to do the work of the former Committee over again, in that way Mr. Nash might be hunted Session after Session, until the most unjust decision were at length arrived at. The more especially was the House bound to resist the present Motion, considering the state of health of the individual in question, when that state was such as made it extremely doubtful whether or not it would be in his power to attend the sittings of the Committee. Finally, he had only to add, that if any hon. Member besides the Mover thought him capable of all that had been charged against him, he hoped that such a sentiment might be openly stated, for then, though not till then, he should feel it necessary to enter at length into the evidence and proceedings of the Committee, for the purpose of removing any such impression. He never had the slightest knowledge of Mr. Nash till he entered upon his present situation. With these few observations he should content himself, unless further accusation should lead him to go through the evidence and the ninety-seven documents laid before the Committee.

Mr. *Arbuthnot* said, that the Member for Preston had drawn up the Resolution of acquittal; and knowing that, as well as the other proceedings of the Committee, he could not help feeling the utmost astonishment at the statement of the hon. and gallant Officer. He really expected from him something more of generosity candour, and good feeling, than he had manifested on that occasion. The hon. Member must have misunderstood or garbled the evidence, to come to so extraordinary a conclusion.

Mr. *Warburton* said, he was not present at the last sitting of the Committee, and probably he should not have arrived at the same decision as that of the majority of the Committee. He contended, that no lease should be given to a surveyor of lands which it should become his duty to set a value on; and he put it to the noble Lord, whether he had not refused lately to sign leases upon that very ground, until the Attorney and Solicitor Generals had given their opinion upon the subject; for there had been a recent attempt to set aside a lease, owing to the circumstance of its having been made to the surveyor. He called the attention of the House to the Resolution agreed to by the Committee, in which they stated "that although there was no evidence that any loss had accrued from the conduct of Mr. Nash, yet it was the opinion of the Committee that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests ought not to grant leases to surveyors or architects having any immediate interest, or being liable to be called on to give their opinions, until their duty, as surveyors or architects, had ceased." Thus, by implication, they did convey an opinion that Mr. Nash had an immediate interest in the lands which had been made the subject of observation. Besides, it was most important to observe, that the charges made last year would have been much more full and numerous had they not been brought forward at so late a period of the last Session. During the present Session there would be time enough to go through them all, and his hon. and gallant friend had pledged himself to bring forward further charges if the House would only grant him a fresh Committee.

Mr. *Ward* said, he was a member of the Regent's Canal Committee, and there the conduct of Mr. Nash had been made the subject of discussion. The facts there brought to light were certainly such as enabled him to bear favourable testimony to the conduct of Mr. Nash.

Mr. *Maberly* said, that having been one of the minority on that Committee he would support the Motion, and he contended that the transaction between Mr. Nash and Mr. Edwards looked very like a partnership concern, though he was bound to admit that no evidence proving that had been adduced before the Committee. What struck him as singular was that Mr. Edwards had accepted of Mr. Nash 4,500*l.* which was just the half of the 9,000*l.* the property purchased in the name of Edwards was then proved to be worth, and which was for that sum made over to Mr. Nash. He doubted, too, whether Mr. Nash, or the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, had even made a title that would stand investigation in an Equity Court. In his opinion, however, the attack that had been made upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not warranted. Whether the Committee was granted or not, he thought that his gallant friend had made out a case against Mr. Nash which the Government ought not only to take into its consideration, but also to take care that it never occurred again. From the Resolutions that had been passed by the Committee, he thought that it was a fair inference that they were dissatisfied with the transaction: and though the Committee had not actually pronounced, that fraud existed on the part of Mr. Nash, it was pretty evident that that gentleman had not properly discharged his duty, and that any one acting as he had done would be held culpable in the public estimation.

Mr. *Calcraft* said, he would appeal to the House whether the Committee could have come to the resolutions they did on the case, as stated by the hon. Member? The fact was, that the gallant Member, in giving what he called a fair narrative of the case, quoted the answers given to his own questions only, and not one tittle of any other part of the evidence. The gallant Member had complained that he had been called upon to prove his expressions; there was very good reason for this, his expressions were charges against Mr. Nash, and he was, therefore, required to prove them. The gallant Member had also complained that the Committee and the witnesses were against him; but he had forgotten to mention that there was one person still more against him, and that was no other than the gallant Member himself; for never had he seen anything managed with so much ill-temper, or with such an appearance of personal animosity, and such a total neglect of everything like public duty. It had been proved in evidence, that there was no connivance whatever between Mr. Nash and Mr. Edwards: on the contrary, when the ground in Pall-Mall-East was leased to Mr. Edwards, that gentleman was abroad, and when he returned, finding that the ground was much more than he wanted, he was therefore very anxious to get rid of it. Then it was, that Mr. Nash took the ground. Mr. Edwards declined to build on it, and Mr. Nash thinking it would be a good speculation undertook that himself. The Committee had decided, indeed, that Mr. Nash ought not to have acted in a double character; but this he could tell the House, that if Mr. Nash had not been speculator as well as surveyor, Regent-street would never have been finished. Mr. Nash at great risk and hazard had carried that noble project into complete execution. He (Mr. Calcraft) would undertake to say, that with all his speculations Mr. Nash had been no gainer, but had involved himself in great responsibility and risk. As to the attack on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he need not say one word, for there was no other man but the gallant Colonel in that House that would have brought such an accusation. In this respect the gallant Colonel had been more unlucky than ever; for in the attack on Mr. Nash he had only had the Committee and witnesses against him; but in this very foul aspersion on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had the whole House against him.

Mr. *Rumbold* was of opinion, as the charges had been already investigated, that there was no occasion for further inquiry.

Sir *M. W. Ridley* said, he should vote against the Motion, for it appeared to him to be nothing more than an attempt to get a Committee to find fault with a former Committee. But though he opposed the Committee, he was authorised by Mr. Nash (who was now suffering under illness severely aggravated by the repeated attacks upon him) to state that he had no desire to avoid any inquiry; and that he was ready to adopt any course which the House might impose, as he felt that nothing could be adduced against him to touch either his honour or his character. One fact he would state concerning Mr. Nash, because it would serve to show the spirit by which he was actuated. When the new street was first in agitation, Foley-house and gardens were offered for sale, and Mr. Nash gave 4,000*l.* more than any other bidder, and afterwards cut it up into shreds and patches for the purpose of suiting the objects of the new street line, by which he greatly depreciated the value of his property. [*hear, hear.*]

Mr. *Protheroe* said, that the last Committee had decided upon good grounds, and the House ought not to go into any further investigation. [The hon. Member was disposed to address the House at greater length but was interrupted by cries of "Question."]

Mr. *Monck* was also much interrupted by cries of "Question!" The resolutions of the Committee, he said, did not go to the entire acquittal of Mr. Nash. In his opinion, that gentleman's conduct had been not only improper, but illegal, and he put it to the noble Lord at the head of the Woods and Forests to say whether he could approve of it.

Colonel *Davies*, in reply, said that he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Calcraft) on having found his voice, for it was long since the House had heard its melodious sounds. No doubt there were very proper reasons for his silence, what they were he did not know—perhaps it was owing to his getting among those whom he had been lampooning and abusing all his political life. The right hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had certainly refused to consent to two very reasonable resolutions in the Committee—one being only the statement of a matter of fact, and the other stating that there were sufficient grounds to justify the inquiry. He had no wish to re-try Mr. Nash; but he wanted an examination into fresh matter, which owing to the lateness of the inquiry last year, he had not been able to bring forward. At all events, he trusted that Government would cause the houses in the Regent's Park, and Regent-street, and still more Buckingham Palace, to be surveyed; for he thought that a great deal of foul play would in consequence come to light. With respect to the division of the Committee, Lord Milton, Sir Joseph Yorke, Mr. W. Whitmore and Mr. Warburton were unable to be present at the division; and he could answer for it, that all those hon. Members would have voted for the resolution which the Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed. As the Minister had said, that he would not allow the Committee, he (Colonel Davies) knew that the matter was settled, and that it would be of no use to press a division. At all events, he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had discharged his duty to the House and the country.

Motion negatived without a division.

Late Ex Officio Prosecutions.] Sir *C. Wetherell* rose [*a little before ten o'clock*] to bring forward his Motion, he said, on the subject of certain recent prosecutions which had excited much of the public attention. In rising to bring on so important a discussion, he was aware of the onerous nature of the duty which he was about to discharge; he was, besides, and so must the House be at that hour, a little fatigued, from attention to previous business. Since he had the honour, however, of a seat in that House, he had always, perhaps too long, found the members consideratively attentive to his humble appeals to their indulgence. Indeed, he knew from some experience, how great was their patience, their sense of duty, and their diligence in attending to all matters of general importance, without being diverted from the consideration of them by any reference to the humble ability of the person who introduced them. It was this which induced him to think, however inauspicious were the circumstances under which his Motion appeared; however disadvantageous the position in which he stood as an individual, that nevertheless they would not withdraw from him their attention while he discharged what he felt to be an imperative duty, in bringing forward a question, which he believed would be found so important as to maintain itself against his own comparative incompetency. Indeed, if the House could, as he had seen, devote itself for above two hours to discuss the construction of some such thing as a lease in the progress of some public improvements, if a trial of that kind could have been thus carried on for two hours, the trial of Mr. Alexander would, he hoped, be listened to with equal patience, since it involved so many considerations of more paramount importance. Before he stated the subject matter to which he wished their attention to be more particularly directed, he trusted they would not deem him trespassing on their patience, or incurring a charge of presumption (from which he should gladly escape) while he stated two or three reasons which prompted him to come forward on this occasion. It was well known that he now stood in a situation perfectly different from that in which he had previously stood towards Lord Lyndhurst, the Duke of Wellington, and the right hon. Secretary of State for the Home Department. From the position in which he had once been placed with regard to these individuals, when he was asked to undertake the defence of Mr. Alexander in the three informations in the Court of King's Bench, he had then declined, knowing that as an advocate in Westminster Hall he should be precluded from touching on any topics not contained in the record. But if, after the trial of that individual had taken place, he thought thereby the fair liberty of the press, the privileges of the House of Commons, and the spirit of the Constitution had been invaded, he then had a right, in that House, and in the exercise of that unrestrained and unrestrainable free agency which belonged to every Member of the House of Commons, to take up those topics of discussion, and to inquire how far the course pursued at Westminster Hall was consistent with the practice and spirit of the Constitution. But if, in doing so, he should assume any point which was untenable, if he made any complaint which was groundless, if he urged any objection against the Government, its ministers and officers, which was unfounded in fact, and untenable in principle, or not congenial to the sense, spirit, and language of the Constitution, he was liable to the reprehension of the House: his absurdities would be open to ridicule, and his arguments to refutation. He therefore could not be considered as pursuing an unmanly course, in making objections in that House against the proceedings which had taken place in Westminster Hall, because there he was exposing himself to that sort of ordeal to which he would not have been subject elsewhere. In declining elsewhere to undertake the advocacy of the person charged with libel, he had reserved to himself the right of calling the attention of the House to some points which he considered as most important with regard to the privileges of the House, and the constitutional law of the land, certainly the most important which had ever been discussed since the Revolution. [*hear, hear.*] The papers and documents for which he should move, were copies of the proceedings in the three *ex officio* informations which had recently been tried in the Court of King's Bench against Mr Alexander, the editor of a paper called the Morning Journal, copies of the several judgments entered against him upon the records of the above informations, and how the same were entered, an exact minute of the terms in which each jury pronounced their verdict against him upon each of the above informations, and an exact minute of the terms in which any of the juries expressed a recommendation of him to mercy. Those were the documents to which his Motion applied. It was true that the Motion contained no notice of any practical measure to be proposed in the way of legislative enactment. Any ulterior measure, however, of such a nature must depend on the acquiescence or non-acquiescence of the House in those views, which, if its candour and indulgence would permit, he should have the honour of laying before it. His present Motion, however, only went to the production of those papers, in order that that House and the public might have before them, as parliamentary documents, proper data on which they might form an opinion as to the legality, fairness, or candour of the proceedings to which those papers related. He should never have made the present Motion on his own individual opinion that those proceedings were unfair and unconstitutional, but he had been informed that throughout the Kingdom they had excited general dissatisfaction. He had been informed, and he believed the fact to be, that those multiplications of official informations against an individual editor of a newspaper, were not so much intended to beat down the editor as to beat down the cause which that editor represented. He had been informed, that not only those persons who had been the vanquished party on the great question of Catholic emancipation, but that all persons of every description and party, thought that the late proceedings in Westminster Hall were partial, unfair, and oppressive. Why he had not undertaken the defence of Mr. Alexander elsewhere he had already stated; but he was bound in that House to state his own opinion, that the proceedings taken against that gentleman were partial and oppressive; and he would take the liberty of stating to the House why he thought so. He could assure the House that he had devoted no small labour to the investigation of this important topic, and nothing less than the consciousness of having a substantial case to lay before the House would have induced him to enter into its discussion as a Member of Parliament. He therefore took the liberty of calling the attention of the House to those proceedings, the papers of which his Motion sought to have laid on the table. The House was aware that there had been recently filed against Mr. Alexander three *ex officio* informations. The first was for a libel against Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst; the second for a libel on the Duke of Wellington and his Majesty; and the third was for a libel, which he was unable to describe in any other way than by calling it an omnibus libel, or what in cookery was named hodge-podge. It was for a libel against the Government, against the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, whose dignity ought to have required something more distinct, against the House of Commons; and for an attempt to inflame the people, *cum quibusdam aliis.* Such an information had no precedent in the records of any court of justice. Those were the three informations, exact copies of which his Motion sought to have laid on the Table; and if in what he was about to address to the House he should impugn men, not measures, he hoped the House would remember how difficult it was to speak *de re* without speaking *de personâ*; if he should happen to allude to any thing which might be personally offensive to any one—*quod Deus avertat*—he could say most conscientiously, and as a man of honour, that no person would feel more hurt thereby than the individual who was now addressing the House. All he could say was, that if any thing did escape from him which might be considered offensive, *indictum puta*, suppose it not to have been said. In his opinion the Lord Chancellor did perfectly right in commencing legal proceedings for having been charged with receiving a bribe for the appointment of a learned gentleman to the office of Solicitor General. Every one knew that that learned gentleman's promotion had been earned by his eminent talents as a lawyer, and he would not tarnish his own integrity by using any of those dirty or miserable means of promotion alluded to in the libel which had been prosecuted. Every one who knew the Lord Chancellor was aware that he was incapable of the conduct imputed to him, and he was called upon by public opinion, and in defence of his own character, to defend himself against that libel. In compliance with his own feelings, and the requisition of public opinion, the Lord Chancellor therefore proceeded to bring before the public the individual who had charged him with the legal crime and moral corruption of having procured the appointment of a learned gentleman to a legal situation under the Crown. He thought that the Lord Chancellor had acted perfectly correct in instituting legal proceedings, and accordingly an Information was moved in the King's Bench by the Attorney General, whose talents and eloquence were generally acknowledged. If he should be obliged to censure the proceedings of the individual who now filled the office of Attorney General, he hoped that he should be considered as speaking of the office only, dropping entirely the name of the person who filled it. In order to obtain an information in the King's Bench, it was necessary for the party applying to make affidavit denying the truth of the allegations of which he complained. Such affidavits were made both by the Lord Chancellor and Sir E. Sugden (the Solicitor General), and Mr. Alexander being called on for his defence, he stated that he meant no allusion to the Lord Chancellor. The application had been made by the Attorney General entirely in his private capacity; and the defendant had been put to the vexation, trouble, and expense of meeting that private application. Soon after his defence had been put in, what was the next step taken by the Attorney General? He then *virtute officii*, in his official capacity, filed an *ex officio* information against the same individual! He would take the liberty of saying, that in the whole history of Westminster Hall, so extraordinary and oppressive a proceeding had never been heard of. That was a statement he felt it necessary positively to make. The case of an information having been applied for and granted against an individual on the subject of libel, and afterwards abandoned by the Attorney General, who adopted other proceedings against the same individual, was a case unprecedented and unheard of in the annals of judicial proceedings. He would say, that such a proceeding was a breach of the Constitution of the realm, oppressive, and intolerable. He was not uttering merely his own individual sentiments on the subject; he knew that he had concurring with him in that opinion, every lawyer in Westminster Hall, with but one exception, and that was the man who instituted the proceeding. He spoke advisedly, when he said, that there was no lawyer in Westminster Hall, who, if he were called to the bar of that House, and examined, would characterize that proceeding in any other way than by designating it as unprecedented in the history of the law. But the case was not merely a departure from all precedent; it had been followed with consequences of vexation and oppression to an individual. That was one of the complaints which he had to make. He need not describe in what way the proceeding was vexatious. An individual had been put to double expense, and had been twice placed on his trial for the same offence. Though he was no reformer, he was always ready to support any wholesome and wise change; and he felt deeply indebted to the right hon. Gentleman, the Home Secretary, for the many bills he had introduced reforming the practice of the law. Among those bills was one to prevent a man being subject to what was called acquittal-fees. Now the Attorney General had commenced a private suit against an individual, and after putting him to the expense of defending it, he abandoned the private suit, and instituted a public one. He therefore hoped, that the right hon. Secretary would introduce into his bill a clause indemnifying Mr. Alexander for the litigious proceedings instituted against him, in the first instance by a private suit, and afterwards by an *ex officio* information. He would then call the attention of the House to a subject of great importance. The learned judges of the Court of King's Bench, Lord Tenterden and Mr. Justice Bayley and the other two learned Puisne judges, stood in no need of his eulogium on their honour, learning, or impartiality. But let the House consider the situation in which they were placed, after Mr. Alexander had made his defence, stating that he had meant no allusion to the Lord Chancellor. The Attorney General thought, however, when he had seen the defence, that he had better have an *ex officio* information. Every one knew that the Attorney General, as the servant of the Sovereign, had a right to file an information *ex officio*, without asking leave of the Court; and he chose to exercise that right. Mr. Alexander on that occasion employed a gentleman whose talents and learning he need not describe when he mentioned that Mr. Denman was the person who moved the Court of King's Bench to put the Attorney General to his election as to which suit he would proceed with, the private or *ex officio* information. The Court said, that it could not compel the Attorney General to abandon his own information, but it decided that the information previously granted should not be resumed without its pleasure. Upon the *ex officio* information, the individual was tried, convicted, fined, and imprisoned. He had already said—what every fair and honest man must admit, that the Lord Chancellor was entitled to prosecute the libel which had been written against him; but it must be obvious to the House, that the proceeding which had been adopted was a most strange departure from the principles of the law of the land. Of course he was not aware what Ministers had attended the Cabinet when it was decided to direct the Attorney General to proceed by an *ex officio* information; but he was bound to suppose, that when that order was given, so contrary to all precedent, and to the spirit of the Constitution, the Lord Chancellor was not present. That learned individual could not have been one of the Ministers authorising and directing such an unconstitutional proceeding. He was not complaining that Mr. Alexander had been brought to trial and visited with punishment, but it was the departure from precedent to which he objected. Suppose that Mr. Alexander had been acquitted on the *ex officio* information, what was to prevent the Attorney General trying him again, after his acquittal, on the private suit? It was very true that Lord Tenterden and the other honourable judges of the Court of King's Bench would not suffer a man to be twice tried for the same offence; but still there might be times when political and party spirit would reach the Bench, and when the judges would be told to bow to the Government, and a certain curious Letter, which had lately been made public, might be brought from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Thames. A noble Lord on the first day of the Session told the House that the Government was to be conducted on a new principle. It was to be composed of Tories on Whig principles. He was one of the Tory party, and was sure that the proceedings lately instituted in Westminster Hall ought never to have been sanctioned either by a Whig or Tory Attorney General. It was said, that the Government was to be composed neither of Whigs nor Tories, but of what was called by the writers on the subject a *tertium quid*, without any principle at all. [*Laughter.*] If he should call the Administration an unprincipled one, only twenty yards from that House, he might expect to have an *ex officio* filed against him, though all political, moral, and historical writers agreed that unprincipled did not mean bad-principled, but merely the want of any principle of action. The Whigs prided themselves on their abstinence from power, on their kind-heartedness, and their milkiness of human nature; and the Tories also claimed to live in the land of milk and honey. They claimed the same kindness of disposition, the same abstinence from acts of power. Oppression was on both sides disclaimed, yet it did in fact exist. If any hon. Member were to ask whether he meant to follow up his present Motion by the introduction of any practical measure, he would reply that he should not distinctly pledge himself to such a course. He thought that the Attorney General's power of filing *ex officio* informations should exist, as it was necessary that some individual should have the power of prosecuting offences againt the body politic of the state; but he thought it would be wise and prudent to prevent the repetition of such a case as he had alluded to, that of an Attorney General proceeding by official indictment, after having instituted a private suit for the same offence. He therefore thought, that it was for the House of Commons to place some restriction on the exercise of the powers thus committed to his Majesty's Attorney General. He had already said so, and he would repeat, that the Attorney General should be restricted to one or other of the different courses of proceeding which were open to him in cases of this description. Here it appeared that, in the first instance, the Lord Chancellor had made his election, but the Attorney General afterwards turned round, and said, "I have changed my mind." Any man, certainly, had a right to change his mind, and no man, undoubtedly, had a better right to do so than the Lord Chancellor, for he had changed his mind already more than once. Men had a right to change their minds, not a doubt of it. He did not dispute the thing at all; but the question was a different one when it regarded the mode in which one of the King's subjects was to be tried, under the law of the land. He would state to the House the view in which this matter had been taken by a former Attorney General, who was afterwards Lord Chancellor in this country. In 1773, Lord Sandwich was First Lord of the Admiralty, when Lord North was Prime Minister, and Lord Halifax Secretary of State. That was the position in which these individuals stood towards each other when a libel was published against one of them; and he would tell the House the course of proceeding which was then adopted towards the alleged libeller by the Attorney General of that day. The alleged libel was contained in a letter published in the London Evening Post, which charged Lord Sandwich with corruption in the disposal of certain places within his department, as First Lord of the Admiralty; and, in particular, the letter-writer charged that noble Lord with having exposed the office of a Commissioner of the Navy to sale for 2,000*l.* What was the conduct of the Tory Attorney General of that day, Lord Thurlow, in contradistinction to the conduct of the Whig Attorney General of the present day? The course which Lord Thurlow pursued was that which law and justice pointed out for his adoption. He did not change his mind—he did not commence one species of action, and then afterwards turn round and assail the unfortunate defendant by another and a more vexatious line of proceeding. No, Lord Thurlow was too good and too constitutional a lawyer to do that. What, then, was done? Lord Sandwich proceeded against the alleged libeller by a private action, and he obtained 2,000*l.* damages. There was a detailed report of the trial to be found in the Annual Register of 1773. It appeared from that report, that the Attorney General put the action upon the ground of personal slander and defamation of the character of Lord Sandwich. He did not say that the action was brought for a public libel upon the Government; he did not file a criminal information and proceed against the individual in question by a public prosecution in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty's Ministers. No, such a proceeding as that was reserved for the present day, and for a Whig Attorney General. It was to be observed that the mode in which persons might proceed in cases of libel was by action, or indictment, or by filing a criminal information in the King's Bench. Lord Sandwich thought proper to proceed against the individual who had libelled him by indictment in a personal and private action. That was the course which was recommended and adopted by the then Tory Attorney General, Lord Thurlow. There was no *ex officio* information filed in that case,—there was none of the changing of mind and deviation from the original proceeding, as had been seen in the instance to which he was now directing the attention of the House. The noble Lord (Lord Lyndhurst) might have very good grounds for changing from one course to another, and from one opinion to another; but it remained with those who gave him such counsel to show that he had just grounds for doing so. He would only refer the House to the case of another Lord Chancellor, he meant Lord Loughborough, who, when similarly aggrieved, did not adopt what he must say was a most harsh mode of proceeding. The cases were nearly similar; the individuals attacked occupied the same high and exalted situation, and yet Lord Loughborough thought fit to proceed by a private and personal action for a public libel upon his character. Lord Loughborough, a member of the Privy Council, and a Cabinet Minister, was charged with frequenting certain places on the left-hand side of St. James's-street, with which, perhaps, hon. Members were not quite unacquainted, and with losing his money in gambling. He brought his action for this libel, and he recovered damages. There was still another case which he would quote to the House. At the time that Lord Grenville was Minister, a charge was made against Lord Moira of having disclosed the Cabinet secrets; and if any charge affecting a minister could be considered in the light of a libel upon his public and official character, that surely was the one. Yet what was done in that case?—An information was filed in the King's Bench; Lord Moira made an affidavit denying the truth of the charge; a similar affidavit was made by Lord Grenville; the individual against whom the information was filed confessed that there was no foundation for the imputation which had been made against the noble Lord, and the thing was dropped there. He mentioned these cases, to show that in several instances, where individuals filling high situations in the government of this country had been publicly libelled, they uniformly resorted to personal and private prosecutions to vindicate their characters. The cases of Lord Sandwich and Lord Moira were quite in point with the present case; and with every submission and deference to the present Lord Chancellor, he conceived that those noble individuals had acted much better in instituting a private suit for the vindication of their characters, than if they had resorted to the mode of proceeding—in his opinion unprecedented and oppressive—which had been adopted in the case of Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. He next came to the informations which had been filed against Mr. Alexander, charging him with having published a libel upon his Majesty and his Ministers. The House would probably allow him, where the materials connected with this subject were so extremely extensive, to classify the cases to which he should call their attention. His object in doing so was to place before the House, in the strongest point of view, the objections which he conceived applied to the three cases to which he should now take the liberty to call the attention of the House. The second of these cases was an *ex officio* information filed against Mr. Alexander for a libel on his Majesty's Government, and upon the Duke of Wellington. The terms in which the Duke of Wellington was described in the publication in question were charged as libellous, to him they seemed by no means to deserve that designation. An hon. Member had, upon a former night, done ample justice to the great merits of the Duke of Wellington. He would be glad to express himself, did he possess the power, in equally eloquent terms, as to the great merits and eminent services of his Grace. But while he was ready to do the fullest justice to the merits of his Grace, he conceived that as a Minister, and respecting his public capacity, they had a right to look, not to the Duke of Wellington, or the individual, but to the Minister of the Crown; and as such, and occupying such a responsible situation, his Grace was open to public animadversion. If a different opinion existed on that point, and if a different principle should be adopted, with regard to him, there was an end at once to every thing like free discussion. If the hero of Waterloo,—if he who had by his achievements equalled the great Duke of Marlborough, and who perhaps was unrivalled by any captain of his own age—if he should, by a concurrence of circumstances, come to be employed in a high civil situation under the Crown, and if we were to be prevented from looking upon him in his civil, apart from his military capacity,—if we were not to be suffered to separate the civilian from the soldier, and to canvas the merits and demerits of the individual in the former capacity distinct from the latter,—there was an end at once to free discussion regarding his conduct as a responsible Minister of the Crown of these realms. If it were maintained that the soldier was so bound up with the civilian, that we had no right to canvas the merits or demerits of the individual in the latter capacity, he would repeat that there was an end altogether to every species of free discussion in this country. He hoped and trusted that, in expressing his opinion of the noble Duke's public conduct, it would not be supposed that he for a moment felt the less grateful for the eminent military services which his Grace had rendered to his country. It was one thing to feel grateful to him for his services in his military capacity—it was another thing to approve of his public conduct as a minister of the Crown. Mr. Alexander was charged in this information with having published a libel upon the Government and upon Ministers,—upon the Duke of Wellington and upon his Majesty. That was the order observed in the information. Formerly, the question was whether *Ego* or *Rex meus* should be first, but here the point seemed to be settled in a summary way, for the *Rex* was put in the rear. When Ministers and the Sovereign were thus mingled together, there was too close an approximation between them; and that relative distance which ought to be preserved was completely left out of sight. It might have been as well if this indictment had been so worded, that the libel upon his Majesty could be separated from the libel upon his Majesty's Ministers, for in consequence of the way in which this information was framed, it led to some degree of confusion. The theory of the Constitution was, that the Ministers and the Sovereign were the same,—practically they never were so, and he (Sir C. Wetherell) never considered them the same either theoretically or practically. Sure he was, that that opinion was more in accordance with the spirit of our laws and of our Constitution, and with the true interpretation of their meaning than the contrary principle. He thought that the character of the Sovereign should not be thus merged and mixed up with that of his Ministers, should not be brought into an approximation with his Ministers, so as to diminish the reverence that belonged to the regal character; and that such a confusion should not take place as was observable in this information, where the Duke, and the Ministers, and his Majesty were joined together in one indiscriminate charge of libel. Referring to the libel in question, he would ask any man to say whether he could consider such a publication a libel upon his Majesty or upon the Duke of Wellington. His Grace was called an "ambitious Minister?" was that a libel? Would it not be libel to say he was not ambitious? Had there ever been a Minister without ambition? or could any man be a Minister unless he were ambitious? One of the charges in this information was, that it was alleged in the libel that "His Majesty had lately evinced more than even a marked coolness towards his Grace the Duke of Wellington." He would ask whether, since the Star Chamber had been abolished, it had ever been charged as a libel, to say that a Minister was coldly received by the King at Windsor? He should be glad to hear any man stand up in that house and assert, that at any period since the abolition of the Star Chamber, there had ever occurred so tyrannical, or so unjust a proceeding as the prosecution of an individual for libel, because he asserted that Ministers had been coldly received by the Sovereign. He would go to the page of history,—he would call upon all those who were conversant with history, — he would call upon all those Members who had read the Journals of that House,—he would call upon all those who were deeply versed in books, upon philosophers, statesmen, politicians, antiquaries, upon the readers of our annals, and the admirers of our Constitution, and he would ask any man amongst them to point out a period since the extinction of the odious Star Chamber, when so vexatious, so tyrannical, and so unjust a proceeding had occurred. He would ask any one of them to tell him of a time when any man ventured—dared, to prosecute any individual in this country for libel, because he said that a Minister had been received coldly by his Sovereign. That was a portion of the charge which had been actually introduced into the information against Mr. Alexander. He should now go to the next charge in the information. Mr. Alexander was charged with having called the Duke of Wellington an "imperious Minister." Who could doubt the truth of the expression, that had witnessed his Grace's conduct since his accession to power? Had he not carried a measure in despite of the opposition of the people of England, and in contradiction, as he believed, to the wishes of the Sovereign? But the libel also accused him of being not only an ambitious but likewise of being a "dangerous Minister." He would not here enter into a critical discussion respecting verbal niceties and distinctions. He remembered very well, Johnson said, that "criticism disdained to chase schoolboys to their common-places." Who, however, that was ambitious, was not dangerous? The Duke of Wellington was ambitious, and therefore he was dangerous, and this he would maintain was sound constitutional doctrine. But he would also maintain, that if any jury of twelve men, of men without coats, without shoes or stockings, without hats, that a jury, in fact, composed of complete *sans culottes*, that if such a jury were asked their opinion fairly upon this publication, not a single individual amongst them would pretend to call this a libel [*hear, hear*]. But it was alleged to be a libel to call the Duke of Wellington "an ambitious Minister." Sure he was, that neither the Duke himself, nor any other man, would deny that he was an ambitious Minister, when he was able to carry a great question which had dissolved three Cabinets, which had dissolved the Administration, which had dissolved the "talents" Administration, and which had dissolved, or at all events prevented from being completed, the Administration of Mr. Canning. Could he be said not to be ambitious when he aspired to carry, and succeeded in carrying, a question which had thus broken up three administrations, and had been in vain attempted by the ablest men in this country? After doing so much, the noble Duke should not quarrel with phrases, or feel annoyed when called an ambitious man. He trusted that the House would keep in mind the precise course of this argument. The publication charged as a libel went on to say, that his Majesty was unpopular, and that he was not able, in consequence of the measures of his Ministers, to go out in public, or to show himself to his people at the theatre. Now, the noble Lord behind him (the learned gentleman was understood to allude to Lord Palmerston) had, upon a former evening, let out some secrets of state which showed that our foreign affairs did not go on satisfactorily. It was evident from the disclosures made by that noble Lord, that the ministerial carriage did not move on smoothly, that it had a break down at some time or other; that there had been a stoppage of it; and, to carry on the metaphor, they pretty well knew that such an accident was likely enough to occur under a Constitution like ours, where the legislative power was divided into three parts, the Regal, the Commons, and the Aristocracy. Now it was to be considered here, that as to the regal part of the Constitution, there was not a question that it was *sui juris*, and that it possessed rights peculiarly belonging to itself. Yet, in the King's Speech, or rather in the speech which Ministers made for him, at the commencement of the last Session of Parliament, his Majesty was made to state that which he did not willingly state, as regarded the Catholic question; and this he would assert, that upon that subject there was a complete difference of opinion between the regal branch of the legislature and the two Houses of Parliament. He would assert that he knew that to be a fact, and that there was a disinclination in the regal quarter to assent to that measure. He would deny, if a case should arise in which those two branches of the legislature should concur as to a certain measure, that it was either illegal or unconstitutional to discuss how far the regal part of the Constitution was or was not *sui juris*, entitled to maintain its own opinion on the subject. The regal branch of the legislature was totally and completely distinct from the other two branches, and it could not be controlled by them without a violation of that freedom of opinion which should in that capacity belong to it. He would call the attention of the House to a case in point, quite in point with the present, and he would beg their particular attention to the law as laid down in that case by that admirable lawyer and great judge, the late Lord Ellenborough. Mr. Perry, the late proprietor of the Morning Chronicle, was tried for a libel in making a contrast between the system pursued in the reign of George 3rd and the system which was likely to be pursued on his Majesty's demise by his royal successor, our present gracious Sovereign, and it was intimated in the article that the successor of his Majesty George 3rd would have, of all our monarchs since the Revolution, the finest opportunity of becoming popular. What did Lord Ellenborough say in that case? "A change in the system of Government might be pointed to without a crime. An error in Government might be marked in the language of severe reprehension, without incurring the guilt of libel. There might have been an erroneous conception of the public interests; there might have been grievous and gross mistakes in foreign and domestic policy; it would be no crime to observe upon these things. Error was human, and to reprobate that error, and expose its nature, was not libellous. To impute a guilty motive was the crime, and if they thought the defendant to have proceeded to that extent (of which he had some doubt), they must find him guilty. It could be no crime to say that his Majesty had taken an erroneous view of public matters. Such was the law, as laid down by that able and learned judge, who decided that it was legal to discuss such matters, and that there was no libel in doing so, provided criminal motives or criminal errors were not imputed. He should not go further than the high authority of Lord Ellenborough on the subject of libel. It was plain from that, that it was perfectly legal to attack the measures of his Majesty's Ministers; and Lord Ellenborough laid it down that to impute mere errors to the personal agency of the regal branch of the Constitution in its individual capacity, was not libel. It was no libel, to say that Ministers should not be allowed to press too far upon the regal branch of the Constitution. It was the duty of the subject to vindicate the freedom of that branch of the Constitution, and it was, according to Lord Ellenborough, no libel to do so. He was sorry he was not in the House the other evening, when the hon. Member for Westminster and the Attorney General entered into some conversation with one another on this subject. He understood, however, through other channels, that on that occasion the hon. Gentleman said, he had got a verdict in this case. He (Sir C. Wetherell) would say to him, that he got, on the contrary, a rap on the knuckles. He wished him only the same luck in future. An individual was charged with libel for attacking the measures of his Majesty's Ministers, and for calling the Duke of Wellington "ambitious,"—that Minister who had carried a measure which had dissolved the Pitt, and "Talents," and Canning Administrations,—the Jury were told that that was the case, and that that was all, and they gave their verdict accordingly against the defendant. Why, the whole proceeding was a complete *gallopade* on the part of the Attorney General; it did not even deserve the title of a sober waltz. What was really the verdict of the Jury in this case? The Jury said, "We find the defendants guilty of a libel on his Majesty, but we do not find them guilty of a libel upon his Majesty's Ministers. We also beg to state, it is our opinion, that the Article in question was written under feelings of very great excitation, occasioned by the unprecedented agitation of the time. We, therefore, most earnestly beg leave to recommend all the defendants to the merciful consideration of the Court." If that were the sort of verdict which the Attorney General boasted of getting, he would only wish much good luck to him in that way hereafter. The Jury had referred to the unprecedented agitation that prevailed when the article in question was written. Never did he recollect a period of greater agitation in this country. The Prime Minister had come down to the House of Lords, and given his support to a Bill which he declared was necessary for the safety of the country. Scarcely had he sat down, when up rose the Primate and Metropolitan to oppose the Bill, and move its postponement to that day six months. The Lord Chancellor on the Woolsack was sure that the country would stand stock still without it, and the Ex-Chancellor declared that it would be the ruin of the Constitution. One portion of the rev. bench of Bishops voted for it, and another portion voted against it. The Lord Chief Justice of Ireland said, that unless the bill were passed the connexion of the two countries would be rent asunder; and the Lord Chief Justice of England said, that it would sap and undermine the Constitution of England. The right hon. Secretary of State, who eighteen months before the time he was speaking had declared that an united Cabinet upon that question could not exist, in nine short months afterwards turned round, changed his opinion, and he who had been called the leader of the Protestant party became the prime supporter of this bill. A Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, who had had his leg chopped off at Waterloo, had the Vice-regal stool chopped from under him in Ireland; and, in fine, a measure which had dissolved three Cabinets, was carried against the well-known sentiments of the Sovereign, and despite of the opposition of the people of England. Never was there a period of greater excitement: there were no such personal contests or disputes at the period of the Revolution, nor at the period of the settlement of the Crown, nor at the time of the American war, nor during the continuance of the Revolutionary war with France,—none of these periods had been distinguished for such separations of personal friendships and political connexions,—for such rending asunder of old attachments, and party ties; and well might the Jury say that it was a period of "unprecedented excitement and agitation." Was the editor of a journal, in such times, to be prevented from sharing in that general excitement, and receiving a spark of that flame which spread throughout society? Why was Mr. Alexander alone selected for punishment because he partook of that excitement which was shared more or less by every individual in the country? He would tell the House the reason. Because Government wished to break down that party which he represented. The motives which induced him to bring this case of oppression and hardship under the consideration of the House flowed from his unbiassed judgment and reflection. He did not know, if he had been tempted, during the late extraordinary excitement, to commit his opinions to print, that he might not perhaps have used as strong language as the editor of this journal who had been so severely persecuted. He had seen an account—but perhaps as it was in The Morning Journal it could not be a correct one—of what had fallen from the Attorney General at the trial of this case. In that account the hon. and learned Gentleman was represented to have said, that it was a libel to represent the feelings or opinions of the Sovereign as under the coercion of his Ministers. He denied the assertion. It was no libel to represent in a respectful manner the personal opinions of the Sovereign as erroneous, when they should happen to be so, provided that no moral guilt was imputed at the same time. The late Lord Ellenborough was the authority which he would oppose to the authority of Mr. Attorney General. Such doctrine was adapted only for the reign of a Tiberius, who made it a libel ever to praise one man, because it was a censure on another. If two parts of the legislative constitution of the country agreed upon a certain point, and if the third, the regal portion, could not agree with them, it was no libel to say so, and if the regal portion were compelled to acquiesce in the decision of the others, from what cause he would not inquire, it was not a libel to say that that portion was under coercion. Having Lord Ellenborough's authority in his favour, he would say that what the Attorney General asserted to be law in that case was not law. But the expressions in this publication had been strangely interpreted indeed by his Majesty's Attorney General. It would seem really as if all the dictionaries in the country had been burned with the Argyll-rooms. His Majesty's Ministers should themselves get up a new dictionary, with new meanings for words, and a glossary upon the latest-received interpretations of his Majesty's Attorney General. This dictionary might be accompanied with the following pithy and useful preparatory introduction:—"That Lord Chief Justice Abbott decided, in 1829, that such words bear such and such meaning, and therefore, gentle reader, take care of yourself." He could not avoid calling the attention of the House to the raree-show which took place at the first trial. In order to prove the innuendos in the libel as being applicable to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice Tindal was first called; then came his Honour the Master of the Rolls, then that eloquent and learned individual Baron Vaughan. To show, too, that it was not carried on by a tory administration, they put the whig Lord Holland into the box, and, lest that might be too much, they balanced his weight by the tory Lord Bexley. Such were the ingredients of that extraordinary mixture. It was further mixed up by the addition of the Deputy Chairman of the East-India Company. It had been asked, too, and really with reason, why the Ministers should mix up the currency with all questions. Even here we had the currency, for there was a banker from Lombard-street among the witnesses, and the list was completed with the *Clericus Parliamentorum*. Was not this theatrical display intended for effect? Was it not plain that this raree-show was intended to influence the result of the trial? He certainly did not intend to make a motion on that part of the subject, nor did he propose to bring in a bill to prevent this gallery of "national worthies" from being arrayed again for a similar purpose; but he would express his hope that no such exhibition would be ever repeated in a court of justice. It might be as well, perhaps, as this was a serious piece of ridicule, a sort of *flebile ludibrium*, that a raree-show should be got up as an accompaniment to this grave *ex officio* prosecution. He now came to the third information; but before he left the second, he would venture to say that he was one of those persons who were induced, by the spirit displayed in conducting The Morning Journal, to think that the attack made upon the editor of it for the sentiments which he had avowed on the Catholic question, was intended to beat down and insult the vanquished Protestant party of this country. He now came, he repeated, to the third information, and in so doing, he would call the attention of the House to a point connected with it, which he conceived to be most important to their own privileges. The House would observe that, as far as it was concerned, this was the most important of all the *ex officio* informations. He did not mean to say that the topics to be urged against the third information were larger than those which he had already urged against the second. All that he meant to say was, that the third case involved matters which were nearly connected with the proper exercise of the privileges of Parliament. The third case selected for prosecution was a mixed case —in a word, an alloy of libel. It was stated to be an attack on the King, an attack on his Government, an attack on the purity of Parliament, an attempt to inflame the people against the House of Commons, a vilification of Ministers, an excitement to general disaffection, and in some parts of the information he believed that even the word sedition was found. In analyzing and decomposing this strange heterogeneous mass of libel, he should begin, first of all, with that part which related to the King. He had already stated to the House, that upon the second information, the jury, though it found Mr. Alexander guilty of a libel on the King, did not find him guilty of a libel on his Ministers, and that they recommended him, on account of the excitation of the times, to the merciful consideration of the Court. The second libel was published on the 14th of May, and this third was published on the 16th of June. Now, in discussing the merits of the information filed against the third publication, he should consider it not so much the information of the Attorney General as of the Administration whose servant that officer was. The

Government, it was clear, must either avow or disavow the proceedings of their principal law officer. The Attorney General was the officer, and in his Majesty's courts the representative of the Government. These prosecutions, one and all of them, were, he contended, therefore, the prosecutions of the Government, carried on through the medium of their representative, the Attorney General. Would it be believed, except by persons who had seen the informations, that this third libel which was selected for prosecution was a mere repetition of the second, which the jury had found a libel upon the King, but not upon his Ministers, and which they had recommended to the merciful consideration of the Court? It contained, and pretty nearly in the same language, all that had been said in the second libel, as to his Majesty's not being able to exhibit himself to his people at places of public amusement. He contended that in finding that the second libel was a libel on the King, but not on his Ministers, and in recommending the author of it to mercy, the jury had told the Court, and not only the Court but also the Attorney General, that prosecutions for similar offences should not be continued. He called such a verdict as they gave, a verdict with a farthing's damages, or rather a nonsuit for the plaintiff, and no verdict at all. Could any man, who was not acquainted with the event, have believed that any Attorney General would have proceeded with this third information, after the castigation which he had received for filing the second? The jury which tried the second information retired for three hours to consider their verdict; and whilst they were out of Court, and before the next case was called on, Lord Tenterden was stated—and that not in the Morning Journal of which the report might be suspected of partiality—to have said in open Court, "What do you intend to do now, Mr. Attorney?" He did not say that that speech was a hint to the Attorney General of what he ought to do; but he did say that it was something very like it. *Nullum tamen simile est idem.* It was giving the learned gentleman time to pause,—it was affording him a *locus pœnitentiæ*,—it was offering him time to revolve in his own mind what he ought to do,—it was furnishing him with room in which to turn round,—it was giving him a period in which a man might say to himself, "This won't do;" or if he thought so, "This will do." But no, the learned gentleman spurned the opportunity for reflection thus kindly thrown in his way, and he said boldly and at once, "I mean to go on, my Lord, with the next case." The case was called on accordingly; and he must again repeat, that it was, as far as the King was concerned, a repetition of the same libel, on which, though the jury had declared it to be a libel, no judgment had been, or would be, pronounced by the Court. In his humble opinion, it would have been quite as well, perhaps much better, if the Attorney General, instead of proceeding with that case, had put his brief into his bag, and had said that he would consider till next morning whether he would bring it to trial or not. A verdict was given on the third information against Mr. Alexander, and was not accompanied by any recommendation to mercy. But though that was the case, he would declare it to be quite unprecedented that an Attorney General should proceed upon a new information to try the same identical matter which he had already tried upon a former one. That was done in this case, in breach of all the mildness, fairness, and impartiality, which on former trials had characterised former Attorney Generals. If he were wrong in that position, he knew that at the proper period he should be reprehended or ridiculed for his error; but till he was reprehended—and when he was reprehended he should still retain his old opinion—he should be glad to hear the reasons of those who dissented from him. Now, on this third libel he should like to know what Mr. Alexander had been convicted of. Was it consistent with common sense and with common justice, that Mr. Alexander should be sent to Newgate on the third libel, when on the second, which was indentically the same, he was not even brought up for sentence? The next point on which he should trouble the House shortly, was the invasion which was committed upon their privileges by the filing of this third information. Yes, he maintained that the filing of that information was an usurpation of the powers and privileges belonging to the Commons House of Parliament. Why did he say this? He would briefly explain his reasons. He had already stated, and he must now repeat the statement, that in these discussions he did not mean to say any thing that was personally offensive to any individual. He hoped that he should be able to perform the task which he had imposed upon himself without using any expressions that would be unfavourable to individuals in their private capacity; and if he should have occasion to allude to a right hon. Secretary, he declared that as a public man, and as a gentleman, he meant nothing personally offensive to that public functionary. The libel began by stating that an hon. Member—he would not mention his name—a great champion of the Protestant cause, a gallant and enterprising soldier in the sacred phalanx with which the editor of the Morning Journal had allied himself, an active and efficient operative in the same great and glorious work, had brought under the consideration of Parliament the distressed condition of the manufacturing labourers of Blackburn. He did not know whether the fate which had befallen Mr. Alexander was intended as a hint to that hon. Member to be on his guard lest a similar fate should befall him. The libel began, he said, with a statement of something which had been done or said by one hon. Member of this House, and then it went on to state what had been said or done by another. He would mention no names,—he would call him an individual in that House; for the sake of clearness he would denominate him, in the residue of his speech, the right hon. Mr. A., he would not say that he was the right hon. Mr. P., for that might be considered as almost a personality, and might lead to some of those constructive libels, by which out of doors men were daily ensnared, without knowing either how or why. The right hon. Mr. A. then, was said to have been seen to smile at the other hon. Member's tale of distress. He was very much afraid, that if the appearance of a smile on the face of any hon. Member, whilst a petition complaining of distress was under presentation, should be considered as a libel, the Attorney General would very soon have his hands full of work even in that House. If he remembered rightly what took place in the House on the first night of the session, the Attorney General would have to file an information, not only against the noble Lord who proposed the address, and the hon. Member for London who seconded it, but also against the hon. Member who thirded, and the noble Lord who fourthed it, and indeed against every Member in the House. For he well recollected that when it was pointed out to the House, that though the speech described the distress to be partial, the mover and seconder and thirder and fourther of the Address described it to be overwhelming and universal, not only was there a smile flickering on the face of those Members, but there was also in the House, what Lord Chesterfield said should never take place in any civilized assembly, loud and universal laughter. He did not mean to say that there were not in this publication many coarse, and rude, and impertinent, and undeserved expressions applied to the right hon. Mr. A, and if the right hon. Mr. A. had come down to the House the next day to complain of them, and if he had moved that Mr. Alexander should be brought to their Bar in consequence of them, he did not mean to assert that the right hon. Mr. A. would not have acted rightly in pursuing such a course, and that the House would not have acted rightly in taking up his complaint, and in leaving Mr. Alexander to be reprehended by the Speaker with that firmness and dignity which he always employed when he was called upon to vindicate the privileges of Parliament, in consequence of any improper attacks which might happen to be made, either on the members of Government in that House, or on their political opponents. That opinion had been given elsewhere, and he cordially coincided with it—*non meus hic sermo*. He would not allow himself to enter further into an examination of this libel. He would content himself with reminding the House, that it was published on the 16th of June, and that the House of Commons was not prorogued till the 24th. A week elapsed after the publication of the libel, in which the House of Commons did nothing; indeed, after the Catholic bill was passed, the House did nothing, though it had been labouring before almost double tides. No complaint, however, was made to the House respecting Mr. Alexander's conduct, and this part of the libel was therefore a mere individual attack upon the conduct and character of the right hon. Mr. A. Assuming, then, that this publication was a libel,—and for the sake of argument he was ready not only to admit that point, but also that Mr. Alexander was liable to be punished for it by that House,—he would now proceed to contend, that when the right hon. Mr. A. was attacked in a public newspaper for his conduct in that

House, the Attorney General had no right to take the vindication of the right hon. Mr. A.'s conduct into his hands. The right hon. Mr. A. had been attacked for what he had done in that House. He was stated to have smiled, and before the House came to a vote of censure on Mr. Alexander for making that statement, it was not impossible—for the gravity of the proceedings of that House was sometimes disturbed by the intrusion of levity—that all who then heard him might have smiled too. It was, however, certain, that before the House of Commons was prorogued, Mr. Alexander might have been called to the Bar to answer for the offence which he had committed. Now no such step had been taken, and therefore the question for the House to determine came, in the long run, to this—has the Attorney General *ex officio* a right to file an information for a libel on any private Member of Parliament? He had investigated that point with considerable labour, and he was in consequence decidedly of opinion, that when the privileges of that House were invaded by any newspaper, the House ought not to delegate the vindication of them to any other party. He was happy in being able to fortify himself in that opinion by the recorded declarations of Mr. Fox. Hon. Gentlemen would, perhaps, recollect, that before the impeachment of Lord Melville took place, there was a Commission of Naval Inquiry appointed. A newspaper, called the Oracle, in commenting upon the conduct of those Commissioners, was supposed to have wantonly attacked the honour and dignity of the House of Commons. Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, called the attention of the House to it, as containing one of the most indecent libels on its proceedings, which it had ever been his province to notice. A great debate in consequence arose. It was said that the House, in impeaching Lord Melville, was acting like an intemperate judge, and it was moved that the printer and publisher of the Oracle should be called to the bar and reprehended. A question was raised whether he should not be prosecuted by the Attorney General. Mr. Fox argued in this manner—"We should not give up the vindication of our privileges to others. We should be jealous of our honour and dignity, and not leave it to the protection of the courts of common law—we should not give up our *forum domesticum*, but should maintain it in all its pristine vigour and integrity." Mr. Fox afterwards expressed himself thus: "He reminded the House that when it committed a prosecution to the courts of common law, from that time it had no command over it, and could not compel them to extend to the party prosecuted that lenity which it might be disposed to extend itself." How did that debate end? It ended in a manner most creditable to Earl Grey. He said that he had brought the newspaper before the House because he conceived it to be a high breach of its privileges—that he should be satisfied with whatever punishment the House thought proper, and that if such should be the opinion of the House, he should have no objection to have the printer called to the Bar, reprimanded, and discharged. Mr. Pitt, who then held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, that as the printer had been voted guilty of a high breach of privilege, he could not, in consistency with the dignity of the House, be instantly discharged—that it was necessary, *propter dignitatem*, that he should be taken into custody by the Serjeant-at-Arms, but with the understanding that if he made a proper submission, he should be discharged in a few days. He would not trouble the House by going into a detail of the other cases which illustrated his view of the subject: he would only say, that if the right hon. Mr. A. had summoned Mr. Alexander to the Bar of that House for the libel upon him in June, 1829, instead of hauling him into court for punishment in January, 1830, the case would have been disposed of long since, at least so far as the *quantum* of punishment was concerned. It was true that at that time there was no Attorney General in being,—but there was such a law-officer as the Solicitor General; and in Wilkes's case it had been ascertained that when there was no Attorney General, it was competent for the Solicitor General to exercise all his functions. Shortly afterwards an Attorney General was appointed, who, as soon as he received his appointment, started with these prosecutions. He maintained that from the Revolution down to the present time, no case existed in which an Attorney General had ever, of his own accord, asserted the right to prosecute an individual for libel which imputed to a Member of Parliament improper conduct within the walls of that House. He begged pardon, there were two,—one in 1699, in which the Attorney

General prosecuted an individual of the name of Stevens, for a libel on a private Member; and another in 1702, which was referred to yesterday, in which the Attorney General prosecuted a party for a libel on Sir John Packington, the Member for Worcester. Since that time no similar case had occurred. There was no occasion for him to illustrate the impropriety of allowing an Attorney General to institute such proceedings. If the Attorney General had a right to file an information for a libel on Mr. A., a Member of that House, he would have a right to file it for a libel on Mr. B. there, [*a laugh, as Sir C. Wetherell pointed to Mr. Brougham,*] or Mr. C. there, and Mr. D. here, if they were also Members. Suppose, for instance, that there was an individual,—a stout man, coming from the north, or it might be from the south,—troublesome upon estimates,—a reformer, —an awkward man,—a calumniator of Ministers,—a parader of figures at one time, and of distress at another, — a preacher of economy,—suppose that this man was libelled in a paper. Well, he goes to the Attorney General, and says, "So, Mr. Attorney, I understand that by some new-fangled privilege which you have discovered in the constitution of your office, you are bound to protect me and my character from libel. I am libelled in such a paper—do you prosecute it." The Attorney General, being a civil and well-bred man, would receive him at first most graciously, but would conclude by saying, "Sir, I have not the honour to know you, but perhaps you will be so good as to tell me on which side of the House you sit?" The hon. Member to whom such language was addressed would immediately understand that he was in the wrong quarter,—that he had got into the wrong box, and would be glad to retire out of reach of the fangs of so formidable an officer; and thus the question would ultimately be reduced to this,—that if the Attorney General had a right to file his information in this manner, it would protect every Minister, Secretary, Treasurer, and Clerk, down to the lowest ramifications of official dignity; but that if a stout man on the opposition benches, more accustomed to oppose than to grant estimates, complained of a libel to the Attorney General, he would say, "I cannot file it, unless you previously obtain the consent of the Cabinet!" Would any Gentleman who had the honour of a seat in that House degrade himself and his character so far as to solicit that consent? If any Gentleman were so mean-spirited, he would say at once that the House ought not to suffer him to involve himself in such degradation. The test of the propriety of such an arrangement is this:—Could such a system exist and be carried on with impartiality? It would be ridiculous and contemptible to argue that it could. He therefore asserted that this new-fangled privilege of the Attorney General was nothing else than an usurpation of the privileges of Parliament. The next part of this publication was the attack which it contained upon the House of Commons. It was not for him to assert what was and what was not a libel. He should undertake a doubtful province if he undertook to decide such a point. He should have said that to call a man ambitious was not a libel; but on that point recent decisions had proved that he would have been wrong. He would not give, he repeated, any opinion as to what materials constituted a libel, for he might be wrong, and if he was wrong, he knew that he should be scarified. Mr. Alexander, it appeared, had said that the House of Commons had not sufficiently attended to the distress of the country. Now this libel, if libel it were, appeared on the 16th of June, 1829; and yet no notice of it was taken by the House of Commons, which was then sitting; but nine months afterwards Mr. Alexander is consigned, by the tender mercy of the Attorney General, to the walls of Newgate. It was only the other night that they were given to understand that Ireland was nothing but a land of oil, and olives, and honey. Be that as it might, it was quite clear that at present there was nothing but discord and distress at Whitehall. He should not have been vexed, if his Majesty's Ministers had, when they condemned Mr. Alexander to imprisonment in Newgate for complaining that great and universal distress prevailed in the country—he should not have been vexed, he said, if they had at the same time laid hold of and imprisoned the cause of his complaint. No, he should not have complained if they could have caught the Genius of Distress, and have sent him to gaol for three months along with that Gentleman. But what, he would ask, was the head and front of Mr. Alexander's offence here? He had said that the distress was great in 1829, and every body admitted that it was now much greater in amount, and more general in extent, than it was then. So that this man was sent to Newgate for four months, and was fined one hundred guineas, for having complained too feelingly, too warmly, too eloquently, too pathetically, and in language, if you will, too unlimited and too unguarded, of the existence of that distress which was now universally felt and acknowledged; and yet in this year of our Lord 1830, whilst he is not walking abroad, distress is walking abroad, and preying on the resources and demoralizing the habits of the most industrious part of the population. His opinion was, —and in that House, at least, he could assert it without fear of consequences,—his opinion was, that when this information was filed by the Attorney General, the object was not so much to injure Mr. Alexander as to strangle the groans of complaint, and to create an impression that that person had been maliciously suborned to promulgate exaggerated accounts of distress which had no existence. The Ministers, in the pride of their hearts, said to their legal officer—"Send this man to gaol; convict him as a libeller, and then we will say that his libels are false, and that no distress exists in the empire." But their scheme had met with signal and portentous disappointment: the man had been sent to gaol, but distress had not ceased; on the contrary, it existed in an aggravated nature, and was increasing in a ratio frightfully progressive. This, then, was, at all events, a hard case upon Mr. Alexander. But it was said that he had inflamed public feeling against both Houses of Parliament, and that he had thrown in a dangerous stimulus to aggravate the mass of unrelieved distress. If Mr. Alexander had done any such thing, he would say that he deserved to be imprisoned, not for months, but for years. But the imputation was most false and unfounded. Look at the memorials of grand juries—the remonstrances of magistrates in Quarter-Sessions—the petitions of corporate towns and populous places—the public meetings of your extensive counties, beginning with the county of Kent, and ending with that of Northumberland. Was Mr. Alexander guilty, then, of fabricating meetings, of stimulating complaints? No: they existed at the time of publishing this paragraph—they existed, unfortunately, yet; and he confidently asserted that no improper excitation had been administered to them by Mr. Alexander. Not only was there no sedition in existence when this paragraph first appeared, there was none in existence at present. And yet this man was sent to gaol for proclaiming the existence of distress at a time when not merely in the petitions of the people, but also in the speeches of their representatives, the universality of distress is made a nightly subject of discussion. Had he over stated this case, or had he not? [*cries of* "*No, no.*"] If he had done so, he had done it undesignedly; for he was no advocate of the licentiousness of the press,—he had no desire to extend its liberty beyond its due limits,—no wish to defend it when it was transgressing the rules of order and decency, and divaricating from the strict path of its duty into personal abuse and scurrility. He asserted, without fear of contradiction, that in all the legitimate modes of complaint,—in memorials, in petitions, in remonstrances, and in speeches in Parliament,—the same terms were used with impunity which had consigned Mr. Alexander to the walls of Newgate. He had now, by the indulgence of the House, travelled through this budget of informations. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had his annual budget of finance—he trusted that the Attorney General would not also have an annual budget of informations, for if he had, he (Sir C. Wetherell) might feel himself under the necessity of complaining of them next year, as he felt himself under the necessity of complaining of them at present. Only two words more, and he had done. He had already stated to the House, that if these informations should become as common as the posting-bills stuck up at the corner of every street, they would not have the slightest effect in converting the political sentiments of a single member of the community. By-the-bye, he would just observe, that he had that morning read a pamphlet upon the conduct and character of Mr. Canning, which, in his opinion, reflected high honour on the person who wrote it. There were terms of greater severity applied to Mr. Canning in that pamphlet than any which could be found in this libel applied to the right hon. Mr. A. Mr. Canning was there charged with running a career of defection and apostacy: but he had never heard that the Earl of Liverpool, who was at the head of the Cabinet when that pamphlet was published, had directed an information to be filed against its author. The House had afterwards heard that pamphlet decanted into a speech, and delivered with much grace of gesture and elocution by a learned personage. The same expressions were used in the speech as were used in the pamphlet, and yet it was now notorious that the same learned personage had since carried through the other House of Parliament that same bill, which in this House he declared to be an insult to the community. He believed that no information was filed against the reverend author of that pamphlet, though at that time there was a Tory Attorney General. He could have stated many other cases in which similar forbearance had been shown: but he had thought it perhaps better to refer to a case which was within their own recollections, and which they could touch as it were with their finger. He knew not why the invader of Mr. Canning's reputation should pass safe, whilst the invader of the right hon. Mr .A.'s reputation was to be punished with heavy fine and imprisonment. He said that it was untenable in principle, and contrary to the uniform practice of the House, that an Attorney General should prosecute individuals out of the House for attacks made upon individual Members of it, for their conduct within its walls. If he were asked what course he was prepared to advise the House to pursue on this third information, he would answer frankly, that he had not exactly made up his mind. He had a little explication to give upon that point. He said that if Mr. Alexander were confined for condemning the smiles of the right hon. Mr. A. in that House, such a punishment was an invasion and usurpation of the privileges of the House of Commons. So, too, was it, if he were confined for inflaming the people against the House of Commons; but if he were confined for an aggregate of libel, formed out of the three separate libels on the King, the House of Commons, and the right hon. Mr. A., he might be wrong; but he must think with all fair persons that it was wrong to confine Mr. Alexander for four months on this third information, when the jury recommended him to mercy on the second, and the Attorney General was afraid to bring him up to receive the judgment of the Court upon it. He had endeavoured, in what he had addressed to the House, to pursue some little arrangement, in order to make evident why he moved for the papers, and what use he intended to make of them. In one word, he would declare, that, in his opinion, common justice required the law of England to be altered. It was intolerable and tyrannical that any man in the realm should first prosecute an individual for a private libel, exposing him to vexation, putting him in hazard, and rendering him obnoxious to all the consequences of judicial imputation, and then, afterwards, in the shape of an Attorney General, institute a public prosecution, upon the failure of which he might (supposing the bench were occupied by partial and unjust judges),—he might revert to the private and original prosecution. Such a state of things was not to be borne, must not be borne, and if the House attended to the feelings of the public, should not be borne in the land. He stigmatized the prosecutions which had taken place, and finally he thought the House ought to come to some declaratory resolution by which their privileges might be better understood, and by which an Attorney General might be prevented, without the consent of the House, from taking out of the hands of the House the prosecution of a person who had been guilty of a personal libel on one of its Members; for, in consequence of the Attorney-General's proceedings, the libeller might be subjected to tenfold the punishment which would have been inflicted on him had he been brought before the bar of the House. On these grounds he would move for the production of the papers mentioned in his notice of Motion, and if it should be the pleasure of the House that they should be laid upon the Table, he hoped that some hon. Member who might have bestowed one tenth part of the labour upon the subject which its consideration had cost him, would endeavour to provide some practical remedy for a state of things which was at present an intolerable grievance. He concluded with submitting to the House the following Motion, "that there be laid before the House copies of the several informations filed *ex officio* by the Attorney General against Mr. Alexander, the editor of a paper called the Morning Journal—copies of the several judgments entered against him upon the records of the above informations, and how the same were entered—an exact minute of the words in which each jury pronounced their verdict against him upon each of the above informations—exact minute of the terms in which any of the juries expressed a recommendation of him to mercy."

The *Attorney General* said, that in rising at so late an hour as between twelve and one o'clock to address them upon that important occasion, he trusted that if he expressed any difficulty, it would not be supposed that it was a difficulty to answer every topic which his hon. and learned friend had introduced into his speech; but that it would be understood to be the difficulty which he should feel in commanding the attention of the House while he proceeded to investigate the charges which his learned friend had brought against him. It was more especially necessary that he should throw himself upon the candour, the indulgence, and the patience of the House, because he should abstain from all attempt to introduce any of that entertaining kind of matter with which his learned friend had enlivened his observations. On the contrary, it would be his object to endeavour to separate from the real question all those extraneous and unconnected topics—which, however, had formed the principal part of his learned friend's speech—and to confine himself to those few points the consideration of which was essential, in order to enable the House to come to a sound decision upon the subject. In the first place, he could not help thinking that the manner in which his learned friend had treated the question showed that he was acting under the influence resulting from his considering himself as a kind of professional advocate for the person principally concerned. He could not otherwise account for the partial manner in which his learned friend had presented the facts of the case to the view of the House. There was also another kind of influence by which it was evident that his learned friend had been actuated. To his great surprise, he had condescended to state that Mr. Alexander, the libeller, was the representative of the party in that House, and in the country, of which his hon. and learned friend declared himself to be a member. He had certainly never expected an avowal of that nature. However right his learned friend might be in questioning the propriety of the prosecutions against Mr. Alexander, he certainly had never expected that he would have avowed that that individual was the representative of a party in that House, and that he would have defended him on that ground. They had now learned, however, not only that Mr. Alexander was the avowed representative of a party in that House, but that his learned friend would have become his advocate in a court of law, had it not been that the recollection of former connexions had led his hon. friend to entertain an apprehension that he should have violated decorum by so doing. His learned friend had declared it to be his opinion, that the prosecutions which had been instituted by him (the Attorney General), and by his Majesty's Government, against Mr. Alexander, were attributable to the motive, not of a wish to restrain the licentiousness of the Press, and to put down intolerable calumny and slander, but to put down the party to which his learned friend belonged, by attacking it through Mr. Alexander's side. In discussing what was a great Constitutional question, he had hoped that it would have been kept separate and distinct from all party and political considerations; and that there would not have been attributed to him motives which he distinctly and entirely disavowed, although the probability of their existence seemed to have filled his learned friend's mind. He would now proceed, trusting, as he had already said, to the candour and indulgence of the House, to the investigation of the topics which were the real objects of their consideration.—In the first place, he was charged by his learned friend with oppression, inasmuch as, having commenced proceedings in the Court of King's-Bench in a private suit, in the name of the Lord Chancellor, against Mr. Alexander, and having induced the Court to grant a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against that person, he afterwards thought fit to file an *ex officio* information as Attorney General against the same individual. This course his learned friend had called oppressive, for he had maintained that if he had tried one prosecution and failed, he might have proceeded with the other. Now that could not have been done; and he was surprised that his learned friend, who had himself filled the office of Attorney General, should have fallen into a mistake, which he could not have supposed that any one lawyer in Westminster Hall would have committed. [Sir Charles Wetherell said, that such was not the case.] He could only ascribe his learned friend's mistake to his not being very conversant with common law.

Sir *Charles Wetherell.*—What I complain of is that your's is not common, but uncommon law.

The *Attorney General* in continuation. As his hon. and learned friend seemed to be unaware of the law in this case, he would tell him, that if Mr. Alexander had been tried on an *ex officio* information and acquitted, he could never have been tried on any other information for the same alleged offence. Yet this was one of the topics on which his learned friend had expatiated for half an hour; an error which he certainly had not expected from one so conversant with the law. That topic was the main ground on which he rested his first charge. That ground was thus taken from him. But he would go further. His learned friend asserted that it was not right, when the Court of King's-bench had granted a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against an individual, on a private suit, that the Attorney General should then file an *ex officio* information against the same individual. He would, by and by, state the reasons which had induced him to make this change in the course of his proceeding. He would now confine himself to the declaration of his learned friend, that the Attorney General having, as private counsel for the Lord Chancellor, obtained a rule from the Court, ought not to have filed an *ex officio* information against the same individual for the same offence. In the first place, all that he had done in the first instance was, to obtain permission from the Court to file the information. Did his learned friend mean to say that the information had been actually filed? If so, he had been misinformed. But it seemed that because that Rule had been granted, he was wrong in afterwards substituting for the private action an *ex officio* information. Why? Was it any objection to the Attorney General's filing an *ex officio* information against an individual, that the four learned Judges of the Court of King's-Bench had previously declared that it was a fit case for filing an information? Even if the Court had refused him authority to file an information in the first instance, would that have deprived him of the right of exercising his own judgment as to filing an *ex officio* information? If his learned friend maintained that doctrine, what would he say if an Attorney General were to file an *ex officio* information against an individual after a Grand Jury had thrown out a bill that had been preferred against him? Yet such had been the case. A noble and learned Lord, of sound judgment, and the highest legal attainments, formerly one of the greatest ornaments of that House, but who now held the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, when he was Attorney General for Ireland, had a charge brought against him for having filed an *ex officio* information, not, as in the present case, after he had had the authority of a court of justice that the case was one fitted for an information, but after a Grand Jury had thrown out a bill against the party charged. How did the noble and learned Lord defend himself? There were several cases, both in Ireland and in this country, which he might have adduced, to show that his course of proceeding was correct. But he wanted no distant precedent. He simply referred to a case in October, 1811, in which a bill, of three counts, having been preferred against Sir William Strickland, for having written a letter to a member of the Government, soliciting a place, and offering a bribe for a compliance with his solicitation, the bill was ignored by the Grand Jury; upon which the Court of King's-Bench ordered a second bill to be preferred, which was ignored by the Grand Jury in November; the result of which was, that an *ex officio* information was filed against the same person by the noble and learned Lord's predecessor, who was never called upon in any manner to explain the reasons of such a proceeding. He, however (the Attorney General), was called upon by his learned friend to account for his conduct, because he had filed an *ex officio* information, not after a Grand Jury or Grand Juries had thrown out a bill against the individual, but after he had received the sanction of the Court of King's Bench for its being a fit case for an information. He would state to the House the form of the proceeding. The Lord Chancellor, as a private person, had made an affidavit denying the allegations of the libel. If upon this the defendant had made a clear and distinct admission of the falsehood of the charge, and had expressed his regret and remorse at having given it publicity, no further proceeding would have been taken against him. He had had an opportunity, before the information was filed, to have explained and apologized, and thereby have put an end to the matter. Instead of that, what was the course which this person pursued? An excellent and learned friend of his, who defended Mr. Alexander, when he (the Attorney General) moved in the Court of King's-Bench for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against him, he meant Mr. Denman, stated that the course which was pursuing by him (the Attorney General) indicated apprehension; that it was evident he did not dare file an *ex officio* information at once, and therefore came to seek the sanction of the Court; that other eminent persons who had suffered from the freedom of the Press had trusted to their character, but that the Lord Chancellor was compelled to have recourse to legal proceedings. This was a tenfold aggravation of the offence. He was far from imputing to Mr. Denman, who was a personal friend of the Lord Chancellor, who highly esteemed him, any intention of seriously imputing such a motive; but it was stated by him in the cause of his client, and certainly had a direct tendency to fix the charge in the libel more deeply on Lord Lyndhurst. The next day the proceedings in the Court were reported in the Morning Journal, Mr. Alexander's paper, a copy of which was brought to him (the Attorney General) by a learned friend. In that paper, every topic which had been urged by Mr. Denman in his speech was repeated with the utmost exaggeration. The most inflammatory language was used. He (the Attorney General) was taunted with want of courage and spirit for the course of proceeding which he had adopted; and it was distinctly declared, which, however, was precisely what his learned friend had that evening denied, that the only true constitutional proceeding would be the filing of an *ex officio* information. Suppose he (the Attorney General) rested his defence on that ground alone, what right would any one, especially what right would Mr. Alexander and his learned friend have to complain of him for the course which he ultimately pursued? But provoked as he was by this conduct, it was not the ground on which he adopted his ulterior proceeding. The information was, as usual, drawn up for him by a junior barrister, a gentleman of great ability and learning. When, however, he (the Attorney General) was about to sign the information, he observed in one of the counts matter which induced him to change his course of proceeding. It was rather difficult to explain this to the House, but he would endeavour to do so. The charge in the libel, although mainly directed against the Lord Chancellor, did not rest there. It cast an imputation on an hon. and learned friend of his, the Solicitor General, for having obtained the high station which he held by corrupt means. It also cast an imputation on the whole Government for conferring a high office, not from considerations of a public nature, but from considerations of private gain. It was a general attack on the Government; and when the information prepared for him was presented to him with the count in which that was alleged, fully concurring in its justice, the libel appeared to him to have greater and more extensive malignity than he had imagined. He was, therefore, induced to change his course. The Court of King's-Bench might otherwise have said to him, "When you applied for an information, it was for a libel on the Lord Chancellor; on that ground we granted your application; but we find that you have introduced into the information a count which has no relation to that specific point." For those reasons he (the Attorney General, had abandoned the course originally taken, and had filed an *ex officio* information. He had no hesitation whatever in doing so. He had the authority of his learned friend, Mr. Denman, and of Mr. Alexander himself, for the propriety of the proceeding. It was not, therefore, from fear in the first instance; it was not from provocation in the second instance; but it was for the reason which he had just stated, and which rendered the course he had taken the only justifiable course. That was his firm opinion at the time; it was still his firm opinion; and he should carry it with him to the grave. His learned friend, in the first instance, had declared that no man in Westminster Hall would say that the proceeding which he (the Attorney General) had adopted was justifiable, although he afterwards qualified that declaration by saying that every man in Westminster Hall considered it to be unprecedented. Such a case, in all its circumstances, had, he dared to say, never before happened. But if his learned friend meant to allege that there was no man in Westminster Hall who did not disapprove of his (the Attorney General's) proceedings, all he would then say was, that his hon. friend and himself must move in very different circles. He denied most distinctly that his conduct had met with the disapprobation among legal men which his learned friend seemed to suppose. He came now to the consideration of the second information. This was attacked by his learned friend as warmly as the first. He (the Attorney General) really believed, however, that it was the first time since that House had been a House of Parliament, that any Attorney General had been attacked in it for filing an *ex officio* information for a libel upon the King. But his learned friend said, that the publication in question was not such a libel. The answer was, that it had been so considered by the judge, and that it had been so considered by the jury. His learned friend had dwelt upon the acquittal of a part of the charge, and upon the recommendation to mercy. But suppose the defendant had been acquitted altogether. Would that have been an unprecedented case? Repeated instances of such a case had occurred. But it was wholly without precedent that even in such a case the Attorney General had been attacked in that House for filing the information. His learned friend had quoted the late Lord Ellenborough's opinion on the trial of Mr. Perry, to show that the second information which he (the Attorney General) had filed, was directed against matter not libellous. Notwithstanding that opinion, however, and notwithstanding the acquittal of Mr. Perry, the Attorney General of that day was not called to account for having filed an *ex officio* information. His learned friend had been very tranquil on that occasion. Now, however, that he conceived his own party was interested, after three months' consideration and preparation he came forward with his charges. He perfectly agreed with the verdict which the jury gave in the case of Mr. Perry. But what was the passage charged as libellous? It was the following:—"What a crowd of blessings rush upon one's mind, that might be bestowed upon the country in the event of a total change of system! Of all monarchs indeed since the Revolution, the successor of George 3rd will have the finest opportunity of becoming nobly popular." Now, without imputing any blame to Sir Vicary Gibbs, who no doubt did what he conceived to be the duty of the Attorney General on that occasion, he must say that he did not think that passage was sufficiently libellous for prosecution. He should certainly have not filed an *ex officio* information against it. Lord Ellenborough inclined to the opinion that it was not a libel; and the jury declared by their verdict that it was not so. Sir Vicary Gibbs, however, was not attacked in that House for his conduct. But then he was not a Whig Attorney-General. His hon. and learned friend had, in his opinion, shown bad taste in bandying about the terms Whig and Tory; distinctions which, perhaps, existed at present only in name. The fact was, however, that no Whig Member, no advocate for the press, brought Sir Vicary Gibbs before the House for having filed an *ex officio* information against Mr. Perry, although Mr. Perry had been acquitted of the charge preferred against him. It seemed that such a course of conduct was reserved for a Tory. In stating the offence which had given rise to this second prosecution, his hon. and learned friend had been somewhat uncandid. The course which a Member in his situation ought to take was, to state the whole case, to extenuate nothing which made against his own view of it, to exaggerate nothing which confirmed that view. Whereas his learned friend had conducted himself like a lawyer; he had exaggerated whatever told in favour of his client, and had extenuated whatever told against him. His learned friend had not even read to the House the terms of the libel; but had described it generally as a representation that the King was unpopular, and therefore did not like to go to Covent Garden Theatre. If that were all that it contained, what must be said of the judge who had allowed such a case to go to a jury? He must be an absolute idiot. Yet he was sure his learned friend respected and reverenced Lord Tenterden as much as he did; and knew as well the candour and impartiality of his character, as the depth and extent of his legal knowledge. In the course of a long practice, he had never known any judge whom Lord Tenterden did not equal, he might almost say whom he did not surpass, in combining the greatest accuracy of professional knowledge with the most perfect fairness and impartiality of conduct. Lord Tenterden said, that the publication was a libel. He (the Attorney General) said that it was a libel. If his learned friend had been on the jury, his sense of honour would have compelled him to concur in the verdict that it was a libel. It began thus:—"His Majesty, it is said, complains bitterly that his Ministers have placed him in such a position, that he cannot enjoy the pleasure of exhibiting himself to his people. George 4th was, till now, a popular Monarch. That he has been rendered otherwise, is the act of his imperious Ministers. We deeply lament the occurrence; but public feeling is an ever moving tide that is affected by causes, which, although invisible, often lead to disastrous results. We pity our aged and revered Sovereign." He had been brought up in the habit of thinking that when the personal character of the Sovereign became the subject of public discussion, that discussion ought always to be conducted with reverence and respect. But what could be more degrading to any Monarch than to declare that he was in a state of thraldom to his Ministers, and that though once popular, he was afraid to show himself to his people, or partake of their amusements? He would now proceed to the third case. His learned friend had asserted that the libel in this case was exactly the same as in the last. He maintained that it was much stronger. It stated that the King was kept in subjection to his Ministers; but it combined with that a libel on the Houses of Lords and Commons, on the Revolution, and on several individuals. His learned friend had contended, that because the jury had in the second case recommended the defendant to mercy, the third trial ought not to have been brought on five minutes after the conclusion of the second; and he maintained, that the constitutional mode of proceeding against any person who had libelled that House, was to place him at the bar, and to punish him for contempt. Long, however, before he had had the honour of a seat in that House, he had heard the usage on the part of both Houses of Parliament, of making themselves at once accusers and judges, instead of sending cases in which they were concerned to be determined by juries, made the topic of loud and general complaint. Now, however, he learned, and that from an Ex-Tory Attorney General, that it was constitutional to bring offenders to the bar to be punished for a breach of privilege. If, however, he wanted precedents for his conduct, he had them in abundance. When Lord Ellenborough was Attorney General he filed several *ex officio* informations against individuals for libelling both Houses of Parliament, no previous Address to his Majesty for that purpose having been agreed to. When Sir Archibald M'Donald held the same office, he filed an *ex officio* information against the notorious Paine, for a libel on all parts of the Constitution; no Address to the King having requested that such a proceeding might be instituted. If, however, people had made up their minds to disapprove of his conduct, the whole of his defence, on whatever grounds it might be founded, would prove of no avail. But as to the number of informations for libel on the House of Commons moved for during the sitting of that House, he could show that they were neither so few nor so unusual as might be inferred from the argument of his learned friend. When Lord Eldon was Attorney General, there were three informations for libel on the House of Commons during the sitting of Parliament. Of these informations the second was against Joseph Johnson, and the third against a publication entitled "The Scarlet Devil." When Sir William Garrow was Attorney General there were four informations, and one indictment for the same offence, and under similar circumstances. When Sir S. Shepherd was Attorney General there were ten informations and two indictments for libels on the House of Commons during the sitting of Parliament. When Lord Gifford was Attorney General there were ten informations and one indictment for libel on the House of Commons, not entirely, but chiefly during the sitting of Parliament; and lastly, in 1820, there were three indictments for libels on the House of Commons, the Parliament then sitting. He should hope these were sufficient precedents to show it was neither improper nor unusual to file criminal informations for libels on the House during the time it was yet sitting. Now, as to the second libel, did his learned friend mean to say that because Mr. Alexander had been prosecuted for a libel on the King, and had also, on the same occasion, maligned the Ministry, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, that they were, therefore, to consider the libel on his Majesty the less? Was this what he meant to urge after his three months study of the case? Surely at least 500 instances might be cited in which such circumstances were pressed in aggravation; and nobody had ever objected to such a course of proceeding except his learned friend and Mr. Alexander, from whom, in all probability, he would say his learned friend had borrowed his objections. Now he would state the grounds on which he had proceeded. His learned friend had treated these prosecutions as if Mr. Alexander had been selected for punishment because he was the organ of a party; while the fact was, he was so much mistaken, that his (the Attorney General's) reason for prosecuting the man was to prove that he was not the organ of the party he pretended to represent. He had punished the Editor of that Newspaper, because he thought it was the best way of showing he was not supported by a party. During the discussions preceding the settlement of the Catholic Question, considerable excitement had prevailed within the walls of that House, and an angry feeling had been called up, which he was sorry to observe still seemed to rankle in the breast of his hon. and learned friend. A corresponding degree of agitation existed abroad, and the Press on one side sought to maintain things in the state they were, by the use of all possible means. Now he had never impeached the motives or doubted the integrity of the noblemen and gentlemen who maintained opinions contrary to his own upon this great measure, however he might have suspected their judgment in not consenting to accommodate themselves to the circumstances of the times; but he thought that the means adopted by a certain portion of the Press to forward the objects of one party were not legitimate. False rumours were daily spread abroad, with the view of weakening the influence of his Majesty's Ministers in the House of Commons. London was described to be in a state of the most dreadful agitation. He remembered that he happened to go into the country in the month of March, and he was asked if the metropolis was not in all but actual rebellion? In short, they expected to hear each hour that the town had been set on fire. Well, on the other side, the country papers asserted the same things, so that the people were kept in perpetual alarm respecting the state of the country; while the fact was, that the Oxford Election alone had created some excitement, which rapidly subsided, and then all was forgotten. But still, while the discussions were going on, no prosecutions were instituted. It was expected that after the measure had been passed all agitation would subside. Well! the bill was passed, as he believed, on the 13th of April, and the feeling of all the noble and hon. persons who opposed its progress then was, that no exertion should be spared to restore the public tranquillity, which this measure was intended to secure. Still, however, the Morning Journal continued its misrepresentations. The first assertion was, that the King proposed to dissolve the Parliament and withhold the Royal consent from the bill, and he had no doubt that many honest men who took their opinions from the newspapers believed it; nevertheless, it was not correct. Next it was stated, that his Majesty being dissatisfied with his Ministers, and having determined to dismiss them, the measure was to be reconsidered and repealed. Now, he contended, a public officer was bound to pay attention to the effect which any given libel was likely to produce; and when it was considered that the state of the country was such at the time that all good subjects and honest men who had ever been opposed to the measure were anxious to allay the popular agitation, he submitted that he was perfectly justified in showing that Mr. Alexander did not represent the party under the colours of which he might be received by certain classes of the people with a degree of credit. He remembered that on the very day he was presented to his Majesty, a paragraph came out, pretending to describe a conference which took place between the King and the venerable Lord Eldon, respecting the inability of the Lord Chancellor to discharge the duties of his office, and the necessity of seeking out some proper successor to his Lordship. Here, then, was a conversation reported as having taken place between the King and a Peer of the realm, containing the most unpleasant allusions to the Lord Chancellor, and this was done by a man who pretended to be (but was not) the organ of a party. What, then, was likely to be the result of such proceedings? Would they not assuredly have the tendency to lead the multitude to believe that this man had some mode of acquiring information of what took place at Windsor, and had an intimate connexion with the leaders of the party who had opposed the Catholic Relief bill? He was quite aware that no Member of that House would believe it—that no man of education would believe it. All such knew better. They did not take their opinions from the newspapers; but the great mass of the populace might, and perhaps, in a great degree, did take their opinions from the newspapers; and were not statements of such a nature, therefore, likely to produce seditious effects amongst the people? Still he was anxious to refrain from any measures of severity, and he did so until the libel was published on the Lord Chancellor, attributing to him improper motives in the promotion of his learned friend. This libel, it should be remembered, too, was combined with many hints of the same false and offensive nature. Thus, for instance, allusion had been made to his Lordship, as if he were in a state of the utmost pecuniary embarrassment—as if creditors were knocking at his door, and could not get their bills paid. The Lord Chancellor, as was usual in these cases, was the last to hear of this misrepresentation, while it was every where whispered that his Lordship was unable to pay his way. He had reason to know that many hon. Members of that House had received intimations to that effect, which had originated in the falsehoods of The Morning Journal. The Lord Chancellor having declared that he had not, for years past, expended one-third of his income, his Lordship certainly did then, as it was already stated, file an affidavit in the Court of King's-bench. But to proceed, when he took office he found that every member of the Administration—his right hon. friend near him—the Duke of Wellington—all were libelled in paragraphs, letters, leaders—in every possible shape and form, and with a degree of virulence and atrocious falsehood to which no private man would submit. He found that the paper was still going on villifying all character, public and private, and defying all authority. If, then, in the course he pursued he had judged wrong, he was to blame; but he did not think he had judged wrong. He did not believe he had acted improperly in endeavouring to restrain that licentiousness which would make the press of no value, by rendering it contemptible. Thinking, then, that the misrepresentations daily made in The Morning Journal were not safe for the country, he selected some of the many libels which had been published, and marked them for prosecution. If he had proceeded upon all, his learned friend might well say he had brought forward a budget of informations, but his object merely was, to repress the circulation of those misrepresentations, and prevent the recurrence of those nauseous libels which were ushered into the world by The Morning Journal from day to day. He did select the most atrocious libels—and he asked the House, if he had not, what would have been the consequence? Might not his hon. friend near him have said, "it is true you have prosecuted this person for a false and malicious libel on me and on my noble friend; but why have you not in the first instance punished him for the libel on the King, in which he is represented as defied and degraded by his Ministers, and withheld from a knowledge of those matters with which no constitutional Sovereign ought to be unacquainted?" What reply could he then make if he had prosecuted a paper for libels on the King's Ministers, and suffered the libels against his Majesty himself to pass unpunished? He accordingly maintained, that it was his duty to have selected that libel against the Sovereign when he was instituting a prosecution for the sake of warning and example; and in favour of his opinion he could cite many precedents, under circumstances when the offence was of a much less aggravated nature. And he went on, because he hoped that by filing informations he should rather show Mr. Alexander the dangers of the course he was pursuing, and induce him to abandon it, than be compelled to punish him; but from that time he had no choice left, for Mr. A. still continued his libels. And great as was the deference he entertained for the opinions of his learned friend, there was nothing he had done which he would not do again. He had done nothing wrong—he had nothing to regret. He was aware that some might think otherwise—some who took the statements of what took place respecting these trials from The Morning Journal, and other papers belonging to the same party. For himself, it so happened that he seldom read the papers—he had not time, and consequently scarcely ever knew anything of their statements, except when some worthy friend sent him one containing a libel on himself. But he had, since these events had taken place, been informed, that the reports of what took place after the first day's trial, were not so correct as usual. He was treated as a decided enemy to the Press. In this, however, the Press was mistaken. He would avow his creed upon the subject for the benefit of all such as might take any interest in the opinions of so humble an individual; and, fortunately, he found it embodied in a speech which he had delivered in the course of the debate touching the blasphemous libels, as they were called, that were brought before the House on 21st December 1819. In that speech he had said, that in his opinion the power of filing *ex officio* informations ought not to be taken away from the Attorney General, because he considered that, if discreetly exercised, it was a power which might be of great benefit to the country. This was the argument which he then pressed upon the House. When it was urged, too, by hon. Members on the Ministerial benches, because the prosecutions against Hone and Wooler had been ineffectual in checking the licentiousness of the Press, that, therefore, it was necessary for the House of Commons to devise some means for strengthening the arm of the law, he had maintained a contrary opinion, although he believed it was then the general feeling that some coercive measure was necessary. But what did he say? That he did not believe there was any defect in the law because the Attorney General had failed in these prosecutions for libel. He stated, that in most of them he had, before the parties were brought to trial, made up his mind that they must be acquitted, and consequently that the fault was not in the law but in the mode of conducting the proceedings. In his opinion if the Attorney General had acted with more judgment, the law would have been found sufficient; and, therefore, he had concluded that Ministers were not entitled to demand any additional restrictive laws. These were the sentiments he had formerly professed, and which he still entertained. He thought honestly and conscientiously, that if the Press were to be the polluted vehicle of public and private slander—if every gentleman who happened to be a Minister of the Crown were to be held up to scorn as a knave, a liar, and a scoundrel—if it were to be considered as a part of the liberties of Englishmen that the Duke of Wellington, or his right hon. friend, or any other Minister, might, because he was a member of the Cabinet, be, with impunity, represented as a fool, a traitor, or a coward—one of two things must happen; the Press must fall into such disrepute that no man would allow it the slightest influence, or some measures must be taken to correct its excesses. And, accordingly, he thought that when there was a case of a factious man, without principle, or regard to truth and decency, and without the least regard to private feeling or the public welfare—who in the most false and atrocious manner published libels against all that was good, and great, and distinguished in the country—the best thing which could be done for the interests of the Press would be, to punish such a person, since by so doing that moral influence which the Press ought to have would be increased. Honourable Members might hold out for the abuses of the liberty of the Press; but, he contended, the Press would lose all its influence if that liberty were suffered to degenerate into licentiousness, since it must infallibly fall into contempt. Where, then, would be its moral influence? Gone for ever. It would become like Thersites, as described by Homer, who might say that Achilles was a coward and Agamemnon not a great King, while the Greeks would only laugh at his mendacity and despise his slander. When, therefore, a paper was conducted on such principles as The Morning Journal—on the principle of perpetual slander, falsehood, and misrepresentation, he thought that it was conferring a benefit on the Press to punish it. He was not afraid to say so—and he knew it required some courage to do it. Now with respect to what had been attributed to him upon the subject of the publication of the names of jurors, he had to state that he had been misrepresented. He had procured the passage in his speech as he delivered it; and having first explained the tone in which it was given forth, he would then proceed to show how he had been misrepresented. He should also have occasion to allude to another misrepresentation which had been very unfortunate for him. But to proceed—the day after he had filed the first information against Mr. Alexander, that gentleman said, that if the jury gave a verdict against him, he would print their names, and so expose them to the public censure. He wished to have it remarked he was not now on the subject of the indictment, from adverting to which his learned friend had abstained. He was, however, ready to defend it, if necessary.

He knew it might be said, what need the Duke of Wellington care about such a thing ?—what did it signify to him ? But this was not the question. This libel was in the form of a letter, signed by a clergyman, styling himself Chaplain to the Duke of Cumberland. Every body knew that this was false—but still it would be allowed that the effect of the calumny was materially changed by the patronage which this person assumed for himself. The name employed made a mighty difference; as, for instance, if a person altogether contemptible in himself were to say he had been sent by Sir Charles Wetherell to tell you, you were a coward and a liar, however disposed you might be to despise anything he could utter as from himself, yet would you then feel yourself bound to resent it in some way or other. You could not look to Sir C. Wetherell, for you, must know it was false that he had sent the fellow ; you could, therefore, do nothing but knock down the man, or prosecute him. It was not, accordingly, enough that the Duke of Wellington should know privately that this libeller was not sanctioned or protected by the Duke of Cumberland, but it was necessary that the whole world should know that this clergyman was not patronised by an illustrious personage so nearly allied to the Sovereign. To return, however, to the informations. As he had before said, he had no time to read the newspapers before he went into Court ; he was accordingly indebted to a friend for the knowledge of Mr. Alexander's threat respecting the publication of the jurors' names, and what he said upon the subject was partly in answer to the advocate on the other side. The hon. and learned Gentleman then proceeded to read from a written paper the passage to which he had alluded. It was to the effect, that he had learned of the threat of Mr. Alexander to the jurors, but that he trusted they would not be swayed by it, or take their lessons of duty from the criminal practice of a licentious press, or the maxims of an anonymous writer, but from the laws of the land, the recommendation of judges, and the principles of their ancestors ; and he urged upon them, that if they were influenced by the threat of The Morning Journal—the more they submitted, the more odious would become the power to which they succumbed ; and he added, that if anybody had the audacity to publish their names, with a view to intimidate them in the discharge of their duty, by heaping calumny upon them, he would not, if he could procure sufficient information, shrink from bringing that person to condign punishment. He was ready to repeat and vindicate those opinions ; and he hoped the House would be as little influenced as the juries were by the threats of the Press. The second misrepresentation was on the occasion of one of the early prosecutions. Mr. Alexander had used the word *will*, instead of *shall*—upon which he had taken the opportunity of remarking, that he probably was not an Englishman. The English pretended to great felicity in the use of these words. He had accordingly stated that, from this circumstance, he believed him to be an Irishman or a Scotchman. But, in his defence, Mr. Alexander took advantage of this, and accused him of making some illiberal reflections on his country, and, in short, made some parade about it. In his reply, however, he distinctly stated that he had a great respect for Scotland, and had no intention of making any reflections whatsoever upon it, but on the contrary, he had many valued friends, for whose sake the country was dear to him. But, notwithstanding this, the newspapers persisted in taking Mr. Alexander's version of the affair ; and the consequence was, he had the misfortune of giving much offence. He had received many proofs of this ; amongst the rest one of rather a ludicrous nature. In a letter which he got the other day, he found enclosed a paragraph of a Scotch newspaper, which said, that if the Earl of Aberdeen or Sir George Murray were at the head of the Administration, he would not dare to speak of Scotland in the manner he had done, for that he would have been at once turned out of office. That was a sample of the genuine representation of things which was to be expected from a newspaper, when its interests clashed with those of the persons it misrepresented. Therefore was it, that when he found any sentiments which surprised him attributed to any friend of his in the public prints, that he at once withheld his credence from the report ; and he implored the House not to judge of his conduct in these trials from what had been detailed by the Press. With respect to the Motion of his learned friend, he begged to say he was most anxious that his request should be granted;

he was anxious that he should have the papers, to found a charge upon them if he thought proper, and bring in some measure to tie up the hands of the Attorney General. He wished, too, that the Motion should be granted for another, and more selfish reason—namely, that the papers might be printed, and the House thus enabled more easily to come to a deliberate decision respecting his conduct. He, therefore, offered no opposition to his hon. and learned friend. In conclusion he had only to say that no act of his was intended to restrict the liberty of the Press. It was a false view of the case to suppose that any act of his could have such a tendency. His learned friend was mistaken in accusing him of tyranny and oppression. He had no object except to restrain the excesses into which Alexander had been betrayed. In this he perhaps might fail, if Mr. Alexander found supporters and apologists in that House. He, however, had nothing to reproach himself with. He retained the opinion that he had acted as he ought; and, notwithstanding the observations of his learned friend, he believed that, under the same circumstances, he should act in the same manner again.

Sir *F. Burdett* said: Sir, I am unwilling to enter upon the subject before the House at this late hour, but, mindful of early friendship and old associations, I cannot abstain from delivering a few words. Sir, I must say, that notwithstanding the multitudinous topics in which the hon. and learned Gentleman below me indulged, and the entertainment he afforded the House by those drolleries, which would, however, in my opinion, have been better calculated for any other stage,—notwithstanding those gibes and gambols, and *sesquipedalia verba*, and apparently interminable sentences which, as he said of my learned friend's informations, contained a little of everything, and something more, —notwithstanding all these, his speech was like a grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff; for the sum and substance of his charge against my learned friend amounts to this—that he brought an *ex officio* information, after having first moved for an information under the orders of the Court. Now, when he states the charge he does not state the evils under which individuals laboured in consequence of these proceedings. He speaks of them as unprecedented —he thinks them not only dangerous to the Constitution, but such as every lawyer must deprecate—he says the consequences are such that no lawyer could be of opinion that any such subsequent proceedings could take place. I was glad to hear him dwell upon these legal effects of the proceedings, for here is an end at once to the charge, as far as the Attorney General is concerned, of cruelty and oppression. I say, Sir, I have derived the greatest satisfaction from this discussion on this account; and there is another satisfaction, which may not be conclusive on the minds of others, but is so on my own—that these proceedings and this discussion must have shown the utter impolicy of employing those powers which my learned friend exercised on this occasion. The learned Gentleman has shown, that a great number of things taken out of the newspapers, which were unworthy of his remark, were made the subject of prosecution. I regret it, for I am of opinion, with the great Chatham, that the Press is, like the air we breathe, "a chartered libertine." If the Press is licentious, it will cure itself; people will become inattentive to it, and its attacks will be ineffectual and of no avail upon those against whom they are directed. With respect to the supposition that these libels affected the reputation of the Ministers, I don't give credit to it for a moment. Will any body believe, that because the Duke of Wellington was called a coward he would stand a jot lower in the estimation of any one? I am free to confess, if there were any thing which could lower him in my mind, it would be these impolitic and ill-judged prosecutions. I do not believe that he will be in haste to repeat them. These are things which are to me sources of the greatest satisfaction. At the same time I must repeat what I stated on a former night, namely, my deep regret that my learned friend should have thought it worth his while to have recourse to that which I must call an unconstitutional mode of proceeding. It is, and always has been, an ineffectual mode of opposing opinion. Its inefficiency was proved even during the time when the Star Chamber, from which it is derived, flourished; and I am happy to hear the learned Gentleman opposite stigmatizing it as a power unconstitutional in itself, and inconsistent with the law and the liberty of the Press. What use indeed is it that the Star Chamber was abolished if the same power be still exercised by the Court of King's Bench? and if it continue to exercise this power, I cannot see what the country has gained by the abolition of the Star Chamber. The learned Gentleman has talked of Whigs and Tories, distinctions which I had hoped had been buried in the grave of the Capulets—which are out of date —but which he has revived in order to designate certain parties as Whigs and certain parties as Tories. What has been a Tory of late years has been a person of contracted, bigotted, and arbitrary disposition, who would sacrifice every thing for power, and who would make fear his instrument instead of love. On the contrary, a Whig has been taken to be a person of more mitigated, more free and liberal principles, one who would act on grounds more consistent with the institutions of a free Government. The learned Gentleman has referred to these two parties, and has called my learned friend a whig Attorney General. I believe that my learned friend is one who wishes well to the Press, but who has wrongly thought that he ought to exercise his discretion upon its employment. I beg to tell him, that discretion is a thing which is not derived *ex officio;* and as far as any Attorney General can have it, must depend on himself, and not on his office. The consequence of these proceedings is, that no man who suffers wrong from any publication will attempt to vindicate himself in this manner; for no man would be the better for it. I have some right to speak of these things, for I believe there is no individual who has been so much the butt of strong and malignant libels as myself. I never noticed them; for I could not perceive how a prosecutor should not be a loser among men of sound opinion. I thought it would be no vindication of conduct; and can I believe that other persons want that protection which an humble individual like myself did not require? Let him be protected by his own proceedings, and he will not stand the lower for these attacks; let him rely on his character, to which, sooner or later, a discerning public will pay justice. After what has passed this night, I hope my learned friend will do one act of justice to the Press. If he thinks, as he seems to think, that the law as it formerly stood was sufficient, let him be the first Attorney General to gain a well-merited fame by removing the odious statute relating to the Press which now disgraces the laws of this country. Let him put the Press on a free footing, on a footing consistent with public utility. That will be to himself a source of great honour, and to his country of great service. When the learned Gentleman talks of my learned friend as a whig Attorney General, I beg him to refer to what tory attornies-general have been. Let him look to the prosecutions of former years. If he will go into antiquity, and come down here with his recondite labours, loaded, not like bees with honey, but with musty shells in which to put his stores of learning, let him not, after searching through ancient history, overlook the modern page, and forget all the transactions before the present time. Let him see the prosecutions that Tory attornies general have instituted. I remember when a tory attorney general prosecuted the editor of the Courier—and to the honour of the right hon. Gentleman opposite let me here observe that he was the first to give protection to the subject, and in consequence to the Press, by allowing every man to appoint his own Jury—a proceeding that will reflect immortal honour on him, since he thereby abolished that system of packing, which would secure a Jury that should find Abel guilty of the murder of Cain, and that left no man any hope of escape. I say I remember that prosecution of Mr. Perry, for a libel, in laughing at the mad Emperor Paul for punishing people for wearing shoe-strings, which at that time was considered a signal of Jacobinism. He was found guilty; and what was the sentence? Why one year's imprisonment and 1,000*l.* fine! I can go farther back than that; and when the learned Gentleman talks of tory attornies general, let him recollect the trials for life of those honest men whose lives I say were endangered by the attempt of the attorney-general of that day to re-introduce those accursed constructive treasons, which consisted in publications in newspapers, in transactions done in open day by men who thought no more of treason than did the then attorney general, and perhaps not so much as Lord Eldon does now, since his last fervent hope was disappointed in the grant of Catholic emancipation. The attorney general of that time had not the good luck to be able to hang those honest men; but had he succeeded in his attempt, with the spirit which those times manifested, I am convinced that numbers of other worthy and excellent men would have followed them to the same fate. It is not long since a tory attorney general prosecuted the political writer, Mr. Cobbett, for writing against that wicked, atrocious, flagitious system of flogging English soldiers in the presence of German soldiers; of mercenaries; he was convicted, sentenced to imprisonment for two years, and to pay a fine of 1,000*l.**

After this, I say, let us look at the conduct of the whig Attorney General of the present day. I say that my learned friend left out the strongest part of his case. He has shown that no grievances existed in consequence of these prosecutions. I confess, that after he had the oath of Alexander, that he did not mean to throw any imputation on the character of the Lord Chancellor, nothing would have been so wise as to drop any further pursuit of that individual. I do not believe that any man gave credit to that charge; but even suppose there had been some weak enough to believe it, I think he ought to have stopped, upon this denial being given; but as to the other libels, I do think they were utterly unworthy of the notice of the persons to whom they were applied; and I much hoped at the moment, and do believe now, that if my learned friend had trusted to the good sense of the country, and to the effect of time upon men's minds, he would have found that a malicious attack upon character could not be successful for more than a very short period. However, that was a question for his judgment—he had to decide what he thought the honour of the Administration required, and for all the rest the juries were responsible—not he; for they were the judges whether those papers were or were not libels. But when the persons prosecuted were convicted—when they were within the power of the Government, what was done?—For three libels, one year's imprisonment and 100*l.* fine were imposed, or about the rate of 30*l.* and four months for each libel. That certainly was a most lenient administration of the law! The learned Gentleman may rummage among his standing records as deeply as he pleases; I do not think he will find one instance in which Government have dealt more leniently with persons who have been prosecuted. It is a great satisfaction to my mind that it has done so. It seems that the Tories out of office are not in good heart—their seats on this side of the House are uncomfortable. They are like those quadrupeds which clothed themselves in the lion's skin, but which could not conceal what was their birth; and though they made a great noise, it was not the noise of the lion.

Detrahere et pellem nitidus qua quisque per ora
Cederet introrsum turpis.

The Tories cannot, Sir, impose their present outcry upon the country for patriotism, nor can they give any satisfactory cause or reason for the new-born patriotism in this age of patriots. The first cause of their violence is the Duke of Wellington—the next the *in furia propria;* but when the learned Gentleman, one of these Tories, comes forward as a patriot, he must forgive me if I look upon his claim with caution, and if I confess that I am surprised so small a cause as that which actuates him could have occasioned so great a noise, and that so great a noise should have produced so little effect. I did expect a most grievous charge would be brought against my learned friend, and sorry I should have been had my conscience compelled me to vote against him. But I am in no such unpleasant situation. If the thunder of the prologue had been equalled by the subsequent parts of the acts of this drama, it would indeed have appeared by the vote we must have come to, that this House did cast blame upon my learned friend; but I feel the greatest satisfaction in knowing that we shall be compelled to do no such thing. The Motion, indeed, Sir, appears to me not meant for any other purpose than to

Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart

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* In 1810 some of the local Militia at Ely, in Cambridgeshire, demurred to march without being paid a guinea usually allowed for marching-money, or knapsacks. To quell this spirit of mutiny, a guard of the German Legion, then stationed at Newmarket, were ordered to Ely, (Soham) and punishment was inflicted upon the sons and servants of English farmers who were then serving their stipulated period. For observing in terms considered offensive by the Attorney General (Sir Vicary Gibbs) Cobbett was tried, and sentenced to two years imprisonment in Newgate, to pay a fine of one thousand pounds to the king, and to find sureties for his good behaviour for two years more. Mr. Hansard, the printer of the Register at that time, received three months imprisonment; Bagshaw and Budd, the booksellers, for publishing, two months; and these three were also to find surety for good behaviour for two subsequent years.

of the learned Gentleman. It has done that—I hope he is better for it. I, Sir, who hardly ever oppose any motion for inquiry, must almost make up my mind to do so here; for the learned Gentleman has not made up his mind to any subsequent proceedings, and this Motion in itself is without any definite object. Why he has not done so is clear—he does not wish for them; they would be inconvenient to him; he had rather the papers should be denied than that they should be laid on the Table of this House. It is unnecessary now to discuss the general subject of the law of libel. It is a law made by the Court; got up out of one of those fictions which are the curse of the law of England. A libel is something which depends on the constitution of the mind of the Attorney General. No man can say whether he is writing a libel or not. There is hardly any man so mad as wilfully to subject himself to the operation of such a law, or to attract the notice of the Attorney General, except the few to whom that notice will be an advantage. I think that Mr. Alexander is one of that number, and I think he is, as the learned Gentleman called him, an organ of the party. He is worthy of the party. I must say, however, that I hardly expected from a lawyer an acknowledgment that he was so; but, no doubt, as he is, his sufferings for the party will recommend him to the justice and the generosity of that party. These prosecutions, then, will not restrain him: he writes to eat; and that necessity is a more compulsory motive than any my learned friend can oppose by *ex officio* informations. I am inclined to believe he will benefit from them, and that, instead of being an example to terrify, he will be an object of emulation; and I think my learned friend will at last believe that the Press must be left to itself. There is a wide distinction which I wish to take between a public and a private libel. If any man feels that he must set himself right with the country, he wants no *ex officio*—that would defeat his purposes. If his object, on the other hand, is not vindication, but punishment, then he has recourse to this unjust, unconstitutional instrument, to inflict a penalty on the offender: but his character will not be vindicated: that object he must attain by the course of an action at common law, which is the only one that admits truth as an answer or defence; but here the attempt is, to vindicate character by the use of a brutal instrument of terror, which necessarily excites the compassion of all around. I do not know that truth will even be admitted as a defence to an action of libel, but it ought, certainly, in all instances, to be allowed in extenuation. But be that as it may, while the law is in such a state of confusion as it is at present, no person knows what is and what is not a libel. The law is vague—but the term libel is still more so. In the civil law it only means a book, and in certain Courts an indictment before a tribunal; but it is altogether vague and unsatisfactory, and is far from curtailing the license of the Press; it has no power but to work injustice. It has been asserted, and it is true, that distress is abroad; but the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues have not brought it on the country; and when the learned Gentleman speaks of it, he should remember who were the authors of it. Whatever may be said of the imperious disposition of the Duke of Wellington, I never knew any ministry who bore "their faculties more meekly." I have not the honour to know him but as a public Minister; but I believe, that though he does not think of the public distress exactly as we want him to do, there is yet no man who would more willingly afford relief to it if he could, and every one must be convinced that the charge which was the subject of the prosecution was utterly unfounded.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* confessed, that after the elaborate proemium of the learned Gentleman he felt considerable surprise at the Motion with which he had concluded. After the learned Gentleman's three months' gestation, and three hours of painful delivery, he was considering with what miraculous conception the learned Member was likely to teem; and was surprised when the learned Member concluded with a motion for papers, every one of which he held in his hand. He had expected some notice of a legislative proposition, or a grand constitutional assertion of principle. Notwithstanding his learned friend's offer to produce the papers required on parliamentary grounds, a justification might be made out for refusing them. It was quite natural, indeed, the learned Gentleman having intimated that at a future period he might possibly found some vote of censure upon those papers, with respect to the Attorney General's conduct, that his learned friend should be anxious to produce them. As the papers could be given without material inconvenience, he should not resist their production. The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to contrast the conduct of Sir C. Wetherell on this occasion with that of Mr. Brownlow, when proposing a resolution relative to the conduct of Lord Plunkett in filing *ex officio* informations after the rejection of bills of indictment by a grand jury. The hon. Member for Armagh proposed a strong resolution—the learned Gentleman quite the contrary. The learned Gentleman appeared to suppose that there was a design entertained by Government to overwhelm Mr. Alexander, because he was the representative of his party. In this conspiracy against the individual in question he had no share, for he never even heard of the libel in which his own name was mentioned, till he was informed of the prosecution which his learned friend, no doubt upon good grounds, had instituted. The learned Member supposed, because the name of the Member for Newark stood first in one of the paragraphs prosecuted as libellous, that its prosecution was intended, among other things, as a significant hint to the hon. Member, and as a means of heaping obloquy upon him for a supposed privity to the contents of the paragraph in which his name appeared. He denied this altogether. On the whole he was disposed to take much the same view of these libels as the hon. Baronet opposite. The hon. Baronet said, he had been more abused than any other public man. Certainly the hon. Baronet's political life was longer than his, but, making deductions for that, he could claim to be the hon. Baronet's rival in this way. He had been Chief Secretary in Ireland for six years, and was pretty well abused by one party; since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, he had been exposed to attacks from the other, as numerous and violent as any that the hon. Baronet himself could have experienced. The previous apprenticeship which he had served to attacks from the other side prepared him for attacks from this; and thus the account was balanced. Excepting the allegations against the Lord Chancellor, and the statements which purported to come from a person holding the situation of chaplain to a royal Duke, he should not have felt disposed to prosecute the ordinary political calumnies relative to treachery and apostacy, to which public men were so often subjected: he spoke now for himself—such groundless charges gave him very little pain indeed. He had so much respect for the learned Gentleman, and the great and powerful party with which he acted, that he regretted that the learned Gentleman should appear to connect himself or his party with the libels of the Morning Journal and Mr. Alexander—that he should speak of Mr. Alexander as the organ and representative of the Tory party.

Sir *C. Wetherell*—I used no such expression: neither those words, nor words synonymous; nor any thing which a fair man could so construe. [*Order.*]

Mr. *Peel* in continuation said, he would give the learned Gentleman full power and opportunity of explaining, and if he said he had not used the words, he would entirely and fully believe that he did not mean to use them. But that such words fell from his mouth in the heat of debate, was certain, and he would appeal to the recollection of the learned Member's friends in confirmation of the statement. The learned Gentleman had said that the object of the prosecution was to beat down the powerful Protestant party with which Mr. Alexander was connected, and of which he was supposed to be the representative; and his learned friend, the Attorney General, had to consider what effect might be produced by the libels in question on parties in this country and in Ireland. He would give the opponents of the Catholic Relief Bill in Parliament credit for feelings of sincere pleasure if their predictions with respect to the results of that measure should be falsified; he was sure that they would join the advocates and supporters of the bill in rejoicing at that: but studious efforts were making at the period of these libels to unsettle the public mind in Ireland, with a view to retard the beneficial effects expected from the Relief Bill, and keep the Protestant mind in that country in a state of excitation by the hope that other influence was about to prevail with the Sovereign over that of his Ministers, and that the Protestant monopoly would be re-established. Whatever might be the effect of those inflammatory paragraphs in this country, they were certainly calculated to be productive of much mischief in Ireland, where parties were so much excited, and where all means of fomenting that excitement were so industriously laid hold of. In the present case the subject matter was invested with a peculiar air of authority, which rendered its probable consequences in the highest degree dangerous and pernicious. It professed to be written by a clergyman of the Church of England, who was described as the chaplain of a royal Duke, and dealt the most violent personal attack on the Prime Minister of the Crown. Then it was immediately copied into all the Irish papers, and universally circulated amongst an irritated and disappointed party, where the elements of strife already but too generally existed. The hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to have omitted the consideration of some circumstances connected with those prosecutions, which, nevertheless, did not deserve to be overlooked. The defendant Gutch, who had been included in them, and had been found guilty, was permitted to leave the Court without any punishment whatever, in consideration of his absence from London, and indisposition at the period alluded to. This lenity was exercised at the particular instance of his hon. and learned friend the Attorney General, whose proposition it was, that he should not be brought up for judgment with the others. Was this manifesting a disposition to press unduly the power with which he had been intrusted by his office? Neither personal nor party motives had actuated his conduct; nor had he taken such a step at the dictation of Government, but in strict accordance with his own sense of duty, which he had invariably exercised with lenity and judgment. He quite agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman in thinking that he who controlled the excesses of the Press was, in reality, the true friend to the liberty of the Press, and that it was by resorting to such means alone that they would secure its proper influence and wholesome control over the conduct of public men. No man was more thoroughly convinced than himself that the Press exercised a salutary control over public measures and public men, but that control would not be increased by private calumny and unrestrained licentiousness. He admitted that it was most expedient in such cases to appeal to the old laws before they created new. It was so represented to Government in 1819, when it sought to invest the law with greater power, with a view to repress blasphemous publications. On this principle the Attorney General had acted: he had appealed to a jury, and shown that offences of this description were quite within the reach of the ordinary control of common law.

Lord *Althorp* observed, that he agreed in general with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Westminster, but that he must on principle condemn the practice of resorting to *ex officio* informations. Nothing which he had heard on that or on former debates had convinced him that the Attorney General ought to possess the power of filing such informations. Not that prosecution was always an evil, it was sometimes a good, and precisely what the libeller deserved. He believed that the publication, of which complaint had been made was, strictly speaking, a libel; but the excitation which existed last year, during the discussion of the Catholic Question, had led to a strong expression of feeling, which would not have been exhibited in more temperate times. He was of opinion, that very often attacks of the description which had given rise to these *ex officio* informations, instead of being injurious to the person attacked, were rather beneficial, since they gave to members of the Administration thus attacked an opportunity of defending themselves.

Mr. *O'Connell* observed, that it appeared to him that the prosecutions which had been carried on by the learned Attorney General showed evidently a desire to assume a dictation over the public Press. He felt extremely sorry for the manner in which the learned Gentleman had defended himself. He had asserted that the course which he had taken did not give him any additional advantage; but he would, on the contrary, show that it did give him a very great advantage over Mr. Alexander. After the learned Gentleman had first stirred in these proceedings he had changed his course, he had turned round, he had instituted two prosecutions, the one on account of Lord Lyndhurst, the second with reference to another of his Majesty's Ministers. By his first proceeding he had filed a sort of Bill of Discovery, and of that he had subsequently taken advantage. It was a singular fact, that during the heat of the contest, before the Catholic Relief Bill had been passed, when agitation prevailed to so extensive a degree, not a single prosecution for libel had been instituted. The prosecution which gave rise to the present Motion did not take place until some months afterwards. He was a good deal surprised at the course which had been taken; because on one day the defendant was apprised that he would be prosecuted for one libel, and the next he was told that he would be made to answer for two. Under such circumstances, how was he to frame his defence? He remembered reading what had occurred on one of the state trials, when the prisoner was kept in ignorance to within one night of the specific charge intended to be advanced against him, in order to prevent his framing a proper defence; and it seemed to him to be pretty nearly the same case here, where a man was made acquainted on one day with a little charge against him, and on the next was informed that it was much more extensive. The learned Gentleman then referred to the speech of the Attorney General on the trial of Mr. Alexander, on the 24th of December last, in which he was represented to have said, "he would now notice some of the topics of defence mentioned by his learned friend. And first, that the Duke of Wellington ought to prosecute another person, who was the author of the letter, and not the present defendants. But suppose another person were the author, and that he doubted, the Duke of Wellington would be happy to discover the author: that he stated from knowledge. Had the defendants furnished evidence on which to prosecute the author? Had they produced the letter and offered to prove the hand-writing? They had not. Had the author himself thought fit to own the Letter to the Duke of Wellington and abide the consequences? He had not. It was not because a name was signed to a letter that the Duke of Wellington could prosecute the author. If he failed in proving the hand-writing of the author in the original letter, the defendant must be acquitted. To say, therefore, that the Duke of Wellington prosecuted a newspaper for publishing a libel, but would not prosecute the author for writing it, was an evasion which should not be allowed to go forth to the public unanswered." Here it was clearly stated, that the Duke of Wellington would willingly forego a prosecution of the printer, if he could discover the author. But was the sincerity of this declaration borne out? In the case of another newspaper, which occurred but a few days afterwards, the author of an alledged libel avowed himself in a letter addressed by him, on the 22nd of January, to Mr. Maule, the solicitor of the Treasury, but no declaration was made to the person who had written the objectionable article, Mr. Stanley Lees Gifford, who avowed himself to be the author, that he was to be prosecuted, and that Mr. Baldwin would not be molested. On the contrary, the letter was returned to the writer, on the 27th of January, without the least ceremony, and Mr. Baldwin being kept in ignorance, up to the very day of trial, that he was not to be prosecuted, was put to all the expense of preparing for his defence. He would ask whether this was acting in the spirit of the declaration made by the Attorney General in the speech which he had quoted. It was directly the reverse; and he was not wrong, under these circumstances, in saying that the feeling and the desire of the Attorney General was to put down the Press? It appeared to him that the law-officers of the Crown were too eager to punish libel, at the same time that the country knew not what the law of libel was. The same system had been pursued by Whig and Tory: on this point, at least, there was no difference between them. They were told that that which threw an unpleasant reflection on any man was matter of libel. Such was the splendid definition of the law of libel—a definition which at once put an end to free discussion with respect to public men and public measures. Nothing, he was convinced, but the progress of public opinion could remedy this evil.

The *Attorney General* denied that he wished to domineer over the Press. Nothing that he had ever said, or that he had ever done, could justify such a conclusion. He was obliged to take the law as he found it, and by the law he had been guided in all his proceedings. The hon. and learned Gentleman had introduced a case which was not then under discussion. That case, he begged leave to observe, must stand on its own merits, and must not be judged in conjunction with any other case. The hon. and learned member, he must say, was mistaken in his facts. The Duke of Wellington would have been happy, on the trial which had taken place, to have prosecuted the author of the libel; but up to the time of the trial no author appeared that could be prosecuted. If the author had been forthcoming, he would have been prosecuted. He begged leave to correct one error into which some Gentlemen had fallen. It was said that but one day's notice of trial had been given. Now he would state that ten days' notice had been afforded.

Sir *R. Heron* observed, that in his opinion the noble Duke had been very ill-advised in carrying on these prosecutions. He ought, like his predecessors, to have treated these libels with the contempt they deserved. If all animadversions on the conduct of public men were to be prosecuted as libels, there was an end of the freedom of the Press.

Mr. *North* was of opinion, that these prosecutions had not been instituted so much with a view to gratify the personal feelings of the persons attacked, which some hon. Members seemed to suppose, as to defend the character of illustrious men, which was the property of their country. He agreed with Mr. Burke that men could not look with indifference on the contempt of their fellow creatures; and the law was therefore bound to shield them from calumny. It seemed to be a mistake to suppose that these prosecutions had not been begun on account of the excitation occasioned by the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill. Many persons, both in England and Ireland, were anxious that the agitation occasioned by the discussions on the Catholic Question should survive the passing of the bill. To allow that bill to have fair play it was necessary that the Government should watch over its infancy. It was bound to prevent busy and disappointed men from marring the effect of that healing measure. He would not enter into the questions which had been mooted as to the law of libel, he having only risen to explain that, in his opinion, these prosecutions were necessary in order to prevent the spreading of calumnious assertions, that were only intended to preserve alive a spirit of dissatisfaction.

The *Solicitor General* defended the course pursued by his hon. and learned friend. The hon. and learned Member for Clare had observed, that during the period of agitation, no prosecution for libel had been instituted. This, he conceived, was a very proper mode of proceeding. Government was unwilling, while the country was in a ferment, to add to the excitation which was felt on all sides. But when the great measure was carried which created so much warmth, then, and then only, did the Government think it right to interfere, in order to prevent the daily promulgation of libel. He looked upon the libel against the Lord Chancellor, not merely as a libel directed against an individual, but as a libel which affected that which was most dear to the country in a constitutional point of view, he meant the pure administration of justice. The proceeding in that case he conceived to be a proper one; the charge of the judge he considered to be correct, and the finding of the jury was, in his opinion, perfectly just. Some individuals seemed to suppose that the libel in question could not affect, could not injure the character of the Lord Chancellor, but he was prepared from his own knowledge to say, that it was most injurious; and he was quite convinced, that if he had not repelled it, he would have been utterly unable to have remained in his situation. Looking to the important duties which the Lord Chancellor had to perform, it was quite impossible, if he allowed the remotest taint of suspicion to rest on his character, that he could be looked up to with that respect and veneration which such a functionary ought to command. The course pursued by the hon. and learned Gentleman with whom this motion originated, was neither more nor less than this; namely, to bring before the House the person who had prosecuted, and successfully prosecuted, an individual accused of libel, together with the Lord Chief Justice who tried the cause, and the jury who had decided on it. He had watched those cases with much anxiety, and he would assert, in the face of that House, that never were prosecutions carried on with a more sincere desire not to punish unnecessarily, but merely to do that which was demanded by a regard to the peace and safety of the country.

Mr. *Sadler* was of opinion, that it was very right to bring this subject before the House, and he conceived that his Majesty's Attorney General could not feel any hardship in consequence of its being so introduced. He had some observations to make on the subject, which he would offer when a distinct proposition relative to this subject was before the House. He admitted that the question had been very well argued on legal grounds; but there were some other points connected with it which he deemed very important, and which, if no other individual thought proper to bring forward, he certainly would.

Mr. *Hume* said, he was extremely glad that this Motion had been made, and he was quite sure the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir C. Wetherell) had read the Attorney General such a lecture as he could never forget to the last day of his existence. The Attorney General, in explanation, had said, that he did not mean to set himself up as a dictator of the Press: but he could assure the Attorney General that the impression of those around him (Mr. Hume) was, that such was his meaning. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Peel) was very different, and did him great credit. He had always, both in public and private, praised the right hon. Gentleman for treating the calumnies of the Press with the contempt they deserved. He was sorry that the hon. Baronet, the Member for Westminster, had attempted to palliate the conduct of the Attorney General by alluding to that of attornies general in the most odious times of tyranny. The present state of the libel law was a disgrace to the country. The Attorney General had said, that he was favourable to a well-regulated Press: but what did the Attorney General mean by this? His meaning was evident,—namely, a Press regulated by himself. He had never heard a weaker defence than that of the Attorney General, and when the papers distributed it over the land, he was quite sure that the voice of the public would induce him to stay his hand. He had never heard any individual defend the libel on the Lord Chancellor. On the contrary, every body condemned it, and rejoiced at the punishment of it. He protested, however, against this being put, as the Solicitor General had put it, in the front of the battle. He was glad that these prosecutions had been begun without the knowledge of the Secretary for the Home Department. This confirmed his opinion of the right hon. Gentleman's character. He hoped the country would know this: he hoped the country would know that the right hon. Gentleman was not aware of these prosecutions until the day after they were brought into Court. He trusted the Attorney General would learn caution by the proceedings of this night, and he thanked the learned Gentleman for bringing forward this Motion.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, that the hon. Member for Aberdeen had so totally misrepresented what he had said, that he must be allowed to lay claim to contradict it at a future time, for to trespass upon the House at that late hour was out of the question.

Mr. *Peel* said, that words were not strong enough to describe the misrepresentation into which the hon. Member for Aberdeen had fallen with respect to him. So far from differing with his hon. and learned friend, the Attorney General, he entirely agreed with him; nay, he had not heard one single sentence from his hon. and learned friend in which he did not concur. In what he had said upon the point on which the hon. Member for Aberdeen had so strangely mistaken him, he was speaking of himself personally, and of the abuse which had been levelled at him. He had expressly stated that his hon. and learned friend had acted upon no other than the just and proper feeling of preventing the continuance of excitement in this country and in Ireland. He entertained the same feeling, and if he had been told that a chaplain of the Duke of Cumberland had made such a political charge against a Minister, or that any other person had made such a personal charge against the Lord Chancellor, he should have been ready to suggest the institution of a prosecution. All he had contended for was, that there had been no conspiracy to ruin an individual; and he said again, that he did not know that [he himself had been mixed up in the libel, until the author of the libel had been prosecuted. Knowing the deliberate intention in which these libels were published, he begged to be understood as perfectly concurring in the prosecutions against the author of them.

The *Solicitor General* said, that he also had been most strangely misrepresented by the hon. Member for Aberdeen. He had not put the libel against the Lord Chancellor foremost in the battle, except so far as it was the first of a series of libels. He was willing to put that out of the question, and to defend the rest of the prosecutions.

Sir *C. Wetherell* said, that at that late hour he should compress his reply into a very small compass. When he professed himself to be a Tory, he could not of course labour under so great a delusion as to expect to meet with the approbation of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Westminster. No amalgamation, no reciprocity of sentiments could take place between them upon the Tory creed; but there was no delusion in him, if there were consistency in the hon. Baronet, when he expected to find support from the hon. Baronet in defending the liberty of the Press. Strange to say, however, he had met with an opponent in the hon. Baronet on this point. So also had the hon. Baronet treated him on what he had said with respect to the privileges of the House; and no wonder. Ten or twelve years ago, if his memory did not fail him, the hon. Baronet had shown the greatest possible contempt for the privileges of the House; and he was not surprised, therefore, that the hon. Baronet should lay heavy stripes on his back for the sticking to the Journals. His search into the Journals was mere chaff in the opinion of the hon. Baronet, now, as heretofore, when the hon. Baronet held cheap and trampled on the privileges of the House. It was a part of the honourable Baronet's tactics to hold cheap all searches into the privileges of that House. If it were not so late, he would go more at length into the fine declamatory attack of the hon. Baronet upon him; but, leaving it here, allow him to say that the hon. Baronet seemed to be more of a theoretical than a practical patriot. And now for the right hon. Secretary, who had endeavoured, somehow or other, to make it out that he was connected with, or was a partisan of Alexander's paper. The right hon. Gentleman had let him down easy; he did not thank him for that, but only for his intention, on this point, by supposing that the words he had used had fallen from him in the heat of debate. Now, he did not pretend to have much greater coolness and self-possession in debate than other Gentlemen possessed, but he begged leave to say that he had used no such expressions as those which the right hon. Gentleman had attributed to him. The right hon. Gentleman had observed that he had not defended Alexander in Court. Surely that was a proof that he was not a partisan of the Paper, and the only part of the libel in which he had said that he should have concurred, was that in which it was said that the condition of the august personage alluded to was to be commiserated. He repeated this, and this, *ipsissimis verbis* was the expression he had used, and which had been violently tortured into something else—something different. He did not, therefore, think that the right hon. Gentleman had fairly reciprocated the absence of personality in which he had commenced and conducted this question. But his main position remained untouched. That position was, that there was no case on the Journals of that House in which the Attorney General had proceeded against an individual for a libel on a Member of the House, without leave of the House. His hon. friend the Attorney General smiled—smiled in contradiction as it seemed, to this statement. Now he was always glad to see his hon. and learned friend in good humour, and in the same good humour he begged leave to re-state and to re-assert this position, and, moreover, to repeat that it had not been touched. There was once a celebrated wit, George Selwyn, whose habit it was to play off a very ingenious trick upon his opponents in argument. That trick was, to represent his opponent as saying something very ridiculous, and then to get up and answer that which he had put into the mouth of his antagonist. This was George Selwyn's way, and the plan had been adopted by the Attorney General that night. But, at that late hour, it was impossible for him to go into all these things. The Attorney General had admitted that he meant to put down the paper; and this was a part of the complaint which he (Sir C. Wetherell) made. It was not because Alexander was scurrilous, but because the paper was the champion of the fallen Protestant party that it was to be put down. Could the Attorney General find no other paper to put down? "Oh! but," said Mr. Attorney, "I can't read all the newspapers; I have not time." Perhaps not; but it seemed that the Attorney General found time to read the Morning Journal. There were many other papers—daily papers—besides as many as fifteen Sunday papers, he believed, of which the editors made no holiday on Sunday,—

> The sabbath shines no day of rest to them:

of all these daily and Sunday papers, none but the Journal was read by Mr. Attorney. The knockers and the bells of all the other editors were undisturbed by Mr. Attorney; it was only the brass at the door of Mr. Alexander that had charms for the hon. and learned Gentleman. "And yet," said Mr. Attorney, "it was not Alexander, the libeller, that I attacked, but the Morning Journal." This was what he complained of: and now if any Gentleman told him that he was connected with any of these people, he begged to say, in the strongest Parliamentary language, that such Gentleman imputed to him what was not true. He had been taunted with his labours of gestation; he had been told that his labours were all gestation, and that they ended not in delivery; but he begged leave to say, that he had stated he should go farther, and he promised them that his labour should not end in the barren result anticipated. His intention was to take the sense of the House on this question,—namely, whether, when an Attorney General had got out of a man the nature of his defence, he was then at liberty to proceed against that man by *ex officio* informations. He begged leave to say that he was gratified with the expressions of approbation which he had received from many hon. Members; and although he had received such stripes in a certain patriotic quarter, yet he should sleep soundly, nevertheless, under the conviction that he had shown himself a greater friend to the liberty of the Press than the hon. Baronet (Sir F. Burdett), though he had not pronounced so eloquent a declamation as had proceeded from the hon. Baronet. The late hour of the night prevented him from going as fully into the speeches on the other side as his inclination prompted him.

Mr. *Peel* said, that if the hon. and learned Gentleman supposed that he had intimated that the hon. and learned Gentleman had any personal connexion with the Morning Journal he was mistaken. He had said no such thing; and if he had misrepresented any part of the hon. and learned Gentleman's speech, he had done so unintentionally.

Mr. *Tennyson* thought that a part, at least, of the present Motion, could not be complied with. The exact words in which each verdict was pronounced, and the exact words in which the juries recommended the defendant to mercy, were not, he apprehended, recorded.

Sir *C. Wetherell* said, that they were handed up in writing, and did, or ought to exist.

Mr. *Tennyson* said, that still he did not know that they were part of the record.

Motion put and agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, March 3.

Minutes.] The Consolidation Fund Bill, and the Clerks of the Peace Balances Bill, were read a third time.—Several Returns, relative to the Import and Export of Lead, and relative to the National Debt, were laid on the table, and ordered to be printed; and certain witnesses were ordered to attend the Committee sitting to inquire into the East-India Company's Charter.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, March 3.

Minutes.] Sir T. Baring presented the Report of the City of Cork Election Committee, stating that Mr. G. Callaghan was not duly elected; that the last election was consequently void; that the Petition against it was not frivolous or vexatious: and also that the opposition was not frivolous or vexatious.—A new writ was ordered to issue for Cork, in the room of Mr. G. Callaghan, on the motion of Sir T. Baring.—The Ecclesiastical Leases Bill was read a second time.—The Contempt in Equity Bill, the Lunatics' Property Bill, and the Liability of Real Property Bill, were read a third time.—Lord Lowther gave notice for Monday of a motion for leave to bring in a Bill, to remove the Market for Hay and Straw from its present situation in the Parish of St. Martin-in-the-fields.—Mr. Dawson brought in the Transfer of Aids Bill, and the Exchequer Bills Bill for 1830: both read a first time.—Returns were laid on the table of the pay and allowances of the Royal Marines; of the quantity of Corn, Meal, and Flour, imported both from foreign parts and from Ireland, both in British and in foreign ships; of the sums received and paid by the Commissioners of the National Debt on account of Savings Banks; of the average sale at which Stock had been purchased for the redemption of the National Debt; of the money received from the sale of Life Annuities; of all foreign Lead, and Lead Ore imported; of the Salaries of Receivers General of Taxes; and of all additions made to the National Debt.—Returns were ordered of all the Coals imported into Dublin during every year since 1822; of all the Suits commenced in the Courts at Westminster during the years 1825 to 1829 inclusive; of all private and public Meetings before Commissioners of Bankrupts between January 1828 and January 1830.

Manchester Petition.] Mr. *E. Davenport*, in presenting a Petition from Manchester for a reduction of taxation, and complaining of distress, said it would be desirable that the House should come to some understanding on the subject of his Motion on the State of the Country, which stood for Friday next. He understood, as the motion was not likely to be very acceptable to Ministers, that they intended to avail themselves of their empire over the Orders of the Day on Friday, to prevent it from coming on at a reasonable hour. The hon. Member for Hertfordshire had, in anticipation of that harbinger of spring, the cuckoo, thought fit to lay his egg in his (Mr. Davenport's) nest, and refused to give way to him. The hon. Member for Bletchingley also had a motion for Friday, but was willing to allow precedence to him (Mr. Davenport). The Chancellor of the Exchequer, probably with a view to catch some stray votes in a division upon which he ought not to have a majority, had given notice of what he called a Financial Statement for the 15th of March; but the House should recollect that it was admitted Ministers had no plan of relief. He should be in his place on Friday, ready to proceed with his motion, if it were the pleasure of the House to permit him to do so. The petition which he held in his hand afforded an additional proof of distress, and an additional reason for inquiry. It was from the retail dealers of Manchester, and had attached to it the signatures of every dealer in the town except three: the first of them was a butcher, and his name was not to the petition because he happened to be drunk when it was signed; the second was a Quaker, who having plenty of spare confidence, said he confided in the wisdom of Parliament; the third was a pensioner, who got his living by taxation, and saw no occasion for its reduction.

Mr. *Tennyson* thought it would be convenient to the House if it could be understood what was to be the question for discussion on Friday. He did not give up all hope that the right hon. Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might develope some plan of relief which would make the hon. Member's motion less necessary.

Mr. *Bernal* wished to know from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he proposed or not to proceed with any Estimates on Friday, as some were fixed for that day.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that it was the general understanding that the Estimates should be proceeded with on Mondays and Fridays; but that, bowing to the feeling of the House, he had sacrificed one of those days for the East Retford question. He did not, however, therefore think it necessary to fix some other day for the motion of the hon. Member for Shaftesbury.

Sir *Richard Vivian* was of opinion that the House ought on no consideration to postpone the motion for considering the state of the country. If it were again and again indefinitely postponed, the ferment in the country might go the length of a revolution, and be beyond the control of Parliament.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had some reason to complain, and did not therefore expect to have been attacked. He had fixed the Committee of Supply for Friday, but had given way, against his own wish, because Members were anxious to proceed with the East Retford Bill. He would not oppose the hon. Member for Shaftesbury fixing his motion on some other day.

Colonel *Davies* said, he did not feel disposed to place much confidence in any statement the Chancellor of the Exchequer was likely to make, and therefore he thought the House ought not to defer the motion for taking into consideration the state of the country. A large division in the favour of the motion for an inquiry might make the Members come forward with a statement suitable to the wants and wishes of the people. It was not his wish to oppose Government, but to strengthen it, if it was to enable it to give some relief to the country.

Mr. *Harvey* confessed, that he was one of those who thought the distress of the country very severe, but he did not think it was of so revolutionary a tendency as the hon. Member for Cornwall (Sir R. Vivian) seemed to suppose. The country would, he believed, wait patiently, though the hon. Member for Shaftesbury's motion were postponed, and that motion would, he thought, be most suitably made, after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made his statement. If that were not what the country had a right to expect of Government—did not give the people sufficient relief—all their Representatives might then unite in one body to compel it. He would not wish that they should do that till the government had developed its plans, for he was not without hope that the Government, by repealing the tax on Beer, and adopting other financial measures of a similar nature, would render it unnecessary for the Representatives of the people to take on themselves the task of chiding it. He thought, therefore, that the hon. Member's motion should be postponed.

Mr. *A. Baring* said, he could not see any necessary connection between the motion of the hon. Member and the financial statement of the right hon. Gentleman, that one should be postponed for the other. Although he did not expect much from the motion of the hon. Member, yet, as the country was certainly suffering under some distress, the House ought not to interpose unnecessary objections in the way of a motion that had relief in view. The country might think it was sported with were the motion to be again postponed. He was the more anxious that the motion should not be postponed, on account of the exaggerated statements which were made in both Houses of Parliament of the distressed condition of the country. He had a great respect for the hon. Member for Cornwall, but could not believe with him, that we were on the eve of a revolution. The greater part of England he was satisfied was perfectly quiet, and one reason he had for wishing that the motion of the hon. Member might not be postponed was, that the state of the country might be made evident to all.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he was far from wishing to postpone the hon. Member's motion, but it would have been more convenient had the hon. Member selected a day on which he might have brought it forward without asking other hon. Members to give up their plans. He was anxious, and so were all the Ministers, that the motion should come on. He was anxious that the country should not be kept in suspense as to the several plans of relief hon. Members had to propose. It should be remembered, however, that Ministers had given way to the hon. Member for Bletchingley (Mr. Tennyson) and had consented to postpone the Estimates beyond Friday, in order that the hon. Member's motion relative to East Retford (and as that had been three years before the House, it was high time it should be settled,) might not be deprived of the support of his friends who were about to go on circuit. Having thus given way, the Ministers were then asked to forego their arrangement, and make way for the hon. Member for Shaftesbury. It has been hinted that the hon. Member may introduce his motion as an amendment to any other motion, and if he means to do so it will be a great convenience to the House to be informed whether or not such is his intention, and what is the precise nature of his motion. When that is known the House will be able to decide what course ought to be pursued.

Mr. *E. Davenport* said, he was anxious to accommodate himself to the wishes of the House, but he heard such conflicting opinions, that he could not make out what those wishes were. He certainly could have no objection to state that his motion would be for a Committee to inquire into the State of the Country. He was too old a soldier not to take advantage of circumstances, and therefore he could not state more precisely what his motion would be, till the day of battle arrived. If he put off his motion beyond Friday, he was afraid that he should have no opportunity of bringing it on till after Easter. He thought the House would not wish him to postpone his motion till after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made his statement on the 15th instant, though if that right hon. gentleman would state that he meant to propose a material reduction of the public burthens he should have no objection to wait till he heard him detail his plans. The House, however, had heard the hon. Member for Callington (Mr. Baring), whom he might perhaps call the ministerial Member for that place; from that there could be no hope of the Government materially reducing the national burthens. Not looking for any relief from the right hon. Gentleman's statement, he should not, therefore, postpone his motion beyond Friday, and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would not oppose the hundred of Bassetlaw to the wishes of all England.

Sir *Richard Vivian* said, that he did not mean to affirm that the country was in a state of rebellion, but nobody, he thought, could deny that there was a revolutionary spirit in the country, which it would not be wise to inflame by refusing or delaying to inquire into the means of relieving the general distress. He would only remind the House, in proof of his assertion, of the Birmingham Union, and of the several Societies for promoting Radical Reform, which were already matured in different parts of the country. The hon. Member for Callington did not seem aware that a meeting had lately taken place in its neighbourhood, to complain of distress, and petition for relief; and being ignorant of that, the House would not be disposed to place much confidence in his representation of the general satisfaction which the hon. Member said existed in the country.

Mr. Tennyson, Mr. Portman, Sir F. Burdett, Mr. T. Duncombe, Mr. Peel, Sir E. Knatchbull, and Sir J. Graham, severally urged the hon. Member for Shaftesbury to state distinctly whether or not he was resolved to bring forward the motion on Friday, since it would be a great convenience to be certain of the fact.

The Petition was then read, and the question that it do lie on the table was received with laughter, and calls for "Mr. E. Davenport."

Mr. *E. Davenport* said, it appeared to

him to be the feeling of the House that he should proceed forthwith with his motion, [*A general cry of "No, no."*] He should leave the motion, then, as it stood, for Friday.

Sir *E. Knatchbull* said, that the matter then remained in the same uncertainty in which they had found it.

The Petition was then ordered to lie on the Table.

DUTY ON PRINTS AND BOOKS.] Mr. *Bernal* begged to ask a question of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting a practice that had lately sprung up in the port of London, and in some of the outports. Formerly, a duty of 6*d.* used to be paid at the Custom-house on maps and prints, unless they belonged, and were attached to, a book, in which case they passed with the book, and were included in the duty of 5*l.* per cwt. Lately, however, within the last six months, the Custom-house officers in London and at Dover had taken it into their heads to charge 6*d.* for every print or map which was contained in a book, besides the duty of 5*l.* per cwt. He begged from the right hon. Gentleman an explanation of this novel proceeding.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was not then prepared, but would to-morrow satisfy the hon. Member.

THE LATE TRIALS IN CORK.] Mr. *Jephson* rose, pursuant to the notice he had given, to move for several Returns connected with the postponement from the last summer assizes at Cork, of the trials of Leary and others, charged with a conspiracy to murder. The hon. Member prefaced his Motion by saying those trials had been unwarrantably postponed by Chief Baron O'Grady. He fixed a day for the termination of the assizes, and beyond that he would not wait, though he was earnestly implored to wait, and though, by not waiting, he consigned the men to prison for several months. The hon. Member concluded by moving "That there be laid before the House a copy of the entry made by the clerk of the Crown, as to the cause of the postponement of the trials at the last summer assize at Cork, of the trials of Leary and others, accused of Conspiracy to Murder; also a copy of the Memorial of the Grand Jury of Cork to the Lord Lieutenant, for a special commission to try the prisoners, and the answer thereto; also copies of any correspondence of the Crown Solicitor on the subject of the trials; a copy of any notes made by the learned Judge who postponed the trials; and also an account of the whole expense of the Special Commission, held in Cork in October last, and how the money was appropriated."

Colonel *O'Grady*, in seconding the Motion, said, that he knew nothing of the circumstances, but being nearly connected with the Judge who presided, he could state that as far as he (the learned Judge) was concerned, he would have no objection to give every information in his power.

Mr. *King* supported the Motion, and said, he was sure that all the circumstances would be satisfactorily explained.

Lord *Leveson Gower* said, he had no objection to the Motion, except to that part which related to the Judge's notes, to call for which in such a case was, in his opinion, unparliamentary.

Sir *C. Wetherell* objected to the production of the Judge's notes, and also to the confidential correspondence of the Crown Solicitor on the subject of the trials.

Mr. *Doherty* suggested to the hon. Member (Mr. Jephson) to withdraw those parts of his Motion, to which, after a few words, he consented, and the Motion thus reduced was agreed to.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.] Mr. *E. Davenport*, adverting to what passed on the subject of his motion on the State of the Country, which stood for Friday, said, that on consideration he was reluctantly induced to postpone it, as it might be inconvenient to many Members who would wish to vote upon it, and who also wished to vote on the East Retford question. He would, therefore, postpone it from Friday next, and fix it for the day after that named for the financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—namely, for Tuesday, the 16th instant.

CALL OF THE HOUSE.] Sir *R. Vyvyan* fixed his Motion, that the House be called over, also for Tuesday the 16th instant.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, March 4.

MINUTES.] The royal assent was given by commission to the Consolidated Fund Bill, and the Clerks of the Peace Balances Bill.—Returns were laid on the table relative to the Long Annuities, the Savings Banks, and the Affairs of India.

COMMITTEE ON EAST-INDIA AFFAIRS.] Earl *Bathurst* moved, that the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the East India Affairs, do, from time to time, report their proceedings to the House.—Ordered.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* said, he felt very great satisfaction at the motion which had just been made by the noble Earl. He was about to present three or four petitions on the subject of the East-India Company's Charter, the prayer of which was similar to the prayer of other petitions which he had already presented with reference to that question. He begged leave to take that opportunity of stating, that the Representatives of various bodies of individuals, in different parts of the country, who were sent to town to watch over the interests of many who were anxiously awaiting the result of this inquiry, had expressed to him, and, he believed, to other noble Lords, a wish to be made acquainted with the proceedings before the Committee, in such manner as might seem most proper to their Lordships, in order that they might be enabled to form an opinion on the evidence (the subject being one in which they felt a deep and important interest), and to judge how far it would be expedient for them to bring forward other evidence relating to this question. He felt, whatever the rules of their Lordships' House might be, upon this point, that it was highly necessary and proper for those persons to be made fully acquainted with the proceedings of the Committee, and the subjects to which they directed their inquiry. Many of them understood the question perfectly well; and they possessed information which probably was not before the Committee, and which they were anxious to tender to their Lordships. He confessed that he was one of those who wished that course to be taken, although he was aware that some difficulties might arise in effecting the object to which he alluded, in consequence of the formation of their Lordships' Committees. He gave his full concurrence to any measure which was likely to give to those persons the satisfaction they desired; and therefore he heard with much pleasure the motion of the noble Lord, the President of the Council, who presided over the Committee. That motion arose out of a Resolution which the Committee had agreed to on that day, and which empowered it, from time to time, to order the publication of the evidence. He hoped that the proceedings would be reported as frequently as possible, by which course the parties would be put in possession of those facilities which they anxiously wished to attain: and they would thus have an opportunity, when they saw the proceedings, of suggesting whether it would be necessary to adduce other evidence. Hoping that their object would be fully attained, he would trouble their Lordships no further, but move "that the Petitions be brought up."

The Petitions were then read. They were from the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and inhabitants of Glasgow, and Blackburne, and from the Dock Company of Hull, and prayed that the East-India Company's Charter might not be renewed.

DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.] The Duke of *Grafton* presented a Petition from the owners and occupiers of land in the county of Suffolk. His Grace observed, that the object of the petition was to call their Lordships' serious attention to the distressed state of the Agricultural interest, and particularly to the melancholy situation in which the class of labourers was placed. The Petitioners recommended, and in their recommendation he cordially agreed, the most strict and rigid economy; and they prayed for a remission of those taxes which bore most immediately on the labouring classes. Although it was evident that great and extensive distress was felt throughout the country, yet he was not one of those who despaired of seeing that distress alleviated. In the last Session their Lordships were occupied with a question which absorbed all others, and prevented them from looking narrowly into the state of the country; but he hoped that in the present Session, some great and well-digested measure would be introduced—that some extensive and effectual remedy would be devised—for the relief of the labouring population. The interests of the country, and, he might add, the interests of humanity, peremptorily required a measure of that nature.

The Earl of *Stamford* bore testimony to the fact, that very great distress existed throughout the country, not only in the agricultural, but in the manufacturing districts. In consequence of the act of the legislature by which the currency was altered, men who were formerly in respectable circumstances were reduced to comparative poverty: their stock was sold to pay rates and taxes, and in numerous parishes they were reduced even to the necessity of mending the roads. Many of the labourers were obliged to take refuge in the workhouse, while others were passing their time in idleness, engendering feelings of insubordination and disaffection. If the tradesmen were asked how business was going on, their uniform answer was, that it was never so bad. The timber-merchant would tell them that the same timber which brought 6*s*. a foot in 1814 was now almost unsaleable at 3*s*. a foot; and the butcher complained that he had not one-half the demand for meat which he could boast of a few years ago. He did not make these observations for the purpose of casting censure on his Majesty's Government, but he felt it right to say thus much in support of the statements contained in the petition.

Lord *Calthorpe* said, that the privation experienced by the people at the present moment was, he believed, universal, scarcely any part of the empire was free from it. Most certainly the pressure was general, and was felt most severely. While, however, he admitted the existence of distress, he must be allowed to observe that, in different places, it differed extremely in degree. It appeared to him, however, that the existence of such a degree of privation as every man knew to prevail throughout England, called urgently for very strong measures at the hands of Parliament, and of his Majesty's Ministers, to meet the exigency of the time. It was the imperative duty of Ministers to do their utmost to diminish those burthens which bore so heavily on the country. He, for one, did not withhold from Ministers that credit which was due to them, for a sincere and honest anxiety to reduce the existing taxes. But he certainly must say, that if the work of retrenchment and the improvement of the country were not speedily undertaken,—if his Majesty's Ministers did not afford the utmost facilities for a full and ample inquiry into the degree and extent to which that retrenchment might safely be effected, and if at the same time the resources of the empire were not permanently enlarged and ameliorated by positive remedies,—the people would have much reason to complain. More than one remedy had been urged upon the House, and particularly by a noble Viscount (Goderich), who stated his views on the subject a few evenings since. Many of the measures adverted to by him might be carried into effect with the greatest advantage. The taxation, on which the noble Viscount particularly touched, and which pressed with extreme severity on the industry of the country, might, he conceived, be diminished without any loss to the Revenue, but, on the contrary, with considerable benefit to it.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, there was no objection whatever, on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, to afford every information in their power, with respect to the expenditure of the country. It could not certainly have escaped the notice of noble Lords, that the estimate of the expense of the country had been very considerably diminished in the present Session of Parliament, in comparison with that of the last and the preceding Session, considering at the same time what reductions had been made in those Sessions on the estimate of former Sessions. He could safely say that he had done every thing in his power, and all the other Ministers of his Majesty had done every thing in their power, to reduce the expense of the country to the smallest possible amount. There was no expense incurred that was not expressly necessary to maintain the honour of the country, and to uphold its interests, extended as they were to every quarter of the world. It was perfectly true that this island was but a small portion of the globe, yet its interests were extended all over the world, and must be maintained, though at a great expense. The expense necessary for the maintenance of the honour and interests of this country was at present only 12,000,000*l*. of money; for there had been a decrease, in the last three Sessions of Parliament, of not less than 2,000,000*l*. on this part of the expenditure; and their Lordships must know that the other portions of the expenditure, such as the payments for half-pay and for the interest of the national debt, could not be touched at all. Having said this, he must claim for himself and his colleagues credit for an anxious desire to do every thing in their power to diminish the expenditure. With respect to the amount of expense incurred on account of the Colonies, he believed that the number of troops in the old colonies, and places occupied by a military force previously to 1792, was now reduced lower than it was in that year. This country had, however, in the course of the last war, made very considerable conquests, and those conquests required for their maintenance large bodies of men, and consequently created a great additional expense. They required for their protection, very nearly as many troops as the old colonies. In some parts of the world England had very important ones now, which formerly were not in her possession, to maintain which a certain force was obliged to be kept up. Before the war we were not masters of the Cape of Good Hope, of the Mauritius, nor of Ceylon. In the Mediterranean we had formerly no station, except Gibraltar, which was not the case now. It was obvious, that all the colonies which we had acquired demanded a large force for their protection. These things considered, it appeared to him that the military establishment had been reduced as far as it could be reduced, a proper regard being had to the interests of the empire. With respect to the naval establishment, it was a little higher than it usually was in time of peace; but the necessity which had arisen for employing fleets in different parts of the world, where war was still, or had been very lately, carried on, necessarily called for a greater number of men, and, consequently, created a greater expense than would have been required under ordinary circumstances. The question then was, whether it were possible to do without those stations? He thought it was not; and therefore the matter came to this—that we must maintain them; and Ministers were anxious to do so at the lowest possible expense.

Lord *Calthorpe* admitted, that it was quite clear, that the retention of those colonies and stations must inevitably be attended with a certain expense; but still he was by no means prepared to say that greater reductions might not be effected.

The Earl of *Malmesbury* said, there was one point which had not been alluded to when mention was made of our foreign possessions, to which he would call their Lordships' attention: it was a very important point, for the station which he was about to notice had cost this country infinite sums of money, as well as the lives of our best soldiers and seamen. He believed that the subject was somewhat unpopular, but still he thought it right to express his opinion on it. He adverted to the settlement of Sierra Leone, which was still kept up, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of checking and controlling the slave-trade. Now he wondered, when he heard economy so much spoken of, that no notice was taken of that settlement. He believed he might say, that in the way of money, it was a heavy expense to this country; but that circumstance was not one-half so much to be regretted, as the thousands and tens of thousands of lives which it cost the country. Our troops became the victims to that pestiferous climate, and our brave seamen perished on its equally pestiferous coast; for he believed that it made no difference whether the men were on shore or were employed on the coast: in either case, the result was equally fatal. In his opinion, very considerable savings might be made in the colonies. He thought that the expense which was incurred on account of them might be materially diminished. There was one of them, New South Wales, which was discovered between 1780 and 1790; and he found that at the present time the mother country was put to the expense of keeping two regiments of infantry there, besides a civil establishment. Whether that establishment was on an extravagant scale or not, he could not say; but certainly the colony ought to bear some portion of the expense. The subject to which he had first pointed their Lordships' notice was a very important one, whether it were viewed with an eye to economy, or to the feelings of humanity. Ministers ought to take into their serious consideration, whether they would persevere in the system so long persisted in,—whether they would continue the attempts made (from the most laudable motives he believed, but with very little effect) to do away with the slave-trade by preserving the settlement of Sierra Leone. They must know the dreadful loss of human life which was sustained there, and they must be equally aware of the waste of treasure which that settlement had occasioned. He begged pardon for detaining the House so long; but he thought this was a subject which deserved consideration. With respect to the distress of the country, he really did not see any material advantage that was likely to be derived from the remedies pointed out in some places. Many causes might be assigned for that distress, but he would allude only to one,—he meant the change in the currency. If the subject were made matter of inquiry, he thought it would be found practicable to resort to a paper currency, on a certain and defined principle, by which the country would be benefitted. There was a paper currency in Scotland, and why might not we assimilate our system to the system which prevailed in that prosperous country? The noble Lords who moved and seconded the Address on the first night of the Session, who were connected with Scotland, and knew its condition well, stated that there was no distress in that country, yet they had that small paper currency there of which we had deprived ourselves. That might, he thought, be considered as one cause of the distress. But there was another, and that a very powerful cause; he alluded to the state of the Poor-laws. An enormous tax was levied in that shape, and he wished to direct their Lordships' attention to it. He would first notice the mode of its assessment; and, secondly, the manner of its appropriation. In one way or other 8,000,000*l.* was collected under this head, and it was grossly misapplied. It was called poor-rates, but it was applied to fifty other purposes. Was it to be believed that no means existed by which it could be mitigated, and made to fall more equally? Various were the purposes to which this tax was diverted,—building bridges, making roads, &c. Was it fair, he would ask, to compel him to pay for building a bridge, over which a London Alderman might walk gratis, when at the same time he was obliged to pay a tax levied on coal, for the erection of London Bridge? This money was also applied to pay the expense incurred for the conviction of offenders. Very few of their Lordships, he believed, knew the amount of the sums paid in this way. He contended, that expenses incurred for the conviction of offenders ought to be paid out of the public purse. He instanced these things, to show how necessary it would be, to go into an inquiry on this subject. More good would result from such an inquiry than would be derived from any general inquiry, which never reached any specific object.

The Marquis of *Lansdown* said, no one could doubt but that his Majesty's Ministers intended to make some reduction; and it must be admitted that some useful reductions had been made in preceding years; at the same time it must occur to their Lordships, that however favourable might be the disposition of any Government towards retrenchment, it was impossible to say what should be done until the subject was fully investigated. As a proof of this, he would instance the fact, that it had been confidently stated by former Governments, and he had no doubt it was their sincere belief, that the reduction of expenditure had been carried to the utmost extent to which it could safely be carried. But afterwards, stimulated by the attention which Parliament paid to the subject, they found that farther retrenchments might be made with perfect safety to the interests of the country; therefore, he meant not to throw any imputation on the noble Duke opposite, when he stated that he could not assume it as a decided fact, that there might not hereafter, or even in the course of the present Session of Parliament, arise an opportunity for making an effectual and useful reduction in the expenditure of the country, although the noble Duke did not at present contemplate such an event. Knowing, however, as he did, that much of the future relief of the country depended on the hope of a very considerable reduction of expenditure, to that hope he would cling even to the last day of the Session. The noble Duke had alluded to the colonial expenditure. Now, there were two views connected with that subject. The one was that which the noble Duke had taken,—that of considering the *minimum* of military defence and civil establishment, by which those colonies might be kept in security and connexion with the mother country: the second was, after having ascertained to what that *minimum* of expenditure might be brought, to consider by what means the colonies could be induced to assist themselves and relieve the mother country from a portion of the burthen. That was, he thought, one of the greatest points of policy that could be looked to; for, numerous as our colonies were, and reaching, as the noble Duke had truly said, to every quarter of the globe, they must be divided into two classes; one consisting of purely military stations, the expense of which must inevitably be thrown on the mother country, and the other composed of colonial dependencies connected with the trade and commerce of the mother country, and possessing a wealthy population. Now, in proportion as there was extended to the latter the advantage of a good Government and a considerable share in the administration of that Government, he thought those colonies ought to give every facility for defraying a part of the expenditure connected with them. If this country afforded them naval defence, as no doubt it always would, he thought they ought to be made to defray the whole of the military expense. Let their Lordships look to Canada: the people there were now enjoying a government, somewhat different indeed from what it was, but one under which they lived happily, and which seemed to meet the feelings and wishes of the whole population. In his opinion, such being the case, that colony ought to defray the greater part, if not the whole amount of the expense incurred for a military force.

The Petition was then read, and laid on the Table.

The Duke of *Richmond* presented a Petition from the town of Lowth, in Lincolnshire, complaining of distress. He expressed a hope that the noble Lords whose sentiments he had listened to that evening, would support the motion which he intend to submit shortly.

TIMBER.] Earl *Darnley*, in rising to move for a return of all Contracts made for Timber for the use of his Majesty's Dock-yards, since January 1st. 1810, stated that his object in moving for the Return was, to put at rest those differences of opinion relative to the price of Timber which had been lately stated in that House. He wished also to make the Admiralty aware of the necessity of putting a stop to the practice of laying in such a vast stock of Timber as was piled up in the Dock-yards. Large sums were expended every year for the purchase of Timber, which might, he thought, be saved. He by no means wished to cripple the efficiency of the Navy, for he believed that to be essential to the national safety—he wished to make no reduction in the number of seamen employed, for that part of the service could not be too effective: he thought, indeed, that the coast blockade might be dispensed with, but he objected to keeping up such an immense dead stock in our Dock-yards, which perhaps might never be wanted, and was purchased apparently only to decay. When the Returns, for which he should move, were laid before their Lordships, they would be as sensible of this as he was. The vote, he believed, for the purchase of Timber and other Stores for the next year, was not less than 784,000*l.*,* which seemed to him so enormous that some reduction ought to be made in it. He was willing to confide in his Majesty's Government, but he earnestly pressed it on the noble Duke (Wellington), or on the noble Viscount (Melville) to consider of the propriety of curtailing this enormous branch of expenditure. Before he made the Motion he would observe, that much of this Timber, he believed, came from Sierra-Leone, his opinion concerning which colony was precisely the same as that of his noble friend who had addressed their Lordships that evening. His Lordship concluded by moving for, "an Account of all the Timber contracted for the use of his Majesty's Dock-yards since January 1st, 1810, specifying the quantity and quality of the Timber supplied under each contract, the country where the Timber was grown, the price per load (except the price of contracts now in existence) and the amount of Duty paid on Timber of foreign growth."

Viscount *Melville* said, he did not rise to oppose the Motion, but only to assert for himself, that he had a strong desire to make every possible reduction; at the same time he was bound to inform their Lordships, that he did not think a diminution of the supply of the materials of ship-building was consistent with the national safety. As long ago as the time of Lord Sandwich, a regulation was made to keep in the Dock-yards three years' supply of Timber, that, in case of any sudden emergency, seasoned Timber might be obtained. The regulation, however, was not carried fully into effect, till the very last year of the late war. He would not enter into details; he would only assure his noble friend, that much less Timber was made use of than formerly, and his Majesty's Government was anxious to reduce the expenditure to the lowest possible scale.—The Returns were ordered.

FOREIGN CORN.] The Earl of *Malmesbury* rose, to move for some Returns, to which, he said, he understood his Majesty's

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* This sum includes the expense of the repairs of docks, wharfs, and buildings; and the price of old Stores 104,000*l.* must be deducted to get at the sum voted by the House of Commons; there remains 680,000*l.* as the sum voted for Timber and other Stores in one year.—See Navy Estimates, for 1830, page 14.

Ministers would make no objection. The noble Earl accordingly moved for "a Return of the quantity of Wheat entered for home-consumption, under the Act of 9 Geo. 4th, cap. 60, in each week since the passing of the Act, with the amount of duty received thereon; distinguishing the average price, and the rates of duty charged; also a Return of the aggregate average price of Wheat, from the first week of October, 1828, to the second week in February, 1829; and also the same Return from the first week in October, 1829, to the second week in February, 1830." His wish was, to ascertain the quantity of Wheat entered weekly for home-consumption, since the passing of the Act alluded to in July, 1828. In seventeen months from that time, no less than 2,200,000 quarters of Wheat had been imported into this country, and he had no doubt but these large importations joined with the still greater importations of Wool, had contributed materially to cause the agricultural distress. By the last Return their Lordships would see, that the farmer had not been receiving, by 4*s*. per quarter, that price which the legislature deemed necessary as a remunerating price.—The Returns were ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, March 4.

MINUTES.—MR. PHILIP PUSEY took the oaths, and his seat for the borough of Rye.

MR. M. A. TAYLOR brought in his bill to diminish, in certain cases, the inconvenience and expense of Writs *de Lunatico Inquirendo*.—It was read a first time.

On the Motion of MR. C. PALLMER, there was ordered to be laid before the House copies of any Correspondence between the Chairmen of any of the Water Companies in the Metropolis and the Secretary of State for the Home Department, respecting a sufficient supply of Water. Also of the Letters Patent for incorporating any Companies for the supply of Water in Christchurch, Bermondsey and Southwark.

MR. O'CONNELL gave notice, that on Tuesday, the 4th of May, he would move for leave to bring in a bill to place investments of property for charitable purposes by Catholics on the same footing as similar investments by Protestant Dissenters:—That on the same day he would move for leave to bring in a bill to render valid, in this country, the marriages of Roman Catholics by their own priests; and also, for the repeal of certain penalties to which Catholic priests in Ireland were at present liable, for marrying a Protestant to a Roman Catholic—and, that on Thursday, the 6th of May, he would move for a Radical Reform in the Representation in the Commons House of Parliament.

On the Motion of MR. PROTHEROE, there was ordered to be laid before the House an account in detail of the money paid to the Commissioners of Public Records, and its application; also an account of the number of Works printed by them; also an account of the number of persons employed by the Commissioners, the nature of the employment of each, and the amount of salary.

An Account was presented of the Bank Annuities and Long Annuities, and of sums received and paid by the Commissioners on account of Savings Banks.—Accounts were ordered of the quantity of foreign meal, corn, and flour imported, and of the quantities imported from Ireland.

LEEDS AND SELBY RAILWAY.] Mr. Sadler presented a Petition from certain proprietors of lands in the neighbourhood of the line of the projected Railway between Leeds and Selby, against the bill now in progress; and on Mr. Marshall moving the second reading of the bill,

Mr. *Sadler* opposed the Motion, on the ground of the injury and inconvenience which the railway would occasion to the petitioners. The utility of railways in cases where water communications existed was as yet doubtful; but let it be established that they were of importance, and the petitioners were ready to sacrifice their private convenience to the public good, and abandon all opposition to the bill. The experiment as to the advantage of railways was in progress; when it should have been completed, it would be time enough to pass such a bill as the present.

Mr. *Marshall* spoke of the advantages that would result from the proposed railway, and added that the great majority of landed proprietors upon the line had assented to the measure.

Mr. *F. Wilson* opposed the bill, as involving an attack upon the interest of the proprietors of the Aire and Calder navigation.

Mr. *Sykes* supported the bill. The intended railway would be of the greatest public benefit. He was not surprised at the opposition of the hon. Member for York, who received dividends to the amount of 10,000*l*. a year out of the Aire and Calder navigation, though he was at the opposition of the hon. Member for Newark (Mr. Sadler), who being interested in the town of Leeds, might be expected to support the bill.

Bill read a second time.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.] Mr. Ward presented Evidence taken before the Committee upon the Charter of the East-India Company, and moved that it be printed.

Mr. *Hume* said, this was evidence which had occupied the Committee a fortnight, and that it formed a great mass. He rose for the purpose of suggesting that, as soon as each witness had been examined and cross-examined, his evidence should be printed. This mode would enable Gentlemen to follow the evidence, which they could not be expected to do if it were to be presented in such large masses, and if the Committee always waited till they could present a whole fortnight's evidence at once.

Mr. *Stewart* thought there could be no objection to so reasonable a proposal. Besides, it was of great importance that the evidence should go forth to the public, which it could not, unless it were given to the House in small quantities.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* knew that there had been some discussion on this point in the Committee, but thought it had been settled that the evidence should be presented every fortnight. At all events, this was a question for the Committee. He believed it was not the usual course of the House to interfere in a matter which had been left to the discretion of a Committee.

Lord *Althorp*, though not a member of the Committee, said, he thought that if the Committee itself did not object, it would be very convenient to the House that the evidence should be reported in small parcels, so that it might be more speedily in the hands of Members.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that as it could not be known to what length the examination of a witness might extend, it would be better to have the evidence reported at fixed periods.

Mr. *Ward* said, that he had not understood it to be the intention of the House that the Committee was to give the evidence in such very small parts. Neither had he expected that the hon. Member (Mr. Hume) would have called the attention of the House to this subject. He had understood it to have been the hon. Member's intention to confine himself to a remark upon the necessity of expediting the printing.

Mr. *Spring Rice* had also understood that the reports of the Committee were to be at the end of six days of actual sitting, which would include a fortnight of time, as the Committee sat only on three days of the week. To report at shorter periods might be sending the evidence in a very unsatisfactory manner before the House. Sometimes it might be desirable to report at the end of four days, and sometimes not before the end of eight; but he thought it would be better to leave the matter, as it had been already left, to the discretion of the Committee.

Mr. *Hume* did not wish that the House should interfere. His wish was, that when the evidence of one witness was complete, it should be presented to the House.

The Report was ordered to be printed.

IRELAND: — CASE OF FRANCIS M'BRIAN.] Mr. *O'Connell* wished to know from the noble Lord (F. L. Gower) opposite, whether he had any objection to the production of a Petition or Memorial forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from a person named Francis M'Brian, a prisoner in Enniskillen gaol, complaining of the conduct of the Sub-sheriff of Fermanagh. He also wished to know from the noble Lord whether the proclamation issued last year by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for putting down party processions, was issued by the advice of the law officers of the Crown in that country. His reason for asking for this information was, that one of the Irish Judges, in going a circuit soon after, was reported to have delivered a charge very contrary to the law as laid down in that proclamation, and that same learned Judge had recently selected for his circuit that one where there were most trials for infractions of the law, as laid down in the proclamation, to be tried, and where, in fact, the point at issue would be, whether the explanation of the law given in the proclamation, or by the Judge, was the correct one. He wished also to know, whether the Lord Lieutenant was aware of the opinions delivered by the learned Judge on the occasion alluded to, and whether he also knew of his having selected that particular circuit. The hon. and learned Gentleman then moved that the petition of M'Brian to the Lord Lieutenant be laid before the House.

Lord *F. L. Gower* had no objection to the production of the petition. As to the hon. and learned Member's questions, he would state, first, that the proclamation alluded to was certainly issued by the advice of the law-officers of the Crown. It was signed by the privy councillors, one of whom was the Attorney General. With respect to the second question, he would state that the Lord Lieutenant had no control over the Judge, and no official knowledge of the charge delivered by that learned person. All he could know of it was in that way which was open to any other individual. In the selection of circuits by the Judges the hon. and learned Member must be aware that the Lord

Lieutenant did not interfere. There was nothing which would excite greater jealousy in and out of the House than such interference, and it was wisely abstained from.

The Motion was agreed to.

IRISH CLERGY.] Mr. *O'Connell* said, he had to present to the House three Petitions from inhabitants of five parishes, composing the union of Foxford, in the county of Mayo. One of the petitions was from the Protestant inhabitants of those parishes, and he considered it a great honour to have it intrusted to his care. The hon. and learned Gentleman then detailed the substance of the petitions, which was to this effect;—that the rev. John O'Roorke was appointed vicar of the parishes in 1817, since which time he had never resided or possessed any place of residence, or performed any duty, in the union, except on a few Christmas and Easter festivals, but had resided at a town fifty miles distant, in another county and diocese, where he carried on business as a tithe-farmer and grazier; that he never contributed any thing beyond 40*s.* a-year to the parish; had no school there; and that the consequence was, that the children were dependent for instruction on a school established by Roman Catholics, and that many of them had lapsed from the Church of England, and embraced what they called, the errors of the Church of Rome; that the petitioners had been grievously harassed by the conduct of the said rev. John O'Roorke, whose demands for tithes had been every year increasing, while the manner of collecting those demands became every day more oppressive; that the vicar refused to take a composition of 500*l.* a-year of the present currency for his half share of two out of five of the parishes, though none of his predecessors had received more than 300*l.* a-year for the tithes of the whole union; that the vicar had demanded tithe on hay and wool, never before demanded in these parishes; that the parishioners suffered great hardships by the prosecution of those claims by the vicar, many of them being obliged to attend, pursuant to summonses issued, at the Episcopal Court, at Skreen, a village thirty-five miles distant from the centre of the union: and that in the last three years, 2,521 suits for tithes had been instituted by the said vicar. The petitioners prayed the House to take these matters into consideration, and to afford them relief.

ROMAN CATHOLICS OF GALWAY.] Mr. *Spring Rice* presented a Petition from the inhabitants of Galway, the only town in the United Kingdom where, since the act of last Session, any civil disabilities on account of religious opinions existed. The nature of the petition he would state in a very few words. By an Act passed in the reign of George 1st, any Protestant merchant resident for a certain time in Galway might claim his freedom of the town as a matter of right. The object of that Act was, in the spirit of that day, to support what was called the Protestant interest. The principle of the Catholic Relief bill, passed last Session, rendered it expedient that any statute creating civil disabilities on account of religious differences of opinion between Christians, should be expunged from the Statute-book; and in the spirit of that Act he thought the Catholic merchants and traders of Galway should be placed on an equal footing with their Protestant fellow-townsmen. Galway was an improving town, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of which had, as the petitioners very properly stated in their petition, ever been distinguished by their loyalty; and now that religious disqualifications were abolished all over the kingdom except that town, he thought they should be got rid of there also. He would not go further on the subject at that moment, but would give notice, that on Wednesday next he would move for leave to bring in a bill to remove the disqualification, by placing Catholics and Protestants on an equal footing.

Petition brought up and read.

Mr. *Protheroe* supported the prayer of the petition, and said, that from an assenting smile of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Peel) at some of the remarks of his hon. friend, he had reason to hope that the bill for which the hon. Member intended to move would receive the support of Government.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, the hon. Gentleman had interpreted his smile rightly. He thought that, consistently with the principle of the measure on which Parliament had acted in the bill of last Session, Roman Catholics ought not to be allowed to remain under disqualifications on account of religious opinions. So far he admitted the principle of the hon. Member's measure. On the manner in which that principle might be carried into effect, he would now offer no opinion, but, without pledging himself further than the principle he had stated, would wait till he saw the bill.

Lord *F. L. Gower* said, that he also would abstain from any pledge on the subject. He fully admitted the principle stated by his right hon. friend, and was prepared to act on it. If the measure were to be introduced as a private bill, he could not give it his support; though, as a public measure, the principle which the hon. Member for Limerick had stated had his sanction.

Sir *R. Inglis* said, that the question was not so much one of a public principle, as of the rights of a corporate body. He did not think the House could interfere without violating the charter of the town of Galway.

Mr. *Peel* said, the right which the Protestant might claim of being admitted a freeman, was not one depending on the corporation; the Protestant could insist on it, as one conferred on him by act of Parliament. Now, in the spirit of the bill of last Session, Protestant and Catholic ought to be put on an equal footing in this respect. This might be done either by giving the right to the Catholic, or by depriving the Protestant of it; but the application of the general principle did not at all affect corporate rights.

Mr. *C. Wynn* hoped, that an equalization of the rights of the two classes would not be effected by depriving the Protestant of any right he already possessed; but rather, by conferring a similar one on the Catholic. If the corporation had no power to refuse the Protestant, it was not a corporate right, but one created by Parliament, with respect to which both parties should now be equal.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he would not enter into the question then, farther than to re-state his opinion, that on the matter in question, Catholics and Protestants should be placed on equal footing, according to the principle of last year's bill.

Mr. *O'Connell* concurred with the right hon. Gentleman that that bill made Catholics and Protestants equal in all parts of the kingdom except Galway; and that, to follow up that principle, they should be put on equal footing there also.

Mr. *Spring Rice* asserted that no unjust interference with corporate regulations was contemplated or required. The policy which originated the grievance alluded to was henceforward to be considered obsolete, and, therefore, all partial traces of its existence ought immediately to be removed.

Mr. *Daly* contended, that the innovation proposed would in effect abrogate the rights of the corporation altogether.

Sir *C. Wetherell* observed, that it did not follow as a necessary consequence of the late Relief bill, that they should infringe upon local privileges, and interfere with long-established customs and regulations of a partial operation.

Mr. *North* vouched for Galway being a very Catholic place, where the great mass of the population had always been of that persuasion. By the law of the corporation, any Protestant tradesman who resided amongst them for the space of seven years, might claim his freedom; and this was held forth by way of inducement to others of the same church to come and settle with their families in the town. Those days, however, had now gone by, and a more liberal policy had been introduced, in accordance with which he maintained that the members of both churches should be placed on a perfect equality. There was in fact no longer any reason for continuing the law. The House, by making both parties equal, would only withdraw from the present Protestant generation an unfair privilege, which ought never to have been granted. The principle on which it was originally established was now no longer recognized as part or parcel of the Constitution, and consistency demanded that the legislature should in this instance, as in every other, raise their Catholic fellow-subjects to a level with themselves.

Mr. *Lambert* bore testimony to the respectability of the meeting which was convened for the purpose of getting-up this petition. There was no desire whatever on the part of the petitioners to put down the Protestants, or attack their legitimate interests. They merely sought to remove an invidious regulation, which only produced mutual jealousies, and kept alive the recollections of caste, and prevented the animosities of party from subsiding, as in due course they must necessarily otherwise have done. There was no peace at elections, in consequence of this unpopular enactment, as the native respectable inhabitants were naturally disgusted at the number of non-residents and strangers who were, on such occasions, brought up to vote. So odious was this system to the people in general, that he had actually seen the steward of the hon. Member opposite, conducted to the hustings under the protecting escort of a file of soldiers. By the last census it was ascertained that the number of inhabitants amounted to 40,000, of which only 1,000 were admitted to the freedom of the corporation.

Mr. *O'Hara* said, he should be always ready to vote for any measure which would contribute to promote union in society.

Petition ordered to be printed.

DUTY ON PRINTS AND MAPS.] Mr. *Bernal* requested that the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would give him some information explanatory of the increased duty which had lately been charged at some of our out-ports on prints and maps which were intended to be illustrative of literary works. He had reminded the right hon. Gentleman of the circumstance yesterday, and now again begged to call his attention to the subject.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that it was probable a difference of opinion might arise between the parties interested and the Custom-house officers as to what were legitimately chargeable and what were not so. The Revenue regulation was simply this;—all maps and prints which merely illustrated works of literature were certainly exempt from the duty referred to, as they passed with the book, being included in the 5*l.* per cwt. But when the letter-press was only an explanation of the prints which it accompanied, they were in that case liable to be charged separate duty.

Mr. *Bernal* stated, that he had been informed the Custom-house officers observed neither the spirit nor letter of such a regulation; as they lately made it a practice to charge a separate duty on maps and prints, which, according to the fair interpretation of the rule in question, would be exempted, being a necessary component part of the works to which they were attached. The hon. Member mentioned a case of the maps belonging to a geographical work having been charged with the separate duty, and other cases, in which the prints were charged 6*d.* each respectively, in addition to the regular duty on the works illustrated. This system, he apprehended, must originate in some mistake on the part of the officers themselves as to the meaning of the regulation which it was their duty to enforce. It would be desirable, therefore, that it should be more fully explained by an official communication, to be transmitted to the out-ports, and also promulgated at the Custom-house itself.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should be happy to be informed more precisely of the particular cases to which the hon. Gentleman had adverted.

LAW REFORM.] Mr. *Peel* moved, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that he would be pleased to order that there be laid before the House a copy of the second Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the present Administration of Justice in the superior Courts of Law.

Mr. *Brougham* stated his intention to postpone the Motion on this subject, of which he had already given notice, as it would be desirable that he should have an opportunity of referring to the report of the commissioners, although it was necessarily but limited and partial in its details. Members, of course, would have access to it when printed, and they would in consequence, be better informed after having read upon the subject than they were now. It was therefore his wish to renew his notice for Thursday, the 29th of April, which would be the first open day after the Easter recess.

REFORM IN THE COLONIAL JUDICATURE.] Mr. *Brougham*, on presenting a Petition from certain inhabitants of Yorkshire, praying for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, inquired of the right hon. Secretary for the Colonies, whether it was the intention of Government to postpone for this Session the introduction of any measure for the purpose of effecting a Reform in the Colonial Judicature.

Sir *G. Murray* stated, in reply, that the expenses attendant on such a proceeding would be very great; but he could not at present ascertain the exact amount. Certain difficulties existed, nor could they be immediately removed; but he would endeavour to facilitate the introduction of Reform, and some measure for that purpose would be mooted even before the expiration of this Session, if circumstances permitted the Government so far to consult its inclinations.

MILITARY PUNISHMENTS.] Sir *F. Burdett* desired to ask the right hon.

Secretary at War whether he would have any objection to cause a return to be made of the number of corporal punishments inflicted in each regiment of the line respectively, during the past year.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, he certainly should object to a return of such a description as to specify the relative punishments of regiments, well knowing that it would be considered in the army as a proceeding of a very invidious character. Some regiments might appear to be stigmatised and unfavourably reported,—not on account of peculiar misconduct, but merely because they were placed under circumstances of greater temptation than their brother soldiers had been. He would readily supply the hon. Baronet with information personally, if he required any, but he could not consent to a statement of comparative punishments being laid before the House.

Sir *F. Burdett* inquired whether in former times such regimental returns had not been made?

Sir *H. Hardinge* added, that no such returns had ever been made. At the same time he should have no objection to state to the hon. Baronet the number of punishments in each regiment, although he could not consent that it should be made the subject of a formal return.

CHURCH OF IRELAND.] Sir *John Newport* brought forward his Motion on the state of the Established Church of Ireland, and commenced by claiming the indulgence of the House, necessary to him at all times, but more particularly at his advanced period of life. He was quite sensible that he was about to introduce a subject demanding much greater abilities than any he had ever possessed, but he hoped that his deficiencies would be amply supplied by the exertions of other Members. It was his most anxious desire that the revenues of the Church of Ireland should be apportioned to the duty discharged; that the emoluments should depend, in some degree, upon meritorious service; whereas he had good reason to know, that at present the payment was most disproportionate to the employment. Those who laboured in the vineyard most industriously ought to be paid most liberally; but the abuses that had crept into the Established Church of Ireland from an early period, had defeated any such just and reasonable arrangement. Pluralities and unions of livings had been introduced, to the great injury of those who were the most deserving. Before he stated the precise nature of his Motion, he wished very shortly to call the attention of the House to the progress of the establishment at different periods, prefacing what he had to say upon this subject by the remark, that he had no wish to impair, but to support that establishment. The best friend of the Established Church of Ireland was he who, seeing abuses, exposed and denounced them; and not he who, knowing of their existence, endeavoured to uphold them. Lord Bacon, among the wise aphorisms by which he was distinguished, put a very pointed question upon this subject; he asked, "Why should the civil state be purged and restored by wholesome laws passed every three or four years in Parliament, devising remedies as time breeds mischiefs; and contrariwise, that the ecclesiastical state should continue in the dregs of time and receive no alteration?" It was most true, as was advanced by the same authority, that time was the greatest of all innovators, and remedies ought to keep pace with the growth of abuses. The commencement of the Reformation in Ireland presented one of the most extraordinary instances of legislation in the history of legislative absurdities. The Act of Uniformity, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, was *verbatim* extended to Ireland, with the addition of the following remarkable clause, providing, that as in some parts of Ireland neither the priests nor the people understood English, the matins and the rest of the service should be performed in Latin, of which both priest and people were equally ignorant. "And forasmuch as in most places of this realm, there cannot be found English ministers to serve in the church, or places appointed for common prayer, or to minister the sacraments to the people; and that if some good means were provided, that they might use the prayer service, and the administration of sacraments, set out and established by this Act, in such language as they might best understand, the due honour of God would be thereby much advanced; and for that also that the same may not be in their native language, as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters, we pray that it may be enacted, that in every church or place where the common minister or priest hath not the use or knowledge of the English tongue, it shall be lawful for the same common minister or priest to say and use the matins, evening service, and celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayers in the Latin tongue, in such order and form as may be mentioned and set forth in the said book established by this Act." Nor would it be fair to impute this blunder to Ireland: she had enough of her own to answer for, without the addition of those of Elizabeth, Lord Burleigh, and the rest of the Privy Council. Coming down to the reign of James 1st, he would refer the House to the statement made by Sir John Davies to the Earl of Salisbury, on the ecclesiastical state of Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan, which was this: "We did not, he says, omit to notice the number and value of parsonages and vicarages, repairs of churches, and qualities of incumbents. The greater number of parsonages were appropriated to two great abbeys, Fore and Kells, fourteen to the former, and eight to the latter. The vicarages were so poorly endowed, as that ten united were scarcely sufficient for an honest minister. The churches were mostly in ruin, those said to be in repair, covered with thatch. But the incumbents, both parsons and vicars, were such poor, ragged, ignorant creatures, as to be scarcely worthy of the meanest of these livings, albeit many not worth 40*s.* annually. This county doth lie within the diocese of Kilmore, whose bishop was, and is, parson of Trim, in Meath, the best in all the kingdom. He doth live now in these parts, where he hath two bishopricks, but there is no divine sermon or service to be heard in either diocese. His Lordship might have saved us (the Lord Deputy Chichester and others appointed with Sir J. Davies to carry into effect this visitation of the district) this labour of inquiry, touching matters ecclesiastical, if he had been as careful to see the churches repaired, and supplied with good incumbents, as he is diligent in visiting his barbarous clergy, to make benefit out of their insufficiency, according to the proverb which is common in the mouths of our great bishops here, that an Irish priest is better than a milch cow." In the diocese of Kilmore, at the present day, one living had a glebe of 1,300 acres; yet the incumbent was non-resident, and lived in another diocese, where he had another glebe of 400 acres. The 12th George 1st was passed to remedy the evils of non-residence, but had failed to effect its object. The same act deprived Roman Catholics of the right of voting in vestries, because they obstructed votes for the repairs of Protestant churches; and as from that time Protestants had the sole management of the affair, if the churches fell into decay, they had only themselves to blame. Nevertheless, since the Union, large sums had been borrowed, to be repaid by all the inhabitants of the parishes, for the repair of those churches; and the Roman Catholics might naturally think it hard, that having been excluded from all share in vestry proceedings, they were required to pay because the Protestants had neglected their duty. They were shut out from all connexion, directly or indirectly, with Protestant congregation, and Protestant churches, which they were obliged, notwithstanding, to rebuild when decayed. By the twenty-first George 2nd, the Privy Council were empowered to unite and disunite parishes at pleasure. In 1819, a document had been laid upon the Table, showing the progress made in uniting and disuniting parishes in Ireland under that Act, and hence it appeared, that in the sixty-two years after it was passed, thirty-seven parishes had been united, and as many disunited. At that time the country was very much in pasture; but from about 1780 to 1800, the tillage of Ireland was much increased, and of course the necessity for uniting parishes was so far diminished; yet, in that period, twenty-five parishes had been united, and only seven disunited; so that the operation proceeded in an inverse ratio to what it ought to have been. In the eighteen years down to 1818, the same result was more strongly exemplified, for thirty-four parishes were united, and only four disunited. Notwithstanding the expense to which the country was put for the maintenance of the Established Church, notwithstanding the large revenues the bishop derived from lands belonging to the see, many of the cathedrals were out of repair; and of many that were not dilapidated it might be truly said, that they were not made use of for the purposes for which they were intended; there were in many instances no services performed in them. It had been long a source of regret to the well-wishers of the Reformation, that the principles of Protestantism had made such slow progress in Ireland: he feared the cause would be found to exist in this state of the Established Church of that country. Though there was no cathedral service, a rate was regularly levied on the Catholic population, not only for that service, but for the repairing and rebuilding those very cathedrals, which, he might add, to all intents and purposes, were useless as Protestant churches. It was not to be wondered at, when the state of the Protestant church in Ireland since the days of Elizabeth was considered, that the progress of the reformed doctrines should be slow; but perhaps the House were not aware of the extreme degree of that slowness. From a paper which bishop Pococke left behind him, it appeared that in his diocese of Ossory, in the year 1731, the number of Protestant families amounted to 1,180; and from the survey of Mr. Tighe, it appeared that in the year 1800, the number was reduced to 711. In the former year the aggregate population was 41,200, in the latter year 83,000. Among the matters to which he wished to call the attention of the House, as requiring amendment in the Established Church in Ireland, there was none in which he thought more abuses prevailed than in the system of parochial unions. Hon. Members would not readily credit the extent of the mischievous effects of these unions. He knew of one parish, containing 20,000 acres, in which there were 549 acres of glebe land, and yet no resident clergyman, the parish being united to five others, one of which contained but three acres of glebe. The attention of the legislature should be earnestly directed to the state of the Bishops' Lands, of which there were upwards of 600,000 acres in Ireland, an amount equal to the productive surface of the counties of Meath, Westmeath, and Dublin. This was the more necessary, when the grievance to the Catholic population, of paying taxes for a church and clergy whom they did not want, and who in some places had no flock whatever, was taken into consideration. He knew of one parish, which was united to another eleven miles distant, in which the Catholics were assessed 1*s.* 2*d.* per acre for the repairing, &c. of a church to which there did not belong, within his recollection, or that of the oldest resident, one Protestant inhabitant; except for two years, during which a Protestant gentleman had a shooting lodge in the neighbourhood. The injustice was so apparent, that the parishioners of the one parish came to a resolution that the others should pay only two-thirds of the rates heretofore imposed on them; and a noble Lord, the Member for Kilkenny, and he (Sir John Newport), took upon themselves to see that arrangement carried into effect; but they found they could not do it under the present Act. The inhabitants of the parish in which the church was not situated were obliged to pay as before. But he did himself and the noble Lord injustice—as they had undertaken to see that the thing should be done, they would not allow the poor people to suffer any disappointment; they paid the money themselves. The grievance of which he complained was one which called for an immediate remedy, for it operated one of the most flagrant pieces of injustice that could well be imagined—an injustice not surpassed in any country but in Ireland. Complaints had been made in various places of the unnecessary splendor of the new churches in Ireland—unsuited as they were to the circumstances of the people, and the character of the surrounding buildings. In answer to that complaint, he heard it said, that no more was ever granted by the Board of First Fruits for re-building than 1,400*l.*, that was the highest sum. This he should not have mentioned, had it not been generally stated, and currently believed throughout Ireland. He made it his business to inquire into the matter at the proper office in Dublin, and there he learned, that so far from 1,400*l.* being the maximum, there were instances as high as 3,700*l.* and even 4,000*l.* having been granted for rebuilding, and in one case the sum of 10,000*l.* Since the Legislative Union between this country and Ireland, a sum of 250,000*l.* was expended in the rebuilding of churches, the whole of which expense devolved upon the people—a people, not only not interested in the repair, but a people no way concerned in permitting the dilapidation which made that rebuilding necessary. These churches too had ample means in their own funds to keep them in perfect repair. One object of his Motion was the remedying the evils of the present system, by making the cathedral or the church to be repaired bear the expense itself,—that is, to devote a portion of its income to that purpose. He had a precedent in the reign of his late Majesty, when Litchfield cathedral was about to be repaired: to that effect the salary of two of the prebends was applied, the office, so to speak, being suspended till the repairs had been completed. He wished to extend the principle to the repairs of Irish churches and cathedrals. The subject to which he would next advert, was the condition of the unbeneficed curates; that condition was most forcibly exemplified in the case of a poor gentleman, from whom he had received a letter, some portions of which, with the permission of the House, he would read. The hon. Baronet then read extracts which, in substance, were as follows:—The writer stated that he was ordained on the 2nd of June, 1773—that he entered upon his duties at a salary of 40*l.* a year, that he had officiated at that rate during a period of thirty-six years, always, of course, residing with his parish, that for the first few years he lived in an old glebe house, which soon becoming uninhabitable, he was obliged to provide a residence for himself, and had ever since been paying rent for one. On the benefice where he did duty becoming vacant, he applied to be appointed to it, but a young gentleman was sent to fill the vacancy who had not been born till after the writer entered the church. The living again became vacant, and another young gentleman was appointed. For a period of fifty-five years he had done the duties of a curate for non-resident incumbents. That his salary was at first 40*l.* then 50*l.* then 60*l.* and at length, under the Act of Parliament, it was raised to 75*l.* Irish currency, equal to 69*l.* 4*s.* sterling. During those fifty-five years he had been under the government of six several bishops, to each of whom he applied—they admitted his claims, but gave him no preferment. He was at the time of writing the letter seventy-nine years of age—was likely soon to be incapable of performing the duties of a curate, and as there was no fund for superannuated curates, he was in the utmost danger of being reduced to want. On this letter the hon. Baronet said, he had to observe, that it presented one of the strongest cases that could easily be supposed capable of occurring. He had made inquiries into the character of the writer, and found that that character was perfectly unimpeached, none need be more respectable; yet six successive bishops passed him by, and promoted those who were junior to him, and who had, to say the least, no better claims than his. It was rather remarkable that one of these six bishops happened to be the present bishop of Ferns; the transaction of which he spoke took place in the see of Limerick. Now it was pretty well known that the bishop of Ferns could see no abuse in the present state of the Irish Church; yet that bishop went out of the see of Limerick, leaving this poor curate exactly as he found him, though his claims were stated to, and admitted by, that prelate. It is generally supposed that the curates receive a salary of 75*l.*; that has been reduced to 69*l.* 4*s.*, though the incumbents do not receive their incomes in the depreciated currency. But that was not the only deduction from their salaries; the law declared what their salaries should be, but it specified no deductions; nevertheless deductions were made. He next called the attention of the House to a letter from Cork, from which it appeared that in that city there were but three curates possessing salaries of 75*l.* From this subject he again returned to the case of the curate whose letter he first read, and dwelt upon the injustice of leaving a man of his excellent character so long as thirty, forty, and even fifty years in the subordinate and distressing situation of a curate, at the same time putting boys, just ordained, over his head. He then mentioned the case of another curate, who had been a curate eight-and-twenty years, and doing the duty of three parishes; for one of these he received 18*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, for another 9*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*, for the third 9*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*, making his total income 36*l.* 18*s.*—that was an income upon which he could not live, did he not possess some private property. Could there then be a stronger case calling for a modification of the laws relating to the salaries of curates? The situation of the unhappy curate was just this—the rector might refuse to pay him anything but what he pleased; and in any manner he pleased; and the unfortunate curate was without remedy, for did he venture to complain the incumbent immediately would reply—"Do as you please; go about your business; I can do the duty of the parish myself, or I can find others who will." One object of his Motion would be to remedy this grievance, and to prevent men of character, who had spent the most valuable years of their lives in active duty, from continuing forty or fifty years as unbeneficed curates, merely because other clergymen — boys very often — happened to possess more family influence, through which they were put over their heads. He also would endeavour that curates should be paid the salary stipulated for them by the legislature. At present they were frequently not paid half, though they discharged not only their duty, but that for which some non-resident Incumbent drew a large income. He would now come to the subject of Pluralities. He understood it to be the fact that the primate had no power of refusing faculties for holding pluralities, provided the livings are within thirty miles of each other. Some time since he introduced a bill for remedying that defect in the state of the law, and he was induced to withdraw it, on the assurance that the primate was doing all in his power to remove the inconvenience, and the injustice, against which the bill was directed. Those exertions, however, were not attended with success; and, therefore, some new measure on the subject became absolutely necessary—something of the sort must be done; there was no postponing it any longer, the time for legislating upon the subject of the union of Irish livings had arrived; and an attempt to protract the period must be attended with the worst effects. The right hon. Baronet concluded by moving an address to his Majesty, for

> "The appointment of a Commission, selected from the Privy Council of Ireland, instructed with as little delay as may be practicable, to proceed in a systematic examination of the several dioceses of Ireland, as to the state of the unions of parishes contained therein, the authority under which such unions have been effected, the value of the several parishes so united, their contiguity or remoteness from each other, and from the several churches contained therein, and the fitness or impropriety of their continuing so united whenever the benefices in which they are comprised shall become vacant by death or otherwise; and to report, from time to time, their proceedings in such examination to his Majesty.
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> "That his Majesty may be pleased to direct that strict inquiry be made by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland from the beneficed clergy of Ireland, assembled at their visitations and otherwise annually, as to their exact payment of their several curates of the full sum of money stipulated by the Act of Parliament to be paid to them for performance of the duties devolving on such curates, in British currency, without any other deduction therefrom than such as is expressly stipulated by the said Act.
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> "That his Majesty may be pleased to direct that there be laid before this House such information, respecting the legal powers under which the granting or withholding faculties for possessing pluralities of benefices are now exercised, as may enable the House to judge of the expediency of proposing any modification of such powers, or of removing any obstruction which may now legally exist to controlling the same, and restricting them so as to be most beneficial to the real interests of the Church Establishment, and of the people committed to their care.
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> "That we particularly recommend to the consideration of his Majesty, the propriety of suspending the appointment by the Crown to any dignity or benefice within the gift thereof, as vacancies may hereafter occur, until inquiry shall have been made into the state and condition of the cathedral or other church connected with such dignity or benefice, and, where it is found necessary to rebuild or repair the same, of appropriating to such rebuilding or repair the revenues arising from such dignity or benefice, after deducting therefrom the necessary provision for the celebration of divine worship, and the temporary discharge of the duties connected with such dignity or benefice during such suspension of permanent appointment, as was some years since effected in the case of Litchfield cathedral."

Mr. *Spring Rice* seconded the Motion.

Sir *Robert H. Inglis* observed, that he had heard, since he had had the honour of a seat in Parliament, the right hon. baronet make, every year, the very same complaint of the Church of Ireland with which he had just favoured the House. But the right hon. Baronet should recollect, that the Reformation in Ireland was not universal; that therefore it was not to be expected that the whole state and Government of the Church should there stand upon as satisfactory a footing as in England. Upon former occasions the right hon. Baronet had explained to the House the grounds of his belief that the principles of the Reformation were not advancing, *pari passu*, with the population of Ireland but had, on these occasions, made the withholding of the Catholic Relief bill the cause of this declension. He thought, therefore, that the right hon. Baronet's Motion ought to wait for the progress of that improvement which the right hon. Baronet contended would be the result in Ireland. Or rather, he should say, not wait for that improvement; but be relinquished altogether; for its rapid progress might render any such motion unnecessary. He would not go back to inquire into the state of the Protestant church in Ireland in the time of Elizabeth, or of Primate Boulter, or Bishop Stone; but he would ask what was likely to be its condition under its present prelacy, and what was likely to be its probable success, as far as might be predicted from that condition. He could show that since the time mentioned by the right hon. Baronet there had been a large increase of the number of residents, in fact to an extent equal to the whole number of beneficed clergymen in the year 1796. Indeed, he believed that it was unnecessary to give the clergy of Ireland the assistance of the legislature to promote the residence of their body, as the tendency of all their acts was, to ensure so desirable an object. The number of resident clergymen had greatly increased within the last twenty years. The increase amounted to 697, which was nearly equal to the whole number of resident clergy in Ireland in the reign of George 1st. When such were the operations of the Church, when left to itself, he thought that any legislative Act of that House would only retard the reform which was already in progress. That there were insulated places where curates were pining in obscurity and poverty he admitted; but he did not think that they formed a sufficient ground for interference. There was already an Act in existence for the diminution of this evil, and it was in the power of the bishops and the curates themselves to obtain a fair hearing of their case. In the diocese of Armagh the number of residents in 1828 was equal to the whole number of residents in all Ireland in the year 1792. As to glebe-houses, he could say that, in the single diocese of Armagh, at present the number erected exceeded by 200 that in all Ireland in the year 1800. In his opinion, the facts stated by the right hon. Baronet were not sufficient to evince that the Church of Ireland was too largely endowed; and it was to be remembered that there were 1,480 glebes in the hands of laymen; so that if he could concur in any part of the right hon. Baronet's Motion, it would be for the purpose of ascertaining what portion of the property of the Church was in the hands of impropriators, being laymen; and he believed that it would turn out that the Church was in possession of a very small proportion indeed of Church property. If the right hon. Baronet had contented himself with moving such an address as that which he had moved on the 22nd of April, 1819, in which "the Prince Regent was requested to direct an inquiry, by communication, into the state of the Church of Ireland, by a communication with the Archbishops and Bishops of that part of the United Kingdom, similar to the inquiry instituted in June, 1806," he (Sir R. Inglis) would not have objected; though he still should have been of opinion that the better course would have been to have left the matter quiet. As it was, however, he felt bound to move the previous question. The right hon. Baronet had said, that the Reformation never fully took effect in Ireland, and certainly it was a long time before it was fully embraced and at work there. This being the case, he would ask whether the actual state of the Church of Ireland was not much better now than could have reasonably been expected, under the discouraging circumstances with which it had met? With such discouragement on the part of the Crown, from the period of the Revolution to that of the Union, he would ask whether there had not been more done, or whether there was not more doing by that Church, than could fairly have been anticipated? He put it to the right hon. Baronet's candour, whether this was not the case? and he therefore requested him not to retard what was already doing, by an attempt at any legislative measure.

Lord *F. L. Gower* said, he was not able to assent to the proposition either of the right hon. Baronet, or of the hon. Member for Oxford. When the right hon. Baronet had quoted a passage from lord Bacon, in which he adverted to the operations of time, and stated that those operations which had effect on all things, were totally nugatory and inefficient with respect to ecclesiastical establishments—if the right hon. Baronet extended that doctrine to the Church of Ireland he must totally deny his conclusion. If he were disposed to agree in a considerable portion of the right hon. Baronet's Motion, it was because he thought that an inquiry would tend to show that the operation of time and events had been most salutary on that Church, and that the removal of those abuses, which it could not be denied had existed, was chiefly owing to that circumstance. It was his belief, that innovation had been more powerful with respect to the Church of Ireland than most others. The right hon. Baronet, in the course of his observations, had gone back somewhat further than was perhaps necessary; but there were one or two observations on which it might be as well to say a few words. He should say that the intention of Queen Elizabeth, in establishing the performance of service in the Latin language, was a proof that she was desirous of acting with more regard for the feelings and prejudices of the people of that country than her father, Henry the 8th. If he remembered rightly, one of the attacks which that king made on the prejudices of the Irish, was to compel them to tell their beads in the English tongue: it struck him that the sagacity of the daughter made her discover that an experiment of that nature would meet with a signal failure. The right hon. Baronet had said, that there had been a great increase of unions since the Revolution. He could not profess the great knowledge of the right hon. Baronet on this point; but as he looked at it, such a circumstance might have arisen without attaching any odium to the bishop. He believed that it had sometimes happened that unions of nine parishes had been dissolved into unions of three; and if that were the case, the account would stand—one dissolution against three unions; in which event, what the hon. Baronet was standing up for was substantially effected. With regard to the operations of the Privy Council, since power had been given to it over the hierarchy of Ireland, with respect to the unions, he did not know to what the right hon. Baronet had adverted when he expressed his disapprobation of them. Since he had had the honour of holding office, he did not remember any cases brought before that body; but he could take upon himself to say that the feeling of that body was in favour of dissolution, whenever it could be effected without prejudice to the interests of the country; and in saying this, he begged to state that he spoke from his own actual knowledge of the feelings of that body. Melancholy as the facts were which the right hon. Baronet had stated with regard to the curates of Ireland, he must say that he knew of no profession (not even excepting that of the law) in which the merit of particular individuals would so long linger on in obscurity. It was, perhaps, hardly consistent with that laudable tone in which the general tenour of the right hon. Baronet's speech had been conceived, to single out an individual, who, though he had been mixed up in the polemical matters of the Church; was in his powers of mind, of such a calibre as to need no compliment from him. It was, he repeated, hardly fair to single out this individual for reproof or sarcasm, because it happened that there were curates in his diocese who were living in poverty and neglect. He could take upon himself to state that there was every disposition in the bench of Ireland to bring forward and remunerate the curates of that country. For the reasons which he had stated, he should, in the Amendment which he was about to propose, agree with every part of the right hon. Baronet's Motion, which would tend to enlighten the House by information, and enable them to judge more accurately of the real state of the Church of Ireland. He was convinced that it would be wrong to attempt to wrap the situation of that Church in mystery, and he was confident that he spoke the sentiments of the heads of that Church, when he said they were ready to afford the fullest information on every particular connected with it. That information might show that there were difficulties, but the more it was extended the more it would add to the satisfaction of those who were already its well-wishers; and the more it would alter the opinions of those who had fallen into the idle and dangerous habit of indulging in contumely and a censorious disposition towards that Church. There was one paragraph in the right hon. Baronet's Motion to which he must offer his opposition. The right hon. Baronet proposed that the House should recommend to the consideration of his Majesty the propriety of suspending the appointments by the Crown to any dignities or benefices which hereafter may be vacant, and in the gift thereof. In proposing this, the right hon. Baronet had certainly proposed what was within the power of the Crown to do; but when he went on to propose, that in the event of its being necessary to build or repair any of the churches, his Majesty should be pleased to appoint the revenues arising from such dignities or benefices, after deducting what may be necessary for the celebration of divine service and the discharge of the customary duties, it was not within the Crown to make this arrangement—for he apprehended, that although, when benefices became vacant, they might remain so, it was obligatory on the bishop to sequester the revenue for the use of the next incumbent. He therefore had a distinct legal objection to this portion of the proposed Resolutions; besides which, he thought it improper to mix up with a Motion for information, anything so like a radical change of the present state of the law. The noble Lord then concluded, by stating that he should move the following Address as an Amendment: "That his Majesty may be pleased to appoint a Commission, to proceed with as little delay as may be practicable, to inquire into the state of the several parochial benefices in the respective dioceses of Ireland, with a view to ascertain how far the same consist of separate or united parishes, and to report, in the case of unions, the authority under which such unions have been effected, and the date thereof: the annual value of the several parishes so united; the contiguity of such parishes to each other, and of the churches or chapels within the same, and the possibility or fitness of dissolving such unions at any future period. That the said Commission be further directed, to examine and report how far the salaries required by law have in each case been paid to the several curates, residing within the said parishes or unions. That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this House, an account of the number of faculties or dispensations which have been in each of the last ten years, granted in Ireland, for the purpose of enabling ecclesiastical persons to hold more than one benefice, and of the rules and regulations under which such faculties are now granted.

Mr. *G. Moore* said, he should support the hon. Member for Oxford's Amendment in preference to the Amendment of the noble Lord. He was sure that the Church of Ireland could have no objection to afford the fullest information, which could only tend to advance its character still higher than it was at present. The right hon. Baronet, in making his Motion, had travelled back to a very distant period; and he must, in a great measure, agree in the picture which he had drawn; but he would ask whether that very picture did not show how much had been done by that Church of late to vindicate its character and elevate its condition—affording a most flattering contrast between the ministers of those days and of ours? He did not appear there as the advocate of the Church of Ireland, but as a witness in its favour; and he could give his testimony from his own observations and from public documents, sure of being supported by every Irishman who had watched the conduct of that Church, and its progress towards the amelioration which had taken place. The right hon. Baronet had stated, that in one district there had been an alarming decrease of Protestantism; and on that ground had insinuated, that the same circumstances extended to the whole of Ireland. The right hon. Baronet would, find, that by the laste ensus, which was taken—he believed in 1824—there had been of late an approximation between the number of Protestants and the number of Catholics, and that now the latter did not exceed the former in so great a proportion as they did some years back. There were, he believed, now 2,000,000 Protestants to 5,000,000 Catholics. It was stated that the Irish Church did not reform abuses; but in that Church, and particularly in the hierarchy, there was a great disposition to reform abuses. During the last twenty years, not less than 132 beneficed clergymen had been added to the establishment, by the dissolution of unions. During the same twenty years also, there had been a great number of pluralities done away; so that the 600 beneficed clergymen, of which the establishment formerly consisted, were now converted into 1,200. Something had been said by the right hon. Baronet of the bishop of Ferns, when bishop of Limerick, not having promoted a deserving curate. Of that particular case he knew nothing; but he knew that the bishop of Ferns, since he had been in possession of his present see, had shown a great disposition to promote deserving curates. He had promoted 15, from livings of 150*l.* to livings of 500*l.* a-year, though he had no other acquaintance with them than that which he had formed by becoming acquainted with their services. It was his intention to support the motion of the Member for Oxford, and get rid, if he could, of the motion of the right hon. Baronet. If his noble friend would afterwards make a motion for an address to the Crown, to bring down to the House a full account of what had been done to improve the Church of Ireland up to the present time, he should not have the least objection to it, as he should be well pleased that the House and the public should be put in possession of all the circumstances connected with the Irish Establishment; and he was sure, that if such information were made public, many false impressions would be removed.

Mr. *Hume* was glad to hear these sentiments from the hon. Member; and should found on them a claim to his support, when he should make a motion for a Committee to Inquire into the State of the Irish Church. He thought with the hon. Member, that by inquiry many erroneous impressions would be done away, and the House and the public would be fully informed of the state of that Church. He agreed, therefore, with the hon. Member; and, before the Session was closed, should ask him for his vote. At the same time, the hon. Member's statements were quite inconsistent with his vote. The proposition of the right hon. Baronet was but a milk-and-water one. It was high time that the whole establishment of the Irish Church should be inquired into, revised, and reduced, so as to accord with the state of the country. He should vote for the Motion of his right hon. friend; but he did not do so from supposing that this Motion was adequate to the circumstances of the country. Inquiry must, in his opinion, go much further; and he hoped to see the establishment reduced to two or four bishops. He should like that sixteen or eighteen bishopricks were swept away at once; and he heartily believed that, in this respect, the population of England and Ireland would go along with him. Instead of repairing the cathedrals, if they could not be converted into parish churches, he would pull them down. Why should the people be compelled to keep structures of brick and mortar, of which they made no use? Instead of appropriating the revenues of benefices, as they became vacant, to clerical purposes, he would cause them to be paid into the Consolidated-fund. That would be of some benefit to the people. He would support the Motion of his right hon. friend, though he thought it wholly inadequate, being persuaded that if the affairs of the Irish Church were inquired into fully, a great reduction might be made with great advantage. When he brought forward his motion on the subject, he should expect the support of the hon. Member for Dublin.

Mr. *G. Moore* was understood to say that when the hon. Member made a motion for inquiry, he would second it.

Mr. *Spring Rice* thought, that of the motions before the House, the preference was due to the Amendment proposed by the noble Lord. He was deeply interested in the Irish Church Establishment, and in his attachment to it he did not yield to the hon. Member for Oxford (Sir R. Inglis); but if that hon. Member thought that the interest of the Church was to be supported by resisting every change, every attempt at improvement, come from whatever quarter it might, he was mistaken. The members of the Irish Church did not participate in the hon. Member's views; and though they had been disposed to resist every change, they had now become sensible that changes were not necessarily injuries. They had at first opposed the Tithe-composition bill, but they had afterwards assented to it, and they found that much good had resulted from that Act to them. The Vestry Act was another act of the same kind. Whatever charges had been made against that Act, and a great many had been made, it had never been said that it was inimical in its results to the interests of the Clergy. If the hon. Member for Oxford looked at the acts of the legislature, he would know that the right of the legislature to interfere with Church property for Church purposes was recognized by many acts of Parliament, and acted on. The legislature might therefore again interfere with it to raise the stipends of curates, as it had before. The hon. Member also seemed to have confounded parishes with benefices; but in Ireland they were not the same. If the previous question should be carried, he hoped that then they should all concur in the proposition of the noble Lord. He looked to the result of the inquiry to make the Church of Ireland more efficacious than at present. Already a great improvement, he was willing to admit, had taken place, but there was no part of our Establishment in which improvement was yet so much wanted.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expressed his surprise at the amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Oxford; and he was still more surprised that the amendment was supported by the hon. Member for Dublin, who thought inquiry would remove false impressions concerning the Irish Church, and be a full refutation to the charges brought against it. He was sure that the result of the inquiry proposed by the noble Lord would be, to show, what he had always asserted, that during the last twenty years the clergy of Ireland had zealously performed their duties, and that no church had a more zealous and deserving clergy. He hoped that the hon. Member for Oxford would withdraw his motion, and not compel the House to vote on it. As to what the right hon. Baronet had said of the present bishop of Ferns not having promoted a respectable curate when he was bishop of Limerick, he could say nothing; but since the bishop had filled his present see, he had selected for promotion men of abilities and long standing in the Church, with whom he had no connection whatever, except by their services as curates. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer also asserted that the primate of Ireland, had been more cautious and careful than some of his predecessors, in granting faculties, in doing which he had been actuated by a sincere desire to perform his duty; and he concluded by requesting the hon. Member for Oxford to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. *Trant* maintained that the Church of Ireland was not to blame—it had no abuses, it was in the most progressive and satisfactory state of amendment; if the Church of England was to be pulled down, let it be pulled down by honest hands. The commission was to reform what needed not reformation, and the records of that House furnished the refutation of the charges brought forward against the Church.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he presumed that Gentlemen who had just entered the House, and had not been present at the debate, must, from the speech of the hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Trant) suppose that some formidable proposition was under consideration for the destruction of the Church of Ireland. The course of proceeding that the right hon. Baronet proposed was, that the Crown should be advised to appoint a Commission to examine into the state of the Church of Ireland, with reference to the union of benefices—that it should inquire into the value of each separate parish, which constituted such union, and into the proceedings adopted to sever such unions, as well as for the purpose of facilitating the appointment of a greater number of ministers of the Church of Ireland, as for the purpose of the better performing the sacred duties of the ministry. It was proposed that a Commission, composed of privy councillors, should inquire into the grant of faculties, or dispensations, by which pluralities were held. A further proposition was, that the Crown should not appoint to any benefice in which there was a deficiency of a glebe-house, a church, or cathedral; and that the profits of such benefice should be appropriated to the building of such glebe-house or church, or to the repairs of such cathedral. His noble friend objected to that, and the right hon. Baronet had submitted to the validity of that objection; and the whole proposal, as it now stood, was for a Commission to inquire into the state of the union of benefices, and to facilitate a greater appointment of working ministers, and to prevent the holding of pluralities. Did the hon. Member for Dover, professing his anxiety to maintain the interests of religion, conceive that he could impose upon any man by his cry of the 'Church in danger.' Did the hon. Member not know—was he so totally ignorant of all that was passing around him as not to know that the Crown had already appointed a commission to inquire into the whole state of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of this country? That commission had not yet extended to Ireland. He would venture to inform the hon. Member, however, that the Church of Ireland was gaining in strength, by adopting moderate and well-considered reformation. For that Church he professed as sincere a respect as the hon. Member for Dover; and he could affirm, from his own knowledge, that for twenty-five years, great efforts had been made by the clergy to improve its condition; and, at that moment, the Church of Ireland could present a ministry, speaking collectively, as devoted to the discharge of its spiritual functions as the ministry of any Church or ecclesiastical establishment in any country. If the time should ever arrive when an attempt should be made to deal with the property of the Church upon other principles than with the property of other establishments, then would be the time for the exertions of those who dreaded the subversion of that Church. The hon. Member for Oxford could not mean to push his doctrine so far as others that night had pushed it. He could not mean to say that any part of the revenue of the Church, such as the stipends of curates, was beyond the reach of the law. With reference, however, to the appropriation of the revenue of the Church, the question ought to be approached with the utmost delicacy, and an enlarged view ought to be taken of the effect of an unequal distribution of that revenue upon the promotion of learning and religion. When any attempts were made upon the revenue of the Church, he would resist them; but he would not permit the imprudent sarcasms of the hon. Member for Dover to prevent his acceding to a motion which, he believed, was not couched in the spirit of hostility to the Church, and which would tend to promote its best interests.

Mr. *Sadler* had not been present during the whole of the discussion, and he should address himself only to the observations of the right hon. Secretary opposite. He must say, that the proposition came with a peculiarly bad grace from those who refused all commissions of inquiry into civil establishments. It would as well become the House to attend to civil pluralities, which were evils as crying as the ecclesiastical; and in many cases civil pluralities were held which were totally incompatible with each other.

Sir *Charles Wetherell* said, that the right hon. Secretary had argued that there was no harm in granting this inquiry *quoad* Ireland, because it was already granted *quoad* England [*Cries of* "*No, no!*"]. If the right hon. Gentleman's argument was not so, why it was not so. If this were not his argument, whatever he said about the commission in England ought to be struck out of his speech; and if it were his argument, he would take the liberty of saying it was no argument at all. The Ecclesiastical Commission in England was confined to the amelioration of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and every body well knew that that branch of the administration of justice in England, like all other branches, required in a certain time to be rebuilt. But the present commission was to address the Crown to carry into effect the grossest violation of the law, if bishoprics were to be kept vacant where cathedral churches wanted repair. [*cries of* "*No, No.*"] He wished his friends would set him right, and not set him wrong. He did not mean to say that there were not provisions to prevent pluralities which the Crown might carry into effect, though, generally speaking, this was out of the power of the Crown. Two thirds of the Address called upon the Crown to violate the law and the Coronation Oath; and therefore, when Ministers approved of part of the Address, he did not think their approval was in very good company. This was not the mode in which the inquiry ought to be admitted. Every gentleman who had spoken from the Ministerial benches had given arguments against that part of the Motion which they were disposed to support; and why? Because there already existed in the Privy Council a right to do that which was to be done by this commission. If the Privy Council of Ireland had violated its duty, that would have been a good argument for this inquiry; but instead of this, Ministers said—"We don't object to inquiry, although there exists a competent authority to make the inquiry, and which is unimpeached." This was to stigmatise the Privy Council of Ireland for not performing its duty, and yet the right hon. Baronet had not been able to state any thing against the Privy Council of Ireland. Under these circumstances, he did feel himself disposed to support the motion of the Member for Oxford. On neither side of the House had there been suggested any reason why the powers of the Privy Council of Ireland should not be called into action. He never could approve of any address which called upon the Crown and the Government to commit a gross infraction upon the rights and property of the Church; and though he concurred in the right hon. Baronet's object, he could not concur in the mode of attaining that object. "Where sits the Government? [*laughter*] There sits the Government. [pointing to the Opposition Benches] That Government opposed every thing proposed by this side of the House, whilst every thing they proposed was enacted by Ministers. There resides the initiative [pointing to the Opposition—*loud laughter*]; they are the persons who look after the agricultural and manufacturing distress; they put their proposals on the Table of the House; they are the active, efficacious agents who bring under the control of Parliament those great practical measures which the necessities of the country call upon the House to discuss." Under these circumstances, he should take the liberty to say, that if the hon. Member for Oxford carried the previous question to a division, he would vote for it; and if, afterwards, the right hon. Baronet brought forward his measure in better company—not to address the Crown to demolish and despoil the Irish Church [*cheer*]—" if that cheer comes from an Irish Lawyer"—

Mr. *O'Connell* answered, " No, no."

Sir *C. Wetherell.*—" I, then, am in the wrong, and the cheer comes from an Emeritus lawyer (Mr. M. A. Taylor), who sits behind him — however, some person sarcastically cheered my statement; or if no person sarcastically cheered, why then I am in possession of my statement." [*laughter*] But he was to be put down not by cheers but by arguments.

Mr. *Peel* rose to explain.—He must confirm the just and striking observation of the learned and hon. Gentleman, that if a certain argument was not his (Mr. Peel's) argument, why then it was not. He (Mr. Peel) had never represented the commission in England as precisely the same as that now proposed for Ireland, but he did doubt if the commission upon the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of England, and upon the control of the bishops over the Clergy, were not as important and as extensive as the commission now proposed.

Mr. *M. A. Taylor* said, he had certainly felt very indignant at his learned friend's expression of the spoliation of the Church; and he (Mr. Taylor) did express himself more loudly than he ought to have done. He would, however, say that the imputation of a wish to despoil the Church against those who only wanted to reform it, was unfounded and unjustifiable. He looked upon the Church Establishment of England and Ireland with veneration; and he considered that the only effect of the proposed commission would be to place the Churches of England and Ireland on the most solid foundation.

Mr. *Brougham* rose amidst cries of Question, and turning round and shaking his finger at the criers, he said, " You will have Question in proper time." He could not let the observations of the learned Gentleman pass without some explanation; for, without any explanation, he might be supposed to give his vote upon grounds which he repelled as much as any man. He had never heard a more complete misrepresentation, even in that House, than that given of the right hon. Secretary's speech by the learned Member. The hon. and learned Gentleman must surely have forgotten all that had taken place during the last three years. He must have forgotten, at that moment, that a commission was issued in this country for inquiring into matters connected with the Church Establishment. But then the hon. and learned Gentleman would say there was a difference between this English commission and the commission which had been moved for by his hon. friend the Member for Waterford; inasmuch as the latter referred to Ecclesiastical property, and the former to Ecclesiastical Courts of Judicature. But if there was any one thing which the Church was anxious to avoid, it was any interference with its courts for the administration of justice. There was no one right or privilege so dear to the Church as that administration. For ages the Church had most zealously defended it. By whom were the Judges in those courts appointed? In whom was the patronage vested? One of the highest of the Judges was appointed by a Bishop, and another by an Archbishop. If the Motion had been for an inquiry into the Ecclesiastical Courts of Judicature in Ireland, it would have been held to be more objectionable to the Church than an inquiry into its property. In no way whatever, however, did his hon. friend's Motion deserve the name of a spoliation of the Church. The hon. and learned Gentleman had declared that nine-tenths of the Motion consisted of illegality, and that it was contrary to the Coronation Oath. Were it not for his knowledge of the extraordinary vivacity of his hon. and learned friend's imagination; were it not that he knew his hon. and learned friend's imagination sometimes superseded his memory of facts he should have been exceedingly surprised at this last assertion. What was the case? At the end of the Motion there came a little clause which certainly did appear to call upon the Crown to exercise a power not justified by the law. To that clause an objection was made, and his right hon. friend (the Member for Waterford) candidly consented to withdraw it from his Motion. He objected, however, to the application of the phrase " spoliation of the Church," even to that small part of his right hon. friend's original Motion. All the rest of the Motion was mere inquiry. It had no tendency to any particular charge. It went to examine—not to decide. That alone—that small part—calling upon the Crown to order the suspension of certain ecclesiastical revenues until certain repairs of the church were carried into effect, was the objectionable passage. But who, except his hon. and learned friend, or one of equally inflated imagination, could consider this as an attempt at despoiling the Church. So far from being for the spoliation, it was for the protection and improvement of the Church. The same thing had been done by act of Parliament, in the case of the Cathedral at Litchfield. But his hon. and learned friend, in his indignation against his Majesty's Ministers for acquiescing in the substance of the present Motion, charged them with constantly adopting the measures of their political opponents. But that was no more their practice at present than it was during the period when his hon. and learned friend sat on the Ministerial benches. Why did he not then say that Ministers took their measures from their opponents, who were the real efficient Ministers? Never did anything of that sort drop from his hon. and learned friend until the Catholic Question had been carried; and yet there had been many measures adopted by his Majesty's Government which would have been liable to a similar remark. There were the Free Trade measures, the Commissions of Education, the abolition of the Orders in Council, the Commissions for Judicial Inquiry, the Irish Census, and many other measures which proceeded from the Opposition side of the House; but which, with great candour and bounty, were adopted by his Majesty's Government; although never, until now, had a charge for doing so been brought against Government by his hon. and learned friend; and yet there was no man of more honest and honourable feelings, and who had shown himself more disposed to speak his undisguised sentiments, at whatever sacrifice of personal advantage. To return, however, to the question before the House. In the first place, it was said to be an interference with the power of the Privy Council in Ireland. That he denied. They had the power, by the Act of George the First, of forming unions, and dissolving them, in particular cases. But he had yet to learn, that by either common or statute law, the Privy Council had the power of sending a roving commission all over Ireland. In the next place, it was said to involve a censure on his Majesty's Government. It did no such thing. What! Was every address of that House to the Crown to issue a commission, which the Crown had a right spontaneously to issue, to be considered a censure? It amounted to no more, in all cases of the kind, than to this—that the House advised the Crown to rouse into action a power which it possessed, but which was dormant. He altogether denied that the Motion was conceived in a spirit hostile to the Established Church. It was a Motion for inquiry, and for inquiry alone. It could never lead to any spoliation of the property, or violation of the rights of the Established Church. The hon. Member for Oxford, however, had told the House (and a new kind of legal doctrine it certainly was), that there was something so peculiar in the character of Church property that it was not competent to the House of Commons to interfere with it. That was denying the supremacy of Parliament. That was maintaining that the Church was not only sacred, but that it was *sacro-sanct*. He had frequently heard of Church and King; and he knew that, under that name, many abuses had been committed, and many false principles maintained; but he had never before heard the most wild or fanatical supporter of Church and King principles place the claims of the Church on a level with those of the Sovereign. That they were equal was not the language of the Constitution, or of the Law; which declared that the King was the head of the Church. But the hon. Member for Oxford went much further than this. He declared that the Church was higher than the King, that it was higher than the Parliament. According to the hon. Member, Parliament had no power to interfere with the property of the Church, But had Parliament never so interfered? Why, it had done nothing else for centuries. It had changed the disposition of that property over and over again. It had altered the distribution of it among the members of the Church themselves. Did the hon. Member for Oxford recollect the Stipendiary Curates' Bill? Did he recollect that in old times

—in good old times, as the hon. Member would call them, in good old Catholic times—that interference with the property of the Church was by no means infrequent? Did the hon. Member recollect the statute of Richard 2nd on the subject? The hon. Member for Oxford maintained that it was not competent in Parliament to interfere with the property of the Church. By that statute, a fourth of the proceeds of a living were set aside for the bishop, a fourth for the repairs of the church, and a fourth for the support of the poor. If his hon. friend, the Member for Aberdeen, or any other hon. Member, were to propose the revival of that statute, of course the hon. Member for Oxford would call the proposition a spoliation of the Church. Yet it would be only a return to what had been the law on the subject. He confessed, however, that he was surprised to hear any hon. Member at the present day urge the old and exploded doctrine, that inquiry weakened the authority of any establishment, or sapped its foundation. They who really valued an establishment, and highly estimated its privileges and authority, were, in his opinion, called upon to promote and not to discourage inquiry. The time had passed by when the character of any establishment was considered venerable in consequence of the obscurity by which it was enveloped. Let the light shine upon all our institutions. If they were calumniated—if the abuses imputed to them had no foundation in truth—let light in, and the calumny would be refuted, the imputation would be wiped away. But if they persisted in maintaining obscurity, they would play the game of the calumniators—they would give countenance to the grossest, and perhaps the most groundless accusations. On that principle, he was prepared to vote for his hon. friend's Motion. So long as the object was to inquire into the existence of abuses, that object he was always prepared to support; although he would be the last man in the House to retrench eighteen bishops, or pull down the walls of a single Irish cathedral.

Sir *J. Newport* said, after what had been stated on the other side of the House, he would withdraw his Motion.

Sir *R. Inglis*, to save the time of the House, would withdraw his amendment.

Lord *Leveson Gower* then moved the Address in the terms already described.

Motion agreed to; and the Address ordered to be presented by such hon. Gentlemen as were members of the Privy Council.

PORTUGAL.] Lord *Palmerston* said, that as the debate on the motion of the hon. Member for Waterford had lasted so long, and as another important question was about to be agitated, he would postpone his intended motion, although he was desirous, for reasons which must be obvious to all, to bring it on with as little delay as possible. He hoped he should be able to make his motion on Tuesday next. His only reason for doubting it arose from the circumstance that a motion of great importance, by an hon. and learned friend of his near him, stood for that day; and would probably give rise to a long discussion. He would, however, put it to his hon. friend, if another day might not equally suit his purpose?

Mr. *Wilmot Horton* expressed his readiness to oblige his noble friend, but could not consent to postpone his motion.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AT BOMBAY.] Mr. *Stewart* said, he rose to move for certain papers referring to the interference of the local government with the administration of justice in the Supreme Court of Bombay. To recommend this Motion to the House, he did not deem it necessary to enter into the origin of this Court, but perhaps he might be permitted shortly to advert to the circumstances under which it was established. In the year 1774 or 1775, the extortions and oppressions of some servants of the East-India Company were found to press so very heavily, that Government was implored to come to the assistance of the people; and in consequence of some petitioners setting forth their grievances, and stating the necessity of their having some tribunal to protect them, were this and other courts of a similar nature established. He had to observe, that in 1782, Sir Elijah Impey was impeached for a dereliction of duty, and called to answer for having accepted office in one of the Company's courts, he being at that time Chief Justice in a supreme court of judicature; and from this he argued that the Government at home had recognized the independence of these courts in India, and acknowledged their right to exercise a control over the local authorities. Lately, notwithstanding this establishment of the independence of the Supreme Court of Bombay, the government of that presidency had taken upon itself to exercise an authority over the proceedings of the Court that must prove altogether fatal to its independence. The Governor had addressed a letter to the Judges of that Court, telling them that they were not to use their own discretion in the case before them, whatever might be their opinion of the law. This letter was addressed to Sir John Grant. He would read it.—

"To the honourable Sir C. H. Chambers, Knight, Acting Chief Justice, and the honourable Sir J. P. Grant, Knight, Puisne Justice of the honourable the Supreme Court of Judicature.

"Honourable Sirs;—We are quite aware that we transgress upon ordinary form in addressing this letter to you; but the circumstances under which we are placed will, we trust, justify this departure from usage, and our knowledge of your private and public character leads us to hope that what we state will be received in that spirit in which it is written; and that, notwithstanding your strict obligations to fulfil every part of your high and sacred duty as British Judges, you will, on this extraordinary occasion, deem yourselves at liberty to consider as much the objects, as the rules of that Court over which you preside; and viewing the intention of the legislature in its institution as directed to the aid and support of the government intrusted with the administration of this Presidency, you will, for a short period, be induced, by our representations, to abstain from any acts (however legal you may deem them) which, under the measures we have felt ourselves compelled to take, and which we deem essential to the interests committed to our charge, must have the effect of producing open collision between our authority and yours; and by doing so, not only diminish that respect in the native population of this country, which it is so essential to both to maintain, but seriously to weaken, by a supposed division in our internal rule, those impressions on the minds of our native subjects, the existence of which is indispensable to the peace, prosperity, and permanence of the Indian empire.

"This conclusion refers to a variety of circumstances, which we are equally forbid from explaining, as you are from attending to such explanation; but we deem it necessary to state our conviction of the truth of what we have asserted, expecting that it may have some weight with the preservation of that strength in the Government, which in all our territories—but particularly those we have so recently acquired—is the chief, if not the only power we possess for maintaining that general peace, on the continuance of which the means of good rule, and of administering law under any form, must always depend.

2. "In consequence of recent proceedings in the Supreme Court, in the cases of Moro Ragonath and Bappo Gunness we have felt compelled, for reasons which we have fully stated to our superiors, to direct that no further legal proceedings be admitted in the case of Moro Ragonath, and that no returns be made to any writs of Habeas Corpus of a similar nature to those recently issued and directed to any officers of the provincial courts, or to any of our native subjects not residing on the island of Bombay.

3. "We are quite sensible of the deep responsibility we incur by these measures; but must look for our justification in the necessity of our situation. The grounds on which we act have exclusive reference to considerations of civil government and of state policy; but as our resolution cannot be altered until we receive the commands of those high authorities to which we are subject, we inform you of them, and we do most anxiously hope, that the considerations we have before stated may lead you to limit yourselves to those protests and appeals against our conduct in the cases specified, that you may deem it your duty to make; as any other conduct must, for reasons already stated, prove deeply injurious to the public interests, and can, under the resolution taken and avowed by Government, produce no result favourable either to the immediate or future establishment of the extended jurisdiction you have claimed.

4. "A very short period will elapse before an answer is received to the full and urgent reference we have made upon this subject; and we must again express our hope, that even the obligations under which we are sensible you act, are not so imperative as to impel you to proceedings which the Government has thus explicitly stated its resolution to oppose.

"We have the honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most obedient servants,
Signed, John Malcolm.
T. Bradford. Lieut. Gen.
J. J. Sparrow.
John Romer.
Bombay Castle, 3rd *October*, 1828."

The object of this communication, it will be recollected, was to put a stop to further proceedings in a case wherein a native of high caste was summoned to appear before the Supreme Court, and had pleaded in return the privilege conferred upon him by the promise of the Government, which exempted him from such attendance. The question respecting the jurisdiction of the Court came on in regular course before the Privy Council, and it was decided that the Court was wrong upon the point of law. But the Privy Council had not said whether the interference of the local government was or was not right; or, if it were right, whether it were made in the most advisable manner. The correspondence he moved for might perhaps show that the Government was right; and if it did, this would be a great satisfaction to the country; for decidedly a strong feeling had been excited by some most extraordinary language which had found its way into the newspapers, and which was attributed to the noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control. This occurred in a Letter stated to have been addressed by that nobleman to the governor of Bombay. In this the noble Lord said, "I believe there is but one opinion in this country as to the conduct of the Supreme Court." He differed with the noble Lord in this. He apprehended also, that between the noble Lord and the hon. and learned Gentleman and the Judges of our Courts, a very serious difference would prevail upon this question. He doubted if the decision of the Privy Council would be enough to set the matter at rest for ever—he doubted if the question would not again arise in India—he doubted if future Judges would be guided, or consider themselves bound by the decision of the Privy Council. Some declaratory Act of Parliament was, he thought, necessary. But, perhaps, in speaking of this "one opinion," the noble Lord merely alluded to his own opinion, fancying that he was the only man in the country competent to form an opinion on the subject; or, perhaps, he alluded to the "one opinion" which was alone permitted in the cabinet, all others being compelled to vanish before it. The noble Lord then proceeds to say—"Their law is considered bad law; but then errors in matters of law are nothing in comparison with those they have committed in the tenour of their speeches from the bench. Had Sir C. Chambers lived, I think he must have been displaced. Sir J. Grant seems to have confined himself more strictly to a legal argument. He may have been led by his erring chief: still there is much to censure in his conduct, and although I think it will probably not be considered necessary to recall him, his case is by no means decided upon. I am to have some conversation upon it with the Chancellor in a few days. We are so much occupied with our Roman Catholic Relief Bill at present, that we have little time for other matters, however important: to this circumstance must be attributed the delay which has occurred on the part of the law-officers. There was none in sending the case to them. In the mean time the King has, on my recommendation, made your Advocate General, Mr. Dewar, Chief Justice. I advised this appointment, because that gentleman appears to have shown ability and discretion during the late conflict with the Supreme Court, and because he appears to take a right view of the law, and to be on terms of confidence with you. I thought the putting him over Sir J. Grant's head would do more to notify public opinion, than any other measure I could at once adopt; and you have him in action two months sooner than you could have any other sent from here. I hope this arrangement will be satisfactory to you." Now it might be difficult to discover the writer's drift; but if there was any meaning in the passage, it was this—I send you a fit person to answer our purposes, he will at once succumb to your authority, and would willingly make his Court the instrument of oppressing the people. He hoped, however, the noble Lord would be disappointed in the opinion he had formed of this gentleman, who, he trusted, would not suffer himself to be influenced by private feelings or Government patronage, but would distribute justice from his seat with honour and independence. Next the noble Lord said:—"The Puisne Judge appointed in the room of Sir C. Chambers is Mr. William Seymour, of the Chancery Bar. The Lord Chancellor has a very good opinion of him, and generally, I think, he appeared to have higher claims than any other candidate. He is a gentleman in his manners, and a man of cultivated mind. He seems to have right notions of his duty, and of the law which has been so strangely misinterpreted. He will rather support Government than use the authority of the Supreme Court as a means of raising opposition. At least, if he is not all this, I have been deceived in him. He will embark in less than two months. He will probably be knighted before he sails; and as it will not be right that the Chief Justice alone should not be knighted, we must consider in what manner that can be best effected. I believe it may be done by patent; but my present idea is to empower you, as Governor, to confer the honour of knighthood on Mr. Dewar. This will evidently place the Governor above the Court. It will mark you out as the King's representative: you may make the ceremony as imposing as you please. I have written to the Heralds' Office, to know if the thing could be done according to precedents."

Was not this, he would ask, opposed to the express intention of the Legislature, and contrary to the Constitution as concerning the Courts of this country; and contrary to the practice of all provinces in which justice was fairly administered? The Supreme Courts in India had been made independent of the local authorities by the Government at home; and he hoped they would be restored to that independence by a vote of the House. An hon. Gentleman (Mr. G. Bankes) had stated, upon a former occasion, that in one of the succeeding paragraphs the principal word was, in a copy of the letter sent from India, *review*, and not *renew* the Charter. He could only say that in the copy he had received from India the words stood as they had been originally published in this country. In his opinion, however, it was no matter which of the two words was used, since the sense of the passage evidently was that the Government had made up their minds to renew the Charter.

"As we may not impossibly renew the Charter next year, we may take that opportunity of rectifying the expressions of the Act of Parliament, should they require it. Many persons think it would be inexpedient to open a discussion on Indian matters this year, if it could be avoided. But as I tell you, no decision is yet come to. You will see that there is no intention of deserting you. You have acted with much firmness and prudence. I entirely agree in the view you have expressed of the dangerous consequences which would result from the extension beyond the limits of the Presidency of the powers claimed by the Supreme Court. Orders have been given for expediting the patent of the chief judge. It is with deep regret that I have heard that the Company and the country are so soon to lose your services in India. I could not ask you to stay one hour to the danger of your valuable life; but I am confident you will stay till you have re-established the authority of Government in the opinion of the natives. I trust, indeed, that the unbending firmness you have displayed will have prevented much of the evil which might have been expected to flow from the conduct of the Judges. I feel satisfied that you will act with the same firmness under all circumstances, and at the same time with moderation and discretion. You may thus depend upon the support of the Board of Control, which I have the honour of presiding over."

Now he would say, after reading this, that it was quite clear from the context, that the noble writer meant to give Sir J. Malcolm to understand that the question respecting the East-India Company's Charter had been already decided by the Administration. He apprehended, too, that there was no reason to suppose that the authority of the Government at Bombay had been shaken by the events which had recently taken place there; while that of the Court was decidedly affected by them. In conclusion, he pressed upon the House the necessity of an inquiry into the conduct of the Bombay Government, as it was only by the greatest care that our dominion could be preserved in India. If interference with the administration of justice were tolerated in India, the House knew not how soon it might be, attempted here. The Government at each presidency was of a military character, and the Judges could not, therefore be too cautious in suffering their privileges to be interfered with. This ought to be considered, and he hoped the House would adopt some measure to remedy the mischief which had been done, and to prevent its recurrence. He then moved for the "Correspondence between his Majesty's Commissioners for the Affairs of India, or either of them, and any of the authorities of Bombay, respecting the interference of the Bombay Government with certain proceedings of his Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at that Presidency, in the months of August and September, 1828, or at any subsequent period."

Lord *Ashley* replied, but in so low a voice, that his speech was very imperfectly heard. He was understood to say, that he was afraid that the minds of the members were prepossessed, supposing that a gross outrage had been committed on those persons on the sacredness of whose character and functions all classes had to depend for the security of their lives and property. He hoped the House would not think he was going to argue against the independence of courts of justice. He knew that it was essential to the tranquillity and security of a country that they should enjoy perfect freedom. But it should be remembered that it was not the same with respect to our Courts, in which the Judge and the aggrieved party were, perhaps, alone to be considered, and the Courts of India. The question lately under discussion there affected sixty millions of persons. The House should look to the state of the provinces under the Bombay Government. Those in the Deccan had been but lately acquired by us; and a great part of the population was in a state of great disorganization. The object of the Government was to bring these men gradually within the pale of the law, and this required a delicate and prudent administration, in order to avoid intimidation. Certain privileges had accordingly been guaranteed to the higher castes of natives in the Deccan, particularly an exemption from personal appearance in our courts of justice, which was repugnant to the prejudices of these high caste men. Sir John Grant, however, had opposed himself to this course, by issuing a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring up the person of a native of Poonah, named Moro Ragonath, who was under the guardianship of his uncle, Ramchunder, a person of high birth, being nearly related to the late Peishwah. He was called upon to obey the process of the Court, notwithstanding the guarantee that he should not be compelled to appear in a Court of justice. Sir John Malcolm felt that he incurred a severe responsibility; but he saw, although there was great difficulty in the way of resisting the process of the Court, that he should expose the empire to great danger if he suffered this innovation in a country recently acquired, and scarcely brought into order. There were peculiar circumstances which rendered decisive steps necessary. The alarm amongst the natives of the Deccan was general. The inhabitants of Poonah congregated in large masses to inquire into the nature of this mysterious process, which was represented to be of so potent a nature that it would place the Governor and Council in confinement. The peculiar circumstances of the Deccan had great influence on the mind of Sir John Malcolm. He knew that there was a vast proportion of seditious men there who would take advantage of any discontent. It was to be recollected that our empire in India was held entirely by opinion, and if the natives observed a discord between two branches of the government, they would be less disposed to obedience. To show how far the alarm had extended, in a communication with the Rajah of Guzerat, that prince refused to pay a loan which he had contracted, alleging that he could be released from it by the process of the Supreme Court; and the Bombay Government was obliged, in consequence, to sequestrate a part of his property. Again, the Rajah of Satara, one of the most powerful of the Mahratta Princes, when going down to Bombay, in the programme of the ceremonial, which gentlemen who have been in India know is a matter of great moment, was anxious, not how he should meet the Governor, but how he should meet the Judge of the Supreme Court. This was not all; the Supreme Court had, previous to issuing the writ of *habeas corpus* to bring up Moro Ragonath, who was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, issued, on the 11th of September, 1828, a writ directed to the gaoler of a Zillah Court, in Salsette, for bringing up a native, named Bappo Gunness, who had been guilty of embezzlement, a crime very common in India, and had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment. This man, who had been imprisoned only since May, was set at liberty by the Supreme Court, and was allowed to go into the Deccan, or wheresoever he pleased. The Government was anxious to avoid all collision, and therefore made no opposition to his enlargement. When Bappo Gunness was brought up, and the sentence of the Zillah, or provincial court, was returned, Sir John Grant said he did not know such a court as a Zillah Court, which was equivalent to a declaration to 6,000,000 of men, that there was no court which could take cognizance of their crimes. The House must not suppose that this was said to a parcel of men who could not understand it, but there were acute men amongst them; and the transactions in the Supreme Court were transmitted to Poonah quicker by the native agents than by the Government couriers. He did not mean to say that the natives of India were averse from the principle of the English laws. They might have objections to our process and operation, in some instances, which appeared to them absurd and unintelligible. Of this a better illustration could not be given than the saying of one Hindoo to another, who inquired his opinion as to some judicial proceedings at which he had been present. The party replied, that "he could make neither head nor tail of them, and that it took an hour and a half to prove that Budjee Row was in existence, although he was known to every one in Bombay." It was clear that Sir John Malcolm had no alternative, and that he was compelled to take the course he had adopted, except he chose to render our laws and government offensive and unpopular amongst the natives. If we desired to introduce English laws and usages among the Hindoos, we must innovate gradually, and with extreme caution, and spare no effort to conciliate their prejudices, in order that we might be enabled to render the people as great, as happy, and as independent as possible.

Mr. *Robert Grant* said, that although the intimate friend of one of the Judges, and bound by a much closer tie to another, now no more, he could not allow himself to deny that they were not wrong in the course they adopted on this occasion. But if the Judges had acted imprudently and indiscreetly, the Government had on its part made as many mistakes as the Judges. When the Governor found it necessary to assert his authority, he should not have contented himself by sending a private letter on a subject of such great public importance. The Judges were applied to publicly to grant a writ of pressing haste, and which, from its very nature, brooked no delay; and he ought therefore to have taken some public step at all hazards and consequences, even if it had been necessary to issue a proclamation. It was plain that if not legally, he was morally justifiable in adopting that course; and the Government at home would not have hesitated to pass an Act of Indemnity to free him from the consequences, in the same manner as they had done to the Bengal Government in 1781, when it resisted the orders of the Supreme Court by force, on the ground that those orders, though legal, were unjustifiable and inexpedient. The bill which was then passed adopted the same opinion, and its preamble expressly declared, that the conduct of the Supreme Court had not been strictly justifiable, although legal. Passing to the Letter of a noble Lord, which had been so often mentioned, he must say that, although it was said to have been written in haste and without due consideration, all the substantial parts of it had been fully acted on. In the various debates on the subject of this letter, it had always been contended that the measures it recommended, and the declarations it contained, were forced from the Government in consequence of the communications from Bombay. Now, if that were the case, how could the House form any judgment of the propriety of that letter, unless the correspondence was produced which formed the grounds for it. A great deal had been said of the independence of the Judges; but if they were to remain under the control of the Governor, that independence was a mockery, and they were reduced to mere machines, that could not pass a foot beyond the boundary prescribed to their motions. In the case of Sir Elijah Impey the House had acted upon a very different principle, for they actually threatened him with an impeachment for having acted in his judicial situation in such a manner as to make the Supreme Court dependant on the Government. In that instance the House passed a resolution, in which they stated that Sir Elijah Impey had done what in itself had a tendency to place the Supreme Court in dependence on that which it ought to control; and that, in so doing he had been guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours. That was the conduct of this House on a former occasion; why it should adopt an entirely different course at the present moment was what he could not understand. In his opinion, the letter which had been so much referred to, had degraded Sir John Grant—had been opposed to the spirit of the resolution, which, on the former occasion, this House had agreed to, and had been unadvised in point of policy. He would waive all discussion on the law of the case: but still he did not think it fitting that even so high a tribunal as that of the Privy Council should set aside a decision which was in accordance with the preceding authorities, which were recognised as the general law of the land. It was impossible to say that Sir J. Grant had been misled by the authority of Sir Charles Chambers. He was too high in spirit to wish to cast his own fault, if fault it were, upon any other person, and the stand he had made in defence of his own opinion showed that it was essentially his own. He could not have asserted it more distinctly if he had been led to the stake for it. As to Sir Charles Chambers himself, no one could doubt the purity of his motives or intentions, for every one was aware that the manner in which he had administered justice in India was such as to endear his memory to the native population. His death, indeed, was hastened by that over-anxiety to discharge his duty which minds like his always felt, and which was always destructive to their possessors in such a climate, where perfect freedom from anxiety was the best, if not the only, preservative of health. Yet this was the man whose relations yet living were doomed to see posthumously disgraced! On the subject of an independent judicature he would beg, in conclusion, to read the words of Sir W. Jones, whose opinions had been fully confirmed by that resolution which he had previously mentioned. The words of that great writer were:—"Whatever might have been the reason for the first establishment of the Supreme Court, of which I am not perfectly apprised, I will venture to say that it has been continued for one obvious reason—namely, that an extensive dominion without a complete and independent judicature, is an anomaly of which this world does not offer one example."

Colonel *Graham* contended, that the provincial Courts enjoyed an independent jurisdiction, and that the attempt of Sir John Grant to establish the authority of the Supreme Court in the manner he had done, and his discharge of a convicted person, was contrary to the letter of the law, and gave the natives reason to believe that there was some mysterious process by which a guilty man could be set at liberty, and left to continue with impunity in his course of crime. This country had recognised the independence of the provincial Courts, and having done so, it was extremely improper in a Judge of the Supreme Court to set asid etheir authority, and quite wrong in any one to support such an act. He believed that no one had ever denied that Sir J. Malcolm had done his duty in openly resisting an authority which he believed to be illegal, and which, when attempted to be enforced, had created much disturbance and confusion.

Mr. *Hume* observed, that this question was one of considerable importance to the inhabitants of our Indian possessions; and after the misrepresentations of facts—misrepresentations which documents in his possession would fully prove—he did not think that it would be just towards India to suffer the discussion to be so hastily disposed of as it must be at that hour of the night. He therefore moved, that the question be adjourned, and said he should be ready to allow the adjournment to stand for any time that might be the most convenient to the House.

Some discussion followed as to the time to which the question was to stand adjourned, when it was finally settled that it should be adjourned till to-morrow (this day); but that the motion of the hon. Member for Hertford, upon the subject of East Retford, should take precedence of it.

SALE OF BEER.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that being extremely desirous that no time should be lost in the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the laws relating to the Beer Trade, he meant, even at that late hour [past one], to move, with the permission of the House, for its appointment. He would, however, occupy the House only for a few minutes, while he stated the general principles on which he should found his propositions. The subject of granting licenses to public-houses had been often brought under consideration, and sufficient had been already done towards giving freedom to the retail trade in Beer to justify the institution of an inquiry into the propriety of giving it still greater freedom. It had been shown by previous inquiries, that the present system of licensing had given rise more or less to a degree of monopoly in the Beer Trade which had produced two evils:—1. a deterioration in the quality of Beer—2. an enhancement of its price: both of which were, in effect, a severe tax on the poorer classes. Both these he hoped to remedy, but he begged to be understood as not at all yielding to the imputations thrown upon a wealthy and respectable class of individuals engaged in the manufacture and sale of Beer; the fault, if fault there were, was the fault of the law. His view was, that by opening the trade the means of consuming Beer would be extended, and that no injury would be inflicted upon the brewer, while an important benefit would be conferred on the public; and he was convinced that the apprehensions felt by many persons interested in the present system, when any alteration was spoken of, would turn out to be unfounded. He was quite sensible of the advantage of extending the sale and consumption of Beer; but at the same time, he did not mean to put out of sight the necessity of keeping over public-houses a vigilant superintendence by the Magistracy for the preservation, both of the public peace and of the public morals. The advantage resulting from opening in some degree the trade in Beer, he thought, had been already established. He, doubtless, should be told by some that that opening had ruined the interests of those whom it was meant to serve; and he supposed it would be asserted by others, that its effect had been to increase habits of drunkenness. He did not, however, concur in the correctness of either position. He was of opinion that the interference with the monopoly had been too limited to effect the object which the legislature had in view: had it been carried further, the plan would have succeeded. The great evil was, that the alteration sent the public to a very few individuals, in any district, to procure this particular liquor, and this led sometimes, as crowds collected together, to a disturbance of the peace. But that would, he conceived, be counteracted by throwing the trade entirely open. The committee, he would take care, should comprise in its members persons of various opinions, and who were well able to support those opinions; and he could not help hoping that the result would be beneficial to the lower orders of society, and that, sooner or later, the alteration which he wished to see effected would lead to a great improvement, both of the health and of the morals of the people. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Laws regulating and restricting the Sale of Beer."

Mr. *Slaney* highly approved of the Motion, and congratulated the country upon the benefit that was likely to result from the investigation. The lower orders looked upon Beer as the second necessary of life, and the first advantage from a change in the present system would be, that they could obtain it cheaper and better; secondly, that their morals would be improved; and thirdly, that the distresses of the agriculturists would thus be partially relieved, because an increased consumption of Beer would necessarily create an increased demand for agricultural produce, which was greatly restricted by the existing system. For his own part, it appeared to him that general competition would best serve the interests of the respectable individuals who were engaged in the manufacture of Beer. If they manufactured a good article, they would suffer nothing: if, on the contrary, they manufactured an indifferent article, the public would be greatly benefitted, as they would have an opportunity of supplying themselves elsewhere. In consequence of the system which had been long pursued, the consumption of spirits had greatly increased. Between the years 1807 and 1827, the number of beer and ale licenses had fallen off very much; while, in the same period, spirit licenses had increased to the extent of 11,000. During that time, also, the consumption of spirits had advanced from 12,000,000 to 24,000,000 of gallons; and the demoralizing effects of this change were observable throughout the whole country. He was decidedly of opinion that the proposed mode of proceeding was preferable to any other.

Mr. *C. Barclay* regretted that this important subject had been brought forward at so late an hour that it was impossible to enter into the real merits of the question. He had no doubt that the members of the committee would be fairly chosen, but he could not agree that any such investigation was necessary, or that it would be productive of any benefit. He believed that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer would find himself, like his predecessors in office, entirely mistaken as to the consequence of a change; and, did time allow, he was prepared to show that the anticipations of Lord Goderich, when, in 1825, he brought forward the Intermediate Beer bill, had been wholly disappointed. The sale and manufacture of Beer was not so restricted as the right hon. Gentleman imagined. It was by no means a monopoly; a great portion of the trade was free. Property to a large amount would be seriously affected by the change, not of the large brewers, for they were out of the question, but of a very respectable class of the community, the owners and occupiers of houses independent of any brewer. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would note and recollect his words, when he said that the proposed alteration of the law, allowing the sale of Beer in shops, would only operate as a transfer of the trade from one class to another, without at all increasing the consumption of the article. If the right hon. Gentleman wished to induce the community to drink more Beer, the only effectual means of doing so was to lower the duty; for the price, at the present cost of materials, could not bear reduction. The real and great evil was the present amount of the tax.

After a few words from Mr. *Benson*, expressive of his opinion that the inquiry would be attended with advantage, both to individuals and the public, the question was put and carried, and the Committee was named.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, March 5.

MINUTES.] The Property in Infants' Bill, Lunatics' Property Bill, liability of Real Property Bill, and Contempt in Equity Bill, were brought up from the Commons, and on the Motion of the Earl of SHAFTESBURY, read a first time.

A return was ordered of the quantity of Wheat Imported from Ireland into England, during each week, from July 1828, distinguishing the ports into which it was imported, and of the average price of Wheat at Liverpool and Manchester for each week during the same period.

ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.] Lord *Holland* presented a Petition from a person named Clarke, praying for a revision and alteration both of the Ecclesiastical Courts and of the Ecclesiastical Law. He had, it appeared, been a party to a suit in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, where he was defeated. He then carried the cause before the Court of Delegates, who confirmed the former judgment; and finally he applied to the Court of Chancery for a commission of review, which was refused. He was at present a prisoner in the Fleet prison, for a contempt of the Court of Chancery, having neglected to pay into that Court a sum of money according to its order, he being in fact unable, on account of the expense of the proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts, to pay it.

The *Lord Chancellor* stated the facts of the case. It appeared, that the petitioner Thomas Clarke, had had some property devised to him to the prejudice of the next of kin, who sought to set aside the Will on the ground of the insanity of the Testator. The cause was first argued before Sir John Nicholl, and afterwards before the Court of Delegates, both of whom concurred in setting aside the Will. The Lord Chancellor contended, that the judgment of Sir John Nicholl, and the affirmation of that judgment by the Court of Delegates, were perfectly in accordance with the circumstances disclosed before them. He had felt it to be his duty to refuse the commission of review, because there were no grounds for extending to the petitioner that measure of grace and favour. He had closely examined all the papers in the cause, amounting to 500 folio pages, and he had heard it argued for several days. As a commission of review was entirely a favour granted by the Crown, he thought it would be wrong to permit the petitioner to have such an indulgence, when there was no reason whatever for disturbing the judgment of the Court below. As to his being confined in the Fleet prison, he had been committed for a contempt, in not having paid a sum of money into Chancery, in conformity with an order of the Court.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, March 5.

MINUTES.] MR. FRANKLAND LEWIS took the Oaths and his Seat for Radnorshire, and EYRE COOTE, ESQ. took the Oaths and his Seat for Clonmel.

MR. ALDERMAN WOOD obtained leave to bring in a Bill for constructing an Arcade from London-wall to St. Bartholomew's-Lane.

On the Motion of MR. C. N. PALLMER, the Lambeth-bridge Bill was read a first and ordered to be read a second time.

The Exchequer-bills Bill, and the Transfer in Aids Bill, severally passed through a Committee, and were ordered to be reported on Monday.

MR. DOHERTY brought in a Bill for the Regulation of Juries in Ireland: which was read a first time. The same Gentleman also brought in a Bill for the Relief of Illegitimate Children in Ireland, which was read a first time.

The Annual Mutiny Bill was brought in and read a first time.

Returns were ordered of any Treasury Minute between 1696 and 1699, authorising the Collectors of Taxes to take silver at less than the standard value; of the Treasury Order of Feb. 5, 1700,—settling the value of Louis d'or, and Spanish Pistole; of the Treasury Order of July 23, 1773, authorising the Receivers and Collectors of Public Taxes, to receive guineas and half-guineas, at a lower than the legal rate;—of the progress made and sums expended in Improving the Water Communication of Canada, and of the rents and profits of Crown Lands, from 1816 to the present time.

Returns were presented of the number of prisoners committed for Debt, to the Custody of the Four Courts, Marshalsea of Dublin, in 1829;—of the sums paid to Newspapers for Printing Proclamations in Ireland, in the same year:—of the number of Stamps issued to Newspapers in Ireland.

RELIEF OF THE JEWS.] Mr. *Huskisson* presented a Petition from certain Jews, praying to be relieved from the disabilities under which they laboured on account of their religious belief. The right hon. Gentleman expressed his cordial concurrence in the prayer of the petition, and intimated his intention to support the bill to be brought in by the hon. Member for Inverness for the relief of the Jews.

RETURNS.] Mr. Alderman *Waithman* complained that the official part of certain Returns of Imports and Exports, for which he had moved some time since, was still delayed, and begged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to assign the reason of this.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* could assign no other reason than that which the worthy Alderman had already received from the person whose duty it was to make out these returns,—namely, that that person was bound by act of Parliament to make out a very long series of Returns by a certain day of the present month, and that this business occupied the whole of his time and diligence.

Sir *T. Lethbridge* presented a Petition from certain shopkeepers of Somersetshire, against the traffic carried on by hawkers and pedlers.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.] Sir *T. Gooch* rose to present a Petition on the subject of Agricultural Distress, from the county of Suffolk. The hon. Member observed, that the petition came from a great body of agriculturists, assembled at a county meeting, convened by the high sheriff. Persons of all classes and ways of thinking attended—gentlemen, yeomen, Tories, Whigs, and Radicals,—and all united in one common object, that of petitioning the House, and representing the great agricultural distress which existed in Suffolk. This was not a party question. No man was less disposed to hold factious language than himself; but this was a time when Gentlemen of all parties should unite in declaring the sufferings of their constituents, and he agreed cordially with the hon. Member for Cumberland, that if the country gentlemen felt themselves injured they were bound to defend themselves. It was impossible to deny the existence of agricultural distress. It might be said to him, "You are a supporter of the Administration;" it was perfectly true that he was, but he could not conceal his sentiments on this subject. As to the causes of the distress, he believed that the alteration of the currency had done some mischief, but he differed from the petitioners in supposing that another alteration in that would give them relief. The evils arising from that source were, he believed, nearly over.

Sir *E. Knatchbull* was glad to hear that the support of his hon. friend would be given to measures for the relief of the general distress. He did not believe, however, with his hon. friend, that the distress was diminishing. On the contrary, he thought it was increasing, and that the country was in a worse condition than ever it was. He would recommend the Government seriously to take into its consideration the propriety of altering the currency, as a means of giving relief.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expressed his approbation of the conduct of the Member for Suffolk (Sir T. Gooch) who had the manliness to express his dissent from his constituents, the petitioners, in desiring an alteration of the currency.

Mr. *Hume* informed the hon. Baronet that the Free Trade, which he did not seem to like, would be attended ultimately with as much benefit to the agriculturists, as to the other classes.

Mr. *Liddell* said, he believed much of the agricultural distress was caused by importations from Ireland. He did not wish to restrict those importations, but Ireland ought, under such circumstances, to be made to bear its full share of the burthens of the country.

Mr. *O'Connell* reminded the hon. Member that these importations were made to pay the rents of absentees, who spent their incomes in this country.

Sir *Thomas Gooch* explained, that he had meant that the evils arising from the alteration of the currency had passed the acmé, and were diminishing. He did not mean that agricultural distress was on the wane.

The Petition was read

SHIPPING INTEREST.] Mr. *Duncombe* presented a Petition from Ship-owners of the town of Whitby, in Yorkshire, complaining of distress, and praying for relief. The hon. Member supported the prayer of the petition, and bore testimony to the existence of the distress complained of.

Colonel *Wilson* begged also to support the prayer of the petition, and wished that he was sufficiently possessed of the gift of the gab to paint the distress in its true colours. [*Laughter*] He begged that the hon. Gentleman over the way, who thought proper to laugh at him, would be good enough to leave off laughing. He was very much afraid that those Gentlemen had not the interest of their country at heart, when they laughed at him while he was talking of the distress of the country. He would tell those Gentlemen that he was not to be put down by laughter.

The more they opposed him, the more he would go on. He should be unworthy of a seat in that House, and much more unworthy should he be to represent the city of York, if he allowed any man to browbeat him. It was the duty of every man in that House to stand up and make known the real state of his constituents. If he had his way, he would have a call of the House every week, and make every man speak of the condition of his constituents. He supported the Ministers, and would continue to do so as far as his conscience would let him, but not an inch farther. The Government ought to be informed of the distress that existed. Who was to inform them? Why, the House: but, instead of giving the Government that information, the House had all through the Session been carrying on a bickering with the Government. The distress of the country was the grand thing for them to attend to; and when the Ministers were informed of it, they would relieve it, if they had the fear of God before their eyes, and the good of the country at heart. He found no fault with Ministers. He wanted a change of measures —not of men; and that change would come, if the House would inform the Ministers how great the distress was, and if each Member would honestly describe the real state of his constituents. When this was done, then the distress would be probed to the bone, and sifted to the bottom, and after that, they would ascend the hill of relief for the country. If any Gentlemen told him there could be no relief for the country, he would tell those Gentlemen that he did not believe them. Nothing was impossible to man, at least with the assistance of God. Gentlemen might go on laughing, but they should not put him down. This was the time for every man to state what he knew of the condition of his constituents; and to get from them every information as to their wants; and who were more competent to state what they felt than those who suffered? He repeated, every man ought to stand up and tell the real state of his constituents; and those who were dumb on such an occasion, if he had to deal with them, he would turn them to the right about. Men who were disposed to do their duty by the country ought not to sit there boggling about the statement in the King's Speech, as to whether the distress was general throughout the country or not. He had no hesitation to stand up there, and to say that the distress was not general; there was one class who were exempted from it—he meant that privileged class who had the privileges, and enjoyed the protection of the justice of the country; those who shared the dividends, and who never paid sixpence to the general expenses, but let the whole weight of it fall on the land. What the devil was to become of the country if we went on so? He hoped they would excuse him—he was only a plain home-spun country gentleman—he spoke as he thought—and if in the heat of a discussion he said anything that went beyond the limits of debate, he was sure he should be called to order by the Chair, and he would bow to it. All he wanted was, that every man there should do his duty to his constituents. He endeavoured to do his duty by those who sent him to that House, but he would not stand quarrelling like some of the hon. Members opposite, about reducing 5,000 men. What good could that do? [*Cries of "Question."*] The hon. Member who called "Question" would, he was certain, not say as much out of doors. He was sure that hon. Member had not the interest of his country at heart.

The *Speaker* here called "order."

Colonel *Wilson*.—He would bow to the suggestion of the Chair, but he had only the interest of his country at heart in what he stated, and he did not wish to be interrupted in the performance of his duty. He did not mean to offend any party, and if he said any thing wrong, he was not conscious of it. But, to return to the shipping, he would say that it required their serious consideration; and he was glad he should have another opportunity of addressing the House on the subject. But there was a remedy which might be applied. He would tell the House what it was—confine the bonding system to our own shipping—let them have the benefit of the carriage of all timber brought to our dock-yards—let foreign shipping come in if they liked and land their cargoes, but let them pay the duty, and have a drawback on them if they took them away again; and let us do away with our new-fangled doctrine of free trade. By the way, this was the production of the right hon. Member for Liverpool, and he wished to God the thing had been suffocated in its birth—he begged a thousand pardons of the right hon. Gentleman, he meant nothing personal to him; but he must say, that our free trade and reciprocity system was the worst thing for the country which it had ever seen, and if persevered in, it would leave this island at last nothing but a barren and uncultivated rock. He had watched the operation of that system from day to day, and he thought it would have worked differently; but he was deceived—it had worked only ruin, and if persevered in, he was sure it must produce only misery and starvation to the country. He agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Member for York on this subject, and he yet hoped that the noble Duke at the head of the Government would at last send something down for the relief of the public. It was something of the kind which hon. Members ought to think of, instead of sitting there and bickering about 4,000 or 5,000 men, and keep the House up till two or three o'clock in the morning. [*Cries of "Question."*] He would answer the hon. Member who called "Question" in any way he liked; but he would not interrupt others, and he would not be put down. He repeated his hope, that, instead of the House sitting there "dilly-dally," night after night, till two or three in the morning, debating there about a few men more or less in the army, they would propose something for the relief of the country. He had now a communication to make to that House which his constituents had particularly instructed him to make: it referred to what fell from the hon. Member for Montrose on a former evening. [*Order*] He had not heard it, but had seen an account of it in the public papers. His constituents desired him to state, that a more unconstitutional declaration had never been made in that House or out of it. That they looked upon such a declaration with deep disgust and—

The *Speaker*.—Order, order.—The hon. Member has already stated that if in the heat of discussion he should say any thing trenching on the fair limits of debate, he would bow on being reminded of it from the Chair. The hon. Member, in what he has just said, though no doubt unconsciously, is quite irregular. If the communication to which he alludes refers to any thing which fell from any hon. Member in this House, it was disorderly in those who made it in the first instance, and it would be still more disorderly to act upon such communication here.

Colonel *Wilson* would bow to the opinion of the Chair; but he would put his opinion in another way. The hon. Member (Mr. Hume) had lighted a torch which would be his own destruction. The hon. Member then proceeded with several other remarks which were in great part repetitions of many of those he had before delivered. In conclusion, he observed, that his constituents had instructed him to say, that if Parliament did not apply some effectual relief to the distress of the country, they would be obliged to go to the foot of the Throne; that was their last resource; but go they would, if obliged, and no doubt that Monarch, whom Providence had blessed with a benevolent heart, would be dissatisfied with his Majesty's Ministers for allowing his distressed people to come to him for relief. Let, then, every Representative in that House, if he were the Representative of one, two, or three persons, stand up there and tell the real tale of his constituents, and urge a remedy.—[*Hear, hear.*]

Mr. *Sykes* would not then go into the question involved in the petition before the House, particularly after the lengthened and able address of the hon. Member who spoke last, which represented the good sense, the good taste, and, no doubt, the sobriety of the city of York. But he must observe that the petitioners were greatly distressed, and required some measure of relief. He would enter more fully into this subject when it came for regular discussion.

NEW SOUTH WALES. — GENERAL DARLING.] Mr. *Stewart*, seeing the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his place, begged to ask whether he had received from a gentleman at New South Wales (Mr. Wentworth), a communication, or articles of impeachment against Lieutenant-general Darling, the governor of that colony, in consequence of his proceedings in regard to the punishment of two soldiers, of the names of Sudds and Thomson, and the death of one of them; and if such a communication had been received, whether it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to adopt any measures in consequence, and what those measures might be?

Sir *George Murray* answered that no doubt he had received such a communication as the hon. Member alluded to, but the matter resting upon a point of law, he had referred it for the opinion of the law officers of the Crown.

Mr. *Stewart* then begged to ask the right hon. Gentleman, if he would have any objection to lay the papers before the House.

Sir *George Murray* was understood to say, on this subject he should exercise his own discretion. He could not answer further then, though it was open to the hon. Member to move for them.

MALT AND BEER DUTIES.] Mr. *Littleton* said, he was not present last night when his right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made his statement on moving for the appointment of the committee to inquire respecting Beer licenses and the sale of Beer; but it had been represented that his right hon. friend had said, that it was a doubt with him whether the reduction of duties on malt and beer would give the lower classes relief, and whether they would not be more benefitted by the reduction of some other tax. He wished to ask his right hon. friend whether he had made the statement attributed to him?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was his misfortune that in his first statements, and in his explanations, his meaning should be misrepresented by those who supposed their interests opposed to his views. He was in the recollection of the House as to what fell from him last night when addressing it on this subject, and to that recollection he would appeal, when he stated that nothing of the kind mentioned by his hon. friend had been uttered by him.—[*Hear, hear.*]

MEDITERRANEAN PASSES.] Mr. *Hume*, adverting to what had just passed in the House as to the state of the Shipping interest, observed, that he hoped, if the subject should be brought forward, the great charges to which vessels were subjected for lights and pilotage, which he understood were very heavy, and of course proportionately diminished their profits, would be taken into consideration. There was another charge to which part of our shipping was subjected, and on which he had a motion to submit to the House,—he meant the charge for Mediterranean Passes. This, he understood, was about 5*l.* for each vessel; and he was informed that the produce of that charge amounted to from 3,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* a year. This money was received by the Admiralty, and he did not know whether it were brought into the public account, or how it was applied. He would therefore move for "An Account of the number of ships which paid for Mediterranean Passes; of the amount received for those Passes in the years 1828 and 1829, and its application."

Mr. *Croker* did not object to the production of the account; some ships, he observed, took out Passes without proceeding to the Mediterranean; the number of Passes, therefore, would not show the actual number of vessels going to the Mediterranean.—Motion agreed to.

Mr. *Hume* said, that what he had stated the other night, with respect to the army pay and allowances in the present year and in 1792, had been controverted by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir H. Hardinge). He, however, was confident that the accounts would show his statement to be correct, and he would therefore move for "A Return of the rate of pay and allowances to officers and men in the Army in the years 1792 and 1829, and for similar returns as to the Navy and Ordnance."

Sir *H. Hardinge* would not object to the production of the returns, and he would make them as exact as was possible; but he was sure that the correctness of what he said on the subject would be borne out; and from whatever source the hon. Member had got his information, he would find that he was mistaken.

The Motions were agreed to.

ASSESSED TAXES. — SURCHARGES.] Mr. *Hume* said, that any one who attended to the mode in which the Assessed Taxes were collected, must be aware of the great and unnecessary severity frequently exercised in the collection, and the great number of the surcharges which were made. He had moved for an account of those surcharges, the returns to which would satisfy the House, he believed, of the great annoyance to which the public were exposed in this way. He understood that it was a practice in the board of Taxes, when a person was in arrear, for the solicitor to the board to write to him, calling on him for payment, and to charge 7*s.* for the letter. Now, as the solicitor to the board was a salaried officer, he wished to know how such sums were applied, whether they went to him, or to the board, or to the clerks. He would therefore move for "A Return of the number of letters sent by the solicitor of the Board of Taxes to persons in arrear for their assessments, the sums paid for each letter, the amount of the whole, and in what manner it was applied, in the years 1828 and 1829; distinguishing, if possible, the number in each quarter."

Sir *M. W. Ridley* wished to take that opportunity of asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was his intention to renew the Assessed Taxes' Composition Act, which was about to expire. Great convenience had been the result of that Act, and much prevention of surcharge experienced by its operation.

Mr. *Bright* said, that great, and he believed well-founded complaints were made in his part of the country, in consequence of the number of surcharges in the assessed taxes, but instead of renewing the Composition Act, he did hope, such was the great distress of the country, there would be no necessity for that act, but that the right hon. Gentleman would consent to repeal the assessed taxes altogether. Great relief, he thought, would be experienced in the country if Government would even consent to a reduction of the tax on servants. A vast number of persons now out of employment would be greatly benefitted by that course. He did not mean the tax on livery servants, for those who kept them could generally afford to pay for them.

Sir *M. W. Ridley* wished to know from the right hon. Gentleman whether he had heard his question, or if any particular feeling prevented him from answering it at present?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was understood to say in reply, that some arrangements were in progress respecting the assessed taxes generally, and that he would be prepared shortly to give an answer.

Sir *F. Burdett* said, that many instances of surcharges were known in the country, which might be avoided if the Composition Act were renewed, but the better plan would be to abolish the taxes altogether.

The Motion was agreed to.

REPORT OF SUPPLY.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the Report of the Committee of Supply be brought up, and it was brought up accordingly by Sir A. Grant.

The Resolutions were read by the Clerk. When he came to that fixing the number of the Army at 88,848 men,

Mr. *Hume* said, that he was anxious to record his opinion on this subject, that it might appear upon the Journals to what extent he wished the reductions in the Army to be carried. He would remind the hon. Members for Suffolk and York, who talked so loudly of the distresses of the country, that if they wished to obtain relief from taxation, they could only accomplish their object by reducing the present overwhelming military establishment. The enormous numbers of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, were the most oppressive burthen the nation had to sustain; for the pay must necessarily be in proportion to the establishments. He begged, therefore, to state what he thought, in the present state of the kingdom, would be the proper reduction. In 1792 the three regiments of Horse Guards amounted to 779 men: now they were 1,304 men. These he would reduce by 525 men. The Foot Guards, in 1792, were 3,756 men strong: now the number was 5,726 men; he would cut off all the increase. The Cavalry, in 1792, amounted to 5,409: now it was 7,157 men, that force ought to be brought back to its former state. The Household Troops, in 1799, were 6,554 men: now they were 14,118 men; in them there might be a reduction of 7564 men. All these excesses ought to be reduced so as to bring back the establishments to the standard of 1792. It was nothing more than was reasonable, and what the suffering people had a right to expect. These were not times when it was fit to keep up a large military force for the sake of empty shew and vulgar parade. Neither did the internal state of the kingdom require the presence of a large standing army; and it would be still less necessary if, as he understood, the new police system, which had answered so well, were to be extended. Ireland too was tranquil, and might spare some of the military that had been kept in that country. The vote required was nominally for 88,000 men, but the effective force, he believed, would be about 81,000 men, and of these 10,000 might be easily spared; and for a reduction to that extent he begged to move an amendment.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that as the hon. Member only wished to record his opinion, he should not delay the opportunity of doing so by making any answer to his observations.

On the Question being put, the Amendment was negatived, and the original Resolution carried.

When the Clerk arrived at the Vote for 29,000 Seamen and Marines for the Navy,

Lord *Althorp* rose to put a question to the hon. and gallant admiral opposite. Shortly previous to the battle of Navarino a most brilliant action had occurred at Patras, no account of which had been inserted in the Gazette. The Turkish fleet of sixty vessels had sailed from Navarino to Patras; their entrance of that port was opposed by Sir E. Codrington, with only two frigates to support him, and he succeeded, against an immense superiority of force, in compelling the Turkish fleet to return. This affair was, in point of fact, the commencement of hostilities; and he wished to know why it had not found its way into the Gazette?

Sir *G. Cockburn* regretted that the noble Lord had not given him notice that he meant to put the question, as he was at present unprepared with regard to the facts. He could say at once, that there was no reason for excluding it from the Gazette; and if it had not been inserted, it was because it was not such an affair as was usually thus recorded. Every thing that was right and proper had been done by Sir Edward Codrington; but it could hardly be called a brilliant action, except in intention. On the British ships insisting that the Turks should return to Navarino, they did return, and, according to the best of his memory, without a shot having been fired on either side.

Lord *Althorp* observed, that shots were fired; the British ships had opened a fire upon the Turks.

Sir *G. Cockburn* added, that according to his recollection, no such action had occurred, as it usually found its way into the Gazette. He would take care to inform himself on the subject against the next Supply-day.

Mr. *Hume* wished to enter his protest against the vote for Seamen and Marines. The Finance Committee of 1817 had recommended that the whole amount of Seamen and Marines should be 19,000 men; yet the vote for the present year, after so long a continuation of peace, was not less than 29,000 men, at least 10,000 more men than ought to be granted.

EAST RETFORD.] Mr. *N. Calvert* moved the Order of the Day, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee on the East Retford Bill.

The Speaker put the Question, that he should leave the chair.

Mr. *Tennyson* rose to move, as an Amendment, "That it be an instruction to the Committee on the East Retford Bill, that they have power to exclude the Borough of East Retford from the right of electing Members to Parliament, and to enable the Town of Birmingham to return two Members." The hon. Member adverted to the former proceedings upon this subject, and particularly to the five divisions that had already occurred upon the question, that the franchise be transferred to Birmingham. He was now, for the last time, about to make the same proposition; and he thought, that if the House rejected it, such a result would tend greatly to lower the opinion entertained out of doors of the proceedings of the Representatives of the nation. Not long since, a motion had been brought forward by a noble Lord (J. Russell) and rejected, for a limited Reform, by creating six new Members, in order to give two to each of three large manufacturing and commercial towns. The plan was opposed chiefly on the ground, that thus to add to the numbers of the Members would be to destroy the proportions established at the Union with Ireland; and it was then said, that when particular cases of delinquency were established, the franchise might be removed from the offending borough to some large town that at present had no Representative. He begged to recommend East Retford to the House as a case directly in point—as if it were made for the purpose of putting to the test the sincerity of those who had so recently resisted the motion of the noble Lord. The corruption that had prevailed at East Retford was most overwhelming, and it was the only instance of the kind that had occurred since the disfranchisement of Grampound. Those who resisted his Amendment seemed to him to verify the saying of straining at gnats and swallowing camels. The hon. Gentleman concluded with the motion he had stated in the outset.

Mr. *W. Smith* seconded it. As to the guilt of East Retford, he said he had never entertained a doubt: but even if it had not been so distinctly established, the punishment it was proposed to inflict was not such as to require strict legal proof of delinquency. He would ask any Gentleman to lay his hand upon his heart, and declare whether he was not convinced of the corruption of the electors of East Retford? Nay, he might put it to the honour of many who now heard him, whether, of their own knowledge, they could not state that such corruption prevailed, and that there was no getting into the borough without it? He saw no reason why the Representatives sent from Nottingham, and places in that county, should be increased? He asked, why continue the franchise to Nottingham, when it sent more Representatives to Parliament than many other counties? He never heard any such principle laid down as that, because the county had a certain number of Representatives less than the greatest number in any one other county, therefore no grounds of expediency or justice could warrant a diminution of the number. In fact, he preferred letting matters remain as they had been before the present inquiry and discussion, rather than allow the franchise to be extended to the neighbouring hundred. For those reasons, then, he should support the Amendment in favour of giving the franchise to Birmingham.

Mr. *Ferguson* agreed fully in the proposition of giving to Birmingham those rights of which East Retford ought to be deprived. The time had at last arrived when the manufacturing interests ought to be represented. They ought to have Members in that House, both as a matter of justice to them, of advantage to the country at large, and of convenience and benefit to the Parliament. There was no department or branch of British society which more contributed to the wealth and greatness of the empire, than did the manufacturing classes. It was the wealth which the State derived from them which had enabled it to carry on the tremendous war in which we had been engaged for so many years; and it was a due regard to their interests and their rights, which would alone carry us through the difficulties which that war had entailed upon the country. The manufacturing was a great and powerful interest, and one which it would be alike unjust and dangerous to leave without adequate Representation. As to the disfranchisement of East Retford, in that he should most cordially concur, even if it were not to be attended with the advantage of imparting to Birmingham rights which it had been too long left without. He attached no importance to the disadvantage, or rather, he should say, the supposed disadvantage, of taking away two from the aggregate amount of the Members sent from places in Nottinghamshire. He confessed he saw no disadvantage in that. He attached no importance to the argument founded upon the alleged disturbance of the proportion between Scotch and Irish Members. It would be hard indeed if the Union with Scotland or Ireland should prove a bar to improvement, and a means of eternally perpetuating an abuse. The influence of the peerage in that House was already too great, and nothing that could be done to diminish that influence ought to be left undone. To give the franchise to the hundred would be to put it in the possession of one Peer. The hon. and learned Member for Clare had said that one Peer sent nine members to that House, but if that bill should pass, he might then tell the House, that one Peer elected ten of its Members. To diminish the influence of the Upper House in that, would be conferring a most important benefit upon the country; and one*which, if done early, would be more beneficial than if protracted to an unseasonable period; and which, sooner or later, must be done, and most probably in the particular manner just then proposed. It was in vain that they endeavoured to keep out of that House the Representatives of the great and intelligent population inhabiting the manufacturing towns.

Mr. *Batley* admitted, that some time or other the towns spoken of must obtain Representatives; but he thought that time had not yet arrived, though it might be fast approaching.

Mr. Alderman *Waithman* said, he had listened very attentively to the whole of the present discussion, but he had not the good fortune to hear any argument against the proposition for giving to Birmingham the rights or privileges which the House ought to lose no time in taking from East Retford. Hon. Members had talked of maintaining a balance in the Representation of the country. He confessed he saw nothing of that supposed balance. He knew not where it was to be found—he saw nothing but undue preponderance. There were not twenty Members in that House representing the commercial and manufacturing interests. But the thing wanted was not so much balance of interests—for that could never be completely attained—as information from all parts of the country, and from every class in British society. It had become a matter of notoriety that seats were bought and sold in that House, the prices of which were then, as at all times, precisely ascertained. A seat might be purchased for one or for two Sessions, or for a whole Parliament. When he first recollected matters of that sort, he remembered that the price for a whole Parliament was about 3,000*l.*—it then rose to 4,000*l.*; and when the war was going on, and plenty of good things to be had, the sum was as high as 5,000*l.* He was sure not only the feeling of the country was in favour of the transfer from East Retford to Birmingham, but he was sure the House—he meant the independent Members—were decidedly in its favour. If the Household Troops would only withdraw, and leave the matter in the hands of the independent Members, he had no doubt that a great majority would be found in favour of the measure which he supported. Night after night, for four Sessions, they had been debating that question; but it was to no purpose that they continued those debates, if they had not a fair opportunity of coming to a division without the presence of the Household Troops. The right hon. Secretary opposite had prayed that the innocent might not be punished with the guilty; but the people of East Retford who were not corrupt would not be punished by the proposed disfranchisement. The privilege of voting was not to them a property—they derived no advantage from it—to deprive them of it was no punishment, and to confer it on the 100,000 discontented and complaining inhabitants of Birmingham, might prove the first step in that great work of remedying those evils, of which, if left without a remedy, no man could see the end. It was a gross error to suppose that the people of East Retford—he meant that portion of the inhabitants who did not sell their votes—sustained any injury from the contemplated transfer. They lost, no doubt, a property which they might sell for 50*l.*, more or less; but if their practice was not to sell it, they lost nothing. The only punishment would then be upon the guilty—no constitutional right was taken away—the privilege of voting was more a sacred duty than a pleasurable or advantageous privilege.

Sir *C. Cole* wished to state the reasons for the vote he meant to give. He was satisfied from experience that many of the towns of England required to be represented in that House. As the Representative of a county, he was enabled, from his own experience, to say, that those who might sit for the counties in which great towns were situated, were totally unequal to the duty of representing them in that House. All great towns should, if possible, have Representatives of their own; it would be nothing less than the business of a life to acquire the knowledge requisite for efficiently representing a great commercial or manufacturing community. Such large towns were not represented by the county Members. An ordinary county was quite enough for two Members. In making these observations, he begged it to be distinctly understood as not advocating those sweeping and general plans of Reform so often mentioned in Parliament. He was no friend to measures of that nature, but he thought it would be a most important improvement in the system, if some of the great towns could be represented in that House, and not left to depend upon what could be done for them, from time to time, by the Members for the counties in which they were situated. It was upon those grounds that he was prepared to support the proposed transfer. It was his usual habit to support his Majesty's Government; but he should be ashamed were he not capable of giving an independent vote upon every important occasion; representing, as he did, a great county, he felt that nothing less was his duty [*cheers*].

Mr. *Liddell* observed, that it was said, more than once last Session, that the times were at hand when Reform was unavoidable. If that were an approximation to truth, surely the best mode of providing for the agitation and excitement of such a period, come when it might, would be to put the legislature in such a situation as that it might be able to show all malcontents that justice had been done in all cases wherein reasonable complaint had been made. He had, therefore, no hesitation in declaring, before the House and the country, that if the proposition of the hon. Member for Bletchingly be not agreed to, he should feel bound, when again brought forward, to support the measure lately proposed by the noble Lord below him.

Sir *George Murray* did not deny that there were towns fit for and requiring representation; but he had, on the former occasion voted for the motion of the hon. Member for Hertford, and he should continue to observe the same course, for he had heard no argument to disturb his former opinion. Did the question then come before the House for the first time, he might, perhaps, vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Bletchingley.

Lord *John Russell* said, it appeared evident to him that the House was convinced that the great manufacturing and commercial towns ought to have Representatives. The want of commercial and manufacturing Representatives was severely felt—from year to year they felt the want of men competent to give the House information on matters of detail; and he had no doubt the time was at hand when he should see Representatives in that House sitting for the great towns. When he brought forward his Motion on a former occasion, relative to the subject of this species of Representation, the right hon. Gentleman opposite opposed it, not because it was a question with him whether or not the change was needed, but because he doubted whether the particular mode in which it was proposed to effect that change was or was not the most eligible. Here was a mode different from his; and the right hon. Gentleman might adopt it, and attain the object which he admitted to be desirable. For himself he had only to add, that he should vote with the hon. Member for Bletchingley.

Mr. *Wilmot Horton* said, he would certainly vote for the transfer to Birmingham, for it would effect a practical improvement of a valuable and important character. He felt particularly bound to give the vote he intended, seeing that he took the course he had taken with respect to Penryn on the express understanding that something like the present proposition should be adopted.

The *Solicitor General* was of opinion that it would be wrong to punish the innocent with the guilty; and it was not proved that all the electors of East Retford had connived at the guilt. In reference to that point the House ought, perhaps, to take into its consideration what was likely to be the resolution in another place. They were bound to look at the question in a practical point of view, and to see what would be the consequence of their own actions. If they were to adopt any measure that might not be adopted in another place, East Retford might be kept for some time longer without a Representative. Two modes were proposed to give the franchise to a large town; it was not, however, his intention to enter into the general question. He should prefer extending the franchise to the hundred, as a speedy remedy for an acknowledged evil; and those Gentlemen who might vote for that would not be precluded from voting on the general principle, for transferring the franchise to large towns. The latter principle was established by the votes of the House, and there could be no inconsistency in voting in that particular case for transferring the franchise to the hundred. In no case could it be desirable for the House to retrace its steps; and as the House had decided, by a large majority, that corrupt boroughs ought to be punished, his right hon. friend was bound to act by the decision of the majority. The House had also, on former occasions, decided that the franchise should be transferred to the hundred, and his right hon. friend was bound to take both the decisions. He thought, looking to the practical consequences of the measure, that the House would do wisely to let the measure pass. He had seen the advantage of transferring the franchise to the hundred in the case of Bramber, and he did not think a more independent or intelligent race of electors existed. He should therefore support the Motion.

Mr. *Bransby Cooper* considered that some punishment ought to be inflicted on the borough, but that its guilt was not so great as to deserve total disfranchisement. He agreed, therefore, with the Motion for extending it to the hundred. Looking, however, at the signs of the times, he would submit to Ministers whether they ought not to take the great question of Reform into their own hands, and extend the franchise to our large and mercantile towns, getting rid of our depopulated boroughs. He was not for a sweeping Reform; he was not a radical reformer; but some improvement in the Representation was now becoming necessary, and it could not be well effected unless the Government were to take it into their hands. On the present occasion he would vote for transferring the franchise to the hundred.

Mr. *Spring Rice* was surprised to hear some of the doctrines of the learned Solicitor General, which he was afraid would acquire weight from his character. What were his arguments? He called on the Members of that House not to discuss what was just, what was fit, what was proper, with reference to their duty to their constituents; but they were to endeavour to do what was likely to meet the wishes of noble Lords in another place. He would say, that the Members of that House were bound to attend to their duty to their constituents; and if on every such question they were first to inquire how the other House were likely to act, they would only lay the privileges of the Commons of England prostrate at the feet of the House of Lords. They were bound to suppose that what was just and proper would receive the assent of the other House. The right hon. and gallant officer (Sir G. Murray) had stated, that as he had before voted for the Motion he should vote for it now; though, if it then came before them for the first time, he might be ready to support it. Unquestionably the measure, from having come so frequently before the House, was involved in perplexity; but still, if the right hon. and gallant officer took into his consideration the signs of the times adverted to by the hon. Member who spoke last, and took into his consideration the changes which had taken place since the question of East Retford first came before them, the right hon. and gallant officer would find it was a new question. In his opinion, those who had already voted for transferring the franchise to the hundred might, under the change of circumstances, now vote for transferring it to a large town without any inconsistency. It was objected to the motion for Reform, a few nights ago, that they should wait for a case of delinquency. Here was a case of delinquency; this case met that objection, and in consequence of that debate, the whole question of East Retford came before them under a new aspect. Unless the House were prepared to do that which was not right in its own eyes, in order to give satisfaction to the House of Lords, it would vote for the Amendment.

The *Solicitor General* explained, that he only meant to speak of the House of Lords in its judicial capacity, having to decide on the evidence brought before it; and he was misrepresented or misunderstood if it were supposed that he meant or said that the House of Commons should give up any of its privileges.

Mr. *Spring Rice* explained, that he did not attribute to the hon. and learned Gentleman so monstrous a doctrine as that that House was to be governed by what some Members might suppose would be agreeable to the other House.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, that on such an exhausted subject he meant to detain the House but a very few minutes. Both his right hon. friend, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and his hon. and learned friend the Solicitor General, had been misunderstood. His right hon. friend never meant to say that he should now vote for the measure, simply because he had voted for it before; but because the measure had been five times decided; because he had, on every discussion, held the same opinions, and he saw no reason to change them on the present occasion. His learned friend had not referred to the House of Peers, except in its legislative capacity. He admitted that the House of Commons was bound to form its own opinions, but his learned friend had alluded to the other House sitting in its judicial capacity, and deciding by evidence taken on oath. He did not mean to discuss the question of large towns, but the noble Lord might perhaps think it right to vote for the measure, when he saw that the Mover and Seconder of the present Motion had both voted in favour of the proposition of the noble Lord. He thought some Gentlemen under-rated the advantage of giving the franchise to the hundred. In looking at our history, he found the advantages of so extending the franchise proved by experience; and it had the merit of having been sanctioned by several great men. Lord Chatham, on the question of the delinquency of Shoreham, when he had held his well-known opinions in favour of Parliamentary Reform, did not scout transferring the franchise to Bramber. On the contrary, he congratulated himself that Shoreham had been separated from India, and united to England. There was an impression that Shoreham was attached to the East-India interest; and Lord Chatham, who was then a reformer, regarded the extending of the franchise to the borough as a great improvement. Mr. Pitt also, who was a reformer, on the question of the borough of Cricklade, was friendly to transferring the franchise to the hundred. Both he and Mr. Fox were of the same opinion. On the question of the borough of Aylesbury, Mr. Fox opposed the transfer to the hundred, because he thought the delinquency of the borough not proved. For himself, he must say, on like considerations, that he did not think that extending the franchise to 2,000 voters connected with the landed interest would be a trifling improvement in the case of the borough of East Retford. If they looked at the cases of Cricklade, Aylesbury, and Shoreham, they would find no where a purer set of voters than in those three hundreds. Although he did not think that there was any difference between the landed and commercial interest, though apparent difference might occasionally arise, he was not of opinion that the balance between those interests in that House ought to be wholly lost sight of. When the noble Lord formerly proposed that a hundred franchises should be added, he did not lose sight of this balance, and he proposed that sixty of those Members should represent counties, and forty the towns. Mr. Pitt, too, when he proposed to add 100 Members to the Representation, proposed at first that the whole number should be county Members. Afterwards he modified this, and intended to give sixty Members to the counties, and forty to the towns; and this was a balance which ought to be attended to. If Nottinghamshire, like Cornwall, had forty-four Members, there would be less reason for retaining the two Members for the hundred, and more reason for transferring the franchise to a large town. Some respect had always been paid to population in adapting our system of Representation. There were forty-five members for Scotland, and one hundred for Ireland; and it was a good practical rule to attend to the amount of population. As this question had, however, been debated seven or eight times, he really could not feel himself justified in detaining the House with any further observations. All he should say was, that he did not think there were any circumstances in the situation of the House which called for any other decision than that already so often pronounced; nor was he prepared to admit that the result of the motion of the noble Lord (J. Russell) was one which ought to influence his vote on that occasion. Without, therefore, meaning to imply that the giving of a vote on this question was in the slightest degree to influence the vote which he might be called on to give on any larger question, he confessed he saw such a combination of circumstances with reference to the situation of the county of Nottingham, favouring the transfer of this franchise to Bassetlaw, that he felt bound to adhere to the vote he had already given so often on the same question.

Lord *Althorp* observed, he could not deny that the transfer of the franchise to Bassetlaw would be an improvement, but he thought the House ought to consider the very great importance of the manufacturing districts, and the necessity of gratifying their inhabitants on the subject of Representation. He did not feel himself at all called on to consider the case of the County of York as applying to the question, because the two additional Members were not more Representatives of the great manufacturing, than of the agricultural districts of that extensive county. The arguments of proportion used by the right hon. Secretary were, in his opinion, of no weight, and they ought not to influence the vote of the House.

Dr. *Phillimore* entered into a brief history of the Bill, and reminded the House, that the original proposition of Mr. Canning was, to give the Members for East Retford to the agricultural interests, and the Members for Penryn to the manufacturing interests. The learned Gentleman was proceeding to show why this plan had failed, in consequence of the evidence not being sufficient to prove the bribery at Penryn, when he was interrupted by calls of "No, No;" and he concluded, merely by observing, that the time was now come when the opinions of the people were so plainly directed to the necessity of putting an end to the corruptions which prevailed in some of the borough towns, and to the propriety of conferring a right of Representation on the great places of trade and manufacture, that he really thought it would be little less than a species of infatuation to resist their wishes, or to refuse to adopt a course which would contribute to the safety of the Government, and at the same time diffuse satisfaction among all those who considered themselves entitled to the distinction for which they prayed.

Lord *John Russell*, in explanation of what had fallen from the right hon. Secretary, with reference to his motion, begged to say, that he adhered to every part of his plan; but it was a very different question whether they should add one hundred Members to the House, or transfer two Members from a corrupt borough to a great manufacturing town.

Mr. *Huskisson* did not, after the discussion which the subject had undergone, intend to trouble the House with more than a very few observations. The great principle which ought to govern their decision was, not that the landed or the agricultural interests should be properly represented, but that every interest should be represented. The question was, whether they should give a Representative to Birmingham—to one of the chief places of that interest which they had acknowledged, the other evening, to be the cause of much of the prosperity of the landed and of all the other interests of the country. Without the manufacturing and commercial industry of Lancashire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire, the land of those countries would be worth comparatively little. Whatever might be the fate of the Amendment then before the House, he consoled himself by the reflection, that the time was not far distant when Government would find itself compelled to propose the very reformations which it now rejected.

The House then divided; For the original Question 152; For the Amendment 119.—Majority 33.

List of the Minority.

Acland, Sir T.
Althorp, Lord
Baring, F.
Bradshaw, R. H.
Bradshaw, Capt. J.
Bernal, R.
Burdett, Sir F.
Birch, J.
Blake, Sir F.
Buller, C.
Clive, E. B.
Cave, R. O.
Carew, R.
Colborne, N. W. R.
Carter, J.
Cole, Sir C.
Canning, Right hon. S.
Calthorpe, hon. F. G.
Calthorpe, hon. A. G.
Corbett, P.
Cradock, S.
Dundas, hon. G.
Dundas, hon. Sir R.
Denison, J. E.
Du Cane, P.
Dawson, A.
Ebrington, Lord
Ewart, W.
Ellison, C.
Frankland, R.
Fergusson, R. C.
Fergusson, Sir R.
Fyler, T. B.
Fazakerley, J. N.
Grant, rt. hon. C.
Grant, R.
Gordon, R.
Greene, T. G.
Guise, W. B.
Graham, Sir J.
Hume, J.
Hoy, J. B.
Honywood, W. P.
Hulse Sir C.
Howard, H.
Hobhouse, J. C.
Heneage, G. F.
Horton, rt. hon. R. W.
Heron, Sir R.
Hutchinson, J. H. (Cork)
Huskisson, rt. hon. W.
Jephson, C. D. O.
Kemp, T. R.
Knight, R.
Kekewich, S. F.
Labouchere, H.
Lambert, J. S.
Littleton, E. J.
Liddell, hon. H.
Loch, J.
Lawley, F.
Lester, B.
Maberly, J.
Macauley, General C.
Marshall, J.
Marshall, W.
Martin, J.
Maxwell, J. W.
Monck, J. B.
Macintosh, Sir J.
Marjoribanks, S.
Nugent, Lord
O'Connell, D.
Osborne, Lord F.
Palmer, C. F.
Palmerston, viscount
Pendarvis, E. W.
Phillimore, Dr.
Phillips, G. R.
Phillips, Sir G.
Ponsonby, hon. F.
Portman E. B.
Poyntz, W. S.
Price, R.
Protheroe, E.
Pusey, P.
Rancliffe, Lord
Rice, T. S.
Rickford, W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Rumbold, C. E.
Robinson, G. R.
Sandon, Viscount
Sebright, Sir J.
Smith, hon. R.
Smith, V.
Smith, W.
Stanley, E. G.
Stewart, Sir M. S.
Surrey, Earl of
Sykes, D.
Stewart, Lord J.
Thomson, C. P.
Tomes, J.
Townshend, Lord
Waithman, Alderman
Warburton, H.
Wilbraham, G.
Wells, J.
Westenra, hon. H.
Whitbread, S.
Whitmore, W. W.
Wilson, Sir R.
Winnington, Sir J.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wynn, Sir W.
Wynn, hon. C.
Warrender, Sir G.

TELLERS.

Russell, Lord J.
Tennyson, C.

PAIRED OFF.

Foley, E. F.
Robarts, A. W.
Angelo, M. A.
Davenport, E.
Fortescue, hon. G.
Newport, Sir J.
Slaney, R. A.
Cavendish, H.
Howick, Lord
Wood, C.
Barclay, C.
Robinson, Sir G.
Buxton, T. jun.
Calvert, C.
Cavendish, W.
Duncombe, T.
Lamb, hon. G.
Lushington, Dr.
Morpeth, Lord
Dennison, W. J.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, before the House resolved itself into a Committee, he should move that it be an instruction to the committee, that the poll at each contested election should be taken by ballot. The object of any elector, he said, in voting for any Member of Parliament ought to be, that he thought the individual for whom he voted the best suited for public business; and the most fair way of election, in his opinion, was by ballot. Votes were influenced by two motives—those of terror and corruption. It would scarcely be asserted gravely in that House—at all events the assertion would be met with something very different from gravity elsewhere; that men were not compelled to vote at elections by improper influence, by bribery and by corruption. Now voting by ballot would altogether put an end to that. If that system were adopted, the landlord could not then compel his tenant to vote as he pleased, as he could not know how his tenant would dispose of his vote, or to which candidate he would give it. On the discussion which took place a few nights before, respecting the election at Newark, the evidence produced at least went to establish the suspicion that the landlord, in that instance, coerced the votes of his tenants. Now the only mode to prevent the exercise of such undue influence, and to put an end to a system of terror and tyranny, was to adopt the election by ballot. That would protect the tenant against the oppression of his landlord, and enable the elector to give his vote with perfect freedom, and for the candidate whom his conscience called upon him to support. The adoption of the election by ballot would at once put an end to the extensive system of patronage, bribery, and corruption, which was engendered and maintained by the present mode in which elections were carried on. The House had been called upon that night to extend the franchise from East Retford to the hundred of Bassetlaw, because the electors of East Retford had been convicted of notorious bribery and corruption; but would the extension of the franchise remedy the evil, unless the House provided at the same time some means to prevent the influence of terror and corruption? The only remedy, he contended, lay in the adoption of the principle of taking the election by ballot. The elector could then give his vote with perfect freedom, uninfluenced by terror, and proof against corruption. The attempt to bribe him would be useless, as the giver of the bribe could never be certain how the taker of it would afterwards vote. These were the advantages of voting in secret. They were so palpable that the system had been adopted in all voluntary societies in this country. The election committees of that House were chosen by ballot. In all chartered companies that system was adopted. In the Bank of England, in the East-India Company, election by ballot was the system adopted. In nine out of ten of the States in America election by ballot prevailed. But they had not to cross the Atlantic for an exemplification of the beneficial effects of the system. In France, where the government patronage far exceeded the patronage possessed by the Government in this country, the popular sentiments were nevertheless universally declared at the late elections, in consequence of the electors giving their votes in secret, and by ballot. The introduction of such a system in this country would put an end effectually to bribery and corruption. He might be told that there was something revolting in this mode of election, and that it tended to suppress the sentiments of free-born Englishmen. He should like to see those free-born Englishmen who had received notices to quit from the Duke of Newcastle, and he would ask whether the introduction of election by ballot was calculated to suppress the sentiments of men placed in their situation. He did not want to prevent any Member from meeting his constituents at the hustings—from communicating with them,—hearing their opinions, and publicly avowing his own; but what he proposed was, that the poll should be taken by ballot, so that no man could possibly be bribed or purchased. It might be said, that this mode of election would make hypocrites. To that he would answer, that if the man who received a bribe to vote against his conscience, should afterwards vote as his conscience dictated, it would be better for him to do so, even though he was open to the charge of hypocrisy, than to commit a still greater crime, by supporting that candidate to whom he was conscientiously opposed. He knew that this proposition would be opposed by the opponents of every species of Parliamentary Reform, but he thought he had a right to reckon upon the support of all reformers in that House. It might be asked why he confined his proposition in the first instance to East Retford. To that he would reply, that though convinced of the advantages of election by ballot, he conceived that it might be better not to introduce it by a sweeping measure, but gradually, so that its effects might be seen and appreciated, and he thought that the present instance afforded a favourable opportunity of trying the experiment. If the bill were passed with the clause in it which he should propose, they would very soon see how the system worked, for an election would immediately take place. This mode of polling would put an end to all the drunkenness, riot, and debauchery which invariably attended elections under the existing system. The people of England were not represented as they ought to be represented in that House. It was the people of England who forced from the Crown the unlimited power it formerly possessed, and converted unconstitutional despotism into constitutional prerogative. The struggle was made by the people of England, but the fruits of the victory were reaped by the overgrown aristocracy of this country. The people had formerly to contend against the regal power; now the struggle lay against an aristocracy that had swindled them out of their rights,—against an oligarchy that lorded it over them with despotic sway. It was the aristocracy that had burthened the country with 800 millions of debt, and who, by the possession of the enormous patronage connected with the Church, the Army, and the Navy,—by their immense wealth and vast properties, had been enabled to render the majority of the Members in that House their mere nominees. The hon. Gentlemen who sat on the other side were, generally speaking, the mere nominees of the aristocracy of the country. The adoption of the election by ballot was the only mode for restoring to the people of England a true Representation in Parliament, and he was sure that no kind of reform unaccompanied by it would be productive of benefit to the country at large. The learned Member concluded by moving, "that it be an instruction to the Committee on the East Retford Bill to insert a clause in the Bill to make the Election be taken there by Ballot."

The *Speaker* informed the hon. Member, that the question now before the House was, that he (the Speaker) do leave the chair. When that was carried, and the House went into committee, it would be open to the hon. Member to move the insertion of the clause he proposed in the bill.

The question was then put and carried, and the House went into committee, Sir A. Grant in the chair.

After several clauses in the bill had been agreed to,

Mr. *O'Connell* moved the insertion of a clause, to the effect that the election should be taken by ballot.

Mr. *Peel* objected to the clause, in the first instance, on the ground that it did not specify how the ballot was to be taken. In justice to his proposition, the hon. Member should specify the mode in which the ballot was to be taken. This, besides, was not the proper place to propose such a general principle.

Mr. *Hume* said, the insertion of the words, "hereinafter to be mentioned" in the clause, would meet the objection of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had himself, in his Jury Bill, recognized the principle of election by ballot, without any specification of details, and he should not oppose that principle now. He meant to support the proposition, and he could not understand how any one of the 140 Members who voted the other night for the motion of the noble Lord below (Lord J. Russell) could consistently vote against such a proposition.

Mr. *Hobhouse* perfectly concurred in every thing that had fallen from the hon. Member for Clare, and he was ready to give his hearty support to the principle advocated by that hon. Member, but he would suggest to him whether it would not be more advisable to bring such an important subject under the consideration of the House in a manner more consonant to the forms of the House, and on an occasion when he would be able to give a specific detail of the plan he meant to propose. He (Mr. Hobhouse) was a warm friend to the principle of election by ballot: he had had some experience of popular elections, and he was convinced that that was the best principle upon which elections could be conducted.

Mr. *Peel* said, that was obviously not the time for discussing so great a principle as the learned Gentleman had laid down. If the hon. Member for Aberdeen would look to the preamble to the Jury Bill, he would see that the mode in which the jury was to be elected by ballot was specifically detailed there. He was decidedly opposed to the principle advocated by the hon. and learned Member for Clare, being sure that such a principle, if adopted, would be productive of far greater abuses, and of more hypocrisy than at present prevailed [*hear*]; and he doubted that it would have the least effect in preventing bribery and corruption at elections. Whenever the hon. and learned Gentleman should bring forward a proposition of that kind in a more regular form, he should be prepared to meet him and to oppose it.

Mr. *O'Connell* explained, that being a young Member, he was not very well acquainted with the forms of the House, but he had consulted those who were, and he understood from them that the principle of his proposition might then be with propriety adopted, leaving its details to be afterwards discussed.

Mr. *Western* was decidedly opposed to the principle of election by ballot. It would banish every species of confidence, and communication, and interchange of opinion between the elected and the electors, and would be productive of eternal suspicion and hypocrisy. It was an un-English, an un-Irish principle. The adoption of such a principle, he considered, would be destructive of the spirit of our Constitution.

Mr. *Warburton* supported the amendment, because he conceived that the system of voting by ballot would put a stop to that intimidation over voters which was exercised, not only in small boroughs, but also in large and populous places like the city of Westminster. Nothing could be more true than the observation of the historian, "*Suffragia, optimatibus nota, populo libera non sunt.*"

Mr. *John Martin* owned himself an ardent friend to Parliamentary Reform, but declared his intention of opposing at all times, and in all places, any attempt to introduce the vote by ballot into our elective system.

Mr. *Stanley* said, that if the object of the hon. and learned Member for Clare, in proposing this clause, were to deprive the higher orders of their legitimate influence in the State, it was an object which he could never lend his aid to accomplish. The influence of rank and property was an influence recognized by the English Constitution, and interwoven with its representative system. Although he was a friend to Parliamentary Reform to a certain extent, he should be sorry to see our Representation in the same condition as that of America. He believed that even in America there were great doubts entertained, whether the voting by ballot was a successful experiment. He hoped that the hon. and learned Member for Clare would not persist in bringing up this crude shadow of a clause, which, in point of fact, was not a clause; but that he would digest a clause explaining the details of his system, and would propose it hereafter as a rider to the bill.

Lord *Nugent* said, that the greatest recommendation of the vote by ballot appeared to him to be this; that if two knaves met together, one to tender and the other to receive a bribe, the more one of them could be encouraged to cheat the other, the better it would be for the public. At the same time that he announced such to be his opinion, and that he had recently only become a convert to the opinion of voting by ballot, he was not prepared to entertain the present clause.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* trusted that this clause would be withdrawn, in order that a fitter opportunity might be afforded to the House of discussing the system of vote by ballot, to which he confessed himself to be not unfriendly.

Sir *F. Burdett* complained that the hon. and learned Member for Clare had not been fairly treated in this discussion. In proposing to adopt the vote by ballot at East Retford only, the hon. and learned Member had not so much followed the bent of his opinions as he had accommodated himself to the narrow views of the House. Hon. Members were accustomed to talk of the danger which was to be apprehended from making any sweeping and general alteration of the mode of election; and the hon. and learned Member for Clare, to allay the fears of those who were accustomed to fear, even where there was no danger, had called upon the House to try the experiment of voting by ballot, upon a small scale, where it could produce no danger. What stage was better suited than the present for discussing the principle of this clause? Why should the hon. and learned Gentleman involve himself in the details of such a measure, when he did not know whether the principle on which it was founded would be sanctioned by the House? He was surprised that the right hon. Secretary had not supported his objections to this change of system by better and more numerous arguments than those which he had advanced. All the arguments of the other side were prefaced by such qualifying words as, "I believe," or "I am persuaded, that danger will arise from adopting such a system." No Gentleman had more than an opinion upon the point; no Gentleman had more than faith, for which he could give no good reason, for asserting that there would be more of corruption, more of hypocrisy, and more of danger, under the system of voting by ballot than under the present system. If the great evils of the present system were corruption and intimidation, could any man doubt whether, if he deprived the corruptor and the intimidator of the means of knowing whether an act had been performed to benefit the one and to injure the other, he should not be conferring a benefit on the public? He admitted, that if all boroughs had a numerous body of electors, there would be no need of introducing the vote by ballot. Make the electors but numerous, and the Parliament short, and he wanted no other support than the unbiassed expression of public opinion; but if you will not remedy the abuses of Parliament in that way, let such a remedy as was proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Clare be applied to them. He admitted, that if elections were free, the change would be unnecessary; but as they were not free, it was an excellent palliative for the present defective system. It would prevent that worst of all tyrannies, the tyranny which one man exercised over the conscience of another; it would prevent numerous sins against morals and religion, for the present system led to the almost daily commission of perjury; and it would tend to produce a more unequivocal expression of the feelings of the people than could be obtained at present. Danger from the change he could see none; the ballot had long been adopted in choosing election committees of that House, and had lately been adopted by the right hon. Secretary himself in his excellent bill to prevent the packing of juries: but even if danger should arise from it, it would be easy to check it, from the very narrow scale upon which the experiment was to be made.

Mr. *Peel* said, that the hon. Member for Westminster had no reason to be surprised at the paucity of the arguments with which he had supported his objections to this clause, as he had declared most explicitly to the committee, that in its present crude state he did not intend to argue it. He also reminded the hon. Baronet, that the present was a proposition which they could only argue upon presumptions, for experience as to its advantages or disadvantages they had none. As to the allusion which the hon. Baronet had made to the system of electing jurors by ballot, it bore no analogy, and could have no reference to the system of voting by ballot at elections. Did the hon. Baronet know the manner in which a jury was appointed under his bill? As he thought that the hon. Baronet was ignorant of it, he would inform him that the names of the jurors were placed indiscriminately in a box, and were taken out by chance by the officer of the court. Now surely the hon. Baronet did not intend to propose that the names of the candidates should be put into a box, and that the candidates whose names were most frequently taken out by chance by the electors, should be declared duly elected. Equally inapplicable to the election of Members of Parliament was the mode in which election committees were struck in that House. Leaving, however, those points out of discussion, as not affecting the real merits of the proposition, he would say at once that he had been always taught to believe that an Englishman felt his privileges to be more valuable, because they were exercised openly and publicly. He had often been told by the hon. Baronet that public opinion was the best check upon every species of abuse; but in this case you were prohibiting the expression of public opinion, by calling upon Englishmen to exercise their functions as electors in secret. He greatly doubted whether the influence of the aristocracy would be diminished by adopting the vote by ballot, as the loud clamourer for reform might be more easily bribed under such a system than under the present. He had not intended to have argued this question at all, for he considered it to be too important to be discussed at 11 o'clock at night in an incidental manner. Still, as he was upon his legs, he would take the opportunity of denying that the people had transferred the liberties which they had wrested from the Crown into the hands of a selfish oligarchy. The aristocracy did not deserve the opprobrium which had been cast upon it. In his opinion, the country was under great obligations to the efforts of the aristocracy in the preservation of its liberties. Nothing would be more fatal to the liberties and independence of the country than that there should not be interposed between the people and the Crown a powerful aristocracy, who, by their situation and fortune, were able to despise the menaces and reject the favours of the Crown.

Lord *Althorp* was of opinion that the system of voting by ballot would diminish, not the legitimate, but only the undue influence of the aristocracy. He was favourable to the principle of voting by ballot, but thought that the hon. Member for Clare had selected an inconvenient opportunity for bringing it under the consideration of the House.

Mr. *G. Lamb* had a strong objection to the ballot system: God forbid the time should ever arrive when a British voter would be obliged to sneak into a corner to put his ball into a box, instead of coming boldly forward to vote for the man he liked best.

Lord *J. Russell* did not like to give a decided opinion with respect to a proposition which was broached for the first time. He had always entertained apprehensions respecting the ballot system, and those apprehensions had not been diminished by any thing he had heard that evening. He thought that even with the ballot system it would be impossible that the manner in which individuals voted should not be known, unless the voters should resort to a system of lying and treachery which was abhorrent to the feelings of Englishmen.

Mr. *Monck* said, that since every act which Parliament had passed had been found ineffectual to prevent bribery and corruption, it became the House to adopt the remedy now proposed. It was said that the election by ballot would be productive of hypocrisy; but was there no hypocrisy under the present system? When a man was dragged to the hustings to vote for a candidate whose principles he detested, was there no hypocrisy in that?

Mr. *O'Connell* assured the Committee that it had not been his intention to take them by surprise, and to remove any suspicion of that nature, he would withdraw his proposition, and give notice that he would move it on the third reading of the Bill.

The provisions of the Bill were then agreed to in Committee.

SUB-LETTING ACT (IRELAND.)] Mr. Doherty moved the second reading of the Sub-letting Act Amendment Bill.

Mr. *O'Connell* begged that further time might be given for the consideration of this Bill.

Mr. *Doherty* said, the Bill had been for some time on the Table of the House, and must therefore be well known; if, however, a week's delay would satisfy the hon. and learned Gentleman, he would acquiesce in his wish.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, that though the original Act was well known in Ireland, that was not the case with the Amendment-bill. He wanted to propose a clause in the Committee to enable landlords to declare that any devise of lands they might make should not be subject to that Act. He hoped, however, that the Bill would be postponed for a fortnight.

Mr. *Doherty* said, he could not acquiesce in so long a delay.

Mr. *Wallace* said, the Bill was very little understood in England, though it had been much discussed in Ireland. He did not believe, however, that there could be any necessity to postpone the Bill, as the hon. and learned Member must be well aware of all the objections which could be made to it. The Committee was the proper place to discuss he details of the measure, and in that stage he should have some alterations to propose.

Mr. *North* was of opinion that the measure should be postponed till the opinions of the people of Ireland were better known on the subject.

Mr. *King* said, he approved of the amendments proposed to be introduced into the Act by the Bill, but he had some doubts how far the Act was suitable to Ireland, unless it were accompanied by a well-regulated system of Poor-laws, which he thought would confer an inestimable benefit on that country. Such a system, conjoined with a heavy tax on absentees, would be serviceable to all ranks and classes in Ireland, and would be hailed with gratitude throughout the country.

The Bill was read a second time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, March 8.

MINUTES.] The 26th Report of the Carnatic Commissioners was presented at the Bar.

The Marriage Validating Bill was read a second time.

Earl STANHOPE stated, that indisposition would prevent his noble friend the Duke of Richmond from bringing forward his motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the Country on Thursday next. The noble Duke intended to bring the subject before the House as soon as the state of his health would permit, and would give due notice of the motion. Meanwhile, he should move that the order be discharged.—Discharged accordingly.

BANK NOTES ISSUED.] Lord *Goderich* said, a return had been laid upon the Table of the amount of country bank-notes stamped in the last three years, and of the unstamped notes allowed for at the Stamp Office. There appeared to be a progressive increase in both respects. He wished to know whether this account included Scotland; and if it did not, whether there would be any objection to furnish a return, distinguishing the amount of notes in the two countries.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, the account did include Scotland, but it might be difficult to distinguish between those parts of it which related to the two countries. However, he would inquire into the subject.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, March 8.

MINUTES.] Mr. PORTMAN moved an humble Address to his Majesty, praying that he would cause to be laid before the House returns of the expenses incurred by the office of sheriff during the years 1828 and 1829, as far as such returns could be made out, and also specifying the fees received during the same period.

The Marine Mutiny Bill was brought in and read a first time.

The Dramatic Writings Bill went through a Committee.

Sir J. NEWPORT inquired whether there was any intention on the part of Government to introduce a measure for the purpose of removing the restrictions on the growth of tobacco, which at present pressed so severely on the tobacco-growers?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER was understood to reply, that a measure of the nature mentioned was in contemplation.

NOTICES.] By Mr. SADLER, that he would, on the 30th of March, move a Resolution on the Laws of Libel, and by Mr. C. CALVERT, that he would, on April 6th, move to refer the petition of the tobacco manufacturers of London and Southwark to a select Committee.

RETURNS were ordered, on the motion of Mr. HUME, of the number of contracts now existing for supplying his Majesty's Dock-yards, the number of the contractors, &c., and the sums for the Ordnance and Army; of the number and strength of the Military Guards mounted within the Bills of Mortality, on January 1, 1829, and January 1, 1830; of the manner in which the 6,500*l.* expended on the Milbank Penitentiary for 1830 was to be appropriated; of the number of clerks admitted for the first time into any, and all of the civil establishments of the State, Customs, Excise, Stamp, and Post Offices excepted, since 1822; the duties of their appointments, the amount of salary granted to each, with an account of the number of clerks and officers superannuated since 1822;—On the motion of Mr. ATTWOOD, of the Scale of Stamp Duties on Bills of Exchange in England, from January 5, 1828, to December 31, 1829. Shewing the number of stamps of each class issued per quarter, with an account of the number of country bankers' notes stamped in Great Britain in each quarter, between 1827 and 1829 inclusive; of the number of Banks which have commuted for the stamp duty since 1826; of the amount of duty paid by them on promissory notes, payable on demand, and on bills of Exchange; on the motion of Sir H. PARNELL, a copy of Mr. ABBOTT'S Letter to the Treasury, dated Nov. 27th, 1829, with the observations thereupon, by Messrs. Brooksbank and Belby, dated Dec. 18th, 1829; of a copy of the accounts laid before the Committee appointed in 1828, to inquire into the Public Income, &c. relative to the collection and expenditure of the Revenue; on the motion of Mr. M. FITZGERALD, of copies of the Memorials presented to the Irish Government, praying for advances to build a Court House at Kerry; on the motion of Sir THOMAS FREEMANTLE, of an abstract of the expenditure for the relief of the poor; and on the motion of Mr. BULLER, of the number of persons declared Bankrupts from January 1825 to January 1830; and of the number of persons declaring themselves insolvent during the same period.

FEES ON PRIVATE BILLS.] The *Speaker* informed the House, that he had taken some care and pains to arrange and regulate the List of Fees charged in the Private Bill Office, by the clerks of the House, on all matters relating to private business, to which he was anxious to call attention, particularly of those hon. Members who were interested in private business. The great object was to elucidate the charges, so as to make the reason of every one of them intelligible. On inquiry into the whole, he found that in the aggregate they were as reasonable and as moderate as could be wished; but some of them were not quite intelligible. By the assistance of other persons, who were infinitely more competent to the task than himself, he had arranged the whole into what he hoped would be found a regular list. That list he would now lay on the Table, and if any hon. Member would move that it be printed, and the House should consent, it would come into the hands of every Member. And if, as he had reason to hope, the charges there set forth were reasonable, the Table of Fees should be hung up in the two Bill Offices, so that every person would know at once what he was called upon to pay, and would not have to pay more or less. It would be found that in the aggregate the amount of the fees was the same as before; but some which were before unintelligible, were put into a regular shape. If the House should approve of them, it would have the effect of undeceiving the public with respect to the amount of fees charged by the officers of the House.—The List was laid on the Table.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in moving that it be printed, said, he was sure the House would feel much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for the pains he had taken in elucidating a subject of so much interest to parties having to introduce private bills.

Lord *Althorp* expressed his entire concurrence in what fell from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thought the House and the country were much indebted to Mr. Speaker for the pains he had taken to elucidate a subject on which there had been so much misconception as to the nature of the charges.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* also thought, that thanks were due to the right hon. Gentleman for what he had done; but he regretted to hear, that in the aggregate the amount of the fees was to be the same as before. If this were so, they would be an alteration without an improvement. Some of the fees charged were extravagantly high. He would mention, for instance, a case where two persons recently petitioned the House, to be heard by themselves or counsel, against a private bill. The House acceded to their prayer, and they were heard, not by counsel, but in person; but afterwards they were surprised to find a demand of 19*l.* each made for fees. This was certainly most unreasonable, and should be inquired into.

The *Speaker* said, from what had fallen from the hon. Member who last addressed the House, he feared that he had not made himself understood when he called the attention of the House to this subject. No doubt, when the Table should be printed, and in the hands of Members, whatever should be found capable of improvement would be open to the suggestions of every hon. Member, and such suggestions would be not only not opposed, but courted. It was not for him, not being acquainted with the particulars of the case to which the hon. Member referred, to make any remarks upon it, but the hon. Member must be aware that it was impossible any such charge should have been made by officers of the House.

Mr. *D. W. Harvey* had thought it his duty to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to that case, particularly after the challenge made by the right hon. Gentleman to every Member, to come forward with any objection to any fee in the list that might be considered objectionable. It was right that the subject should be examined; for if such charge were not made he must have been imposed on by those who made the statement to him.

The *Speaker* feared that he was not yet well understood. The Table of Fees which he had made out were of those charged by officers of the House. He had not offered any comment on the charge to which the hon. Member had alluded, beyond the assertion that it could not have been made by any clerks of the House. There was, the hon. Member must be aware, a great distinction to be made between the fees charged by parliamentary agents, and those demanded by the clerks of the House.

The List ordered to be printed.

NATIONAL DISTRESS.] Sir *E. Kerrison* presented a Petition from the borough of Eye, complaining of agricultural distress, and praying for relief. He was aware of the great distress which that class suffered, and he did earnestly hope that some measure would be adopted for their relief.

The Petition to lie on the Table.

Lord *Clive* presented two Petitions from the county of Salop, praying for a reduction of the duties on malt.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. *Dickinson* presented a Petition from Taunton, most numerously and respectably signed, complaining, not as the petition presented by the hon. Baronet (Sir E. Kerrison) below him, of agricultural distress alone, but of the distressed state of the country generally, which pressed, the petition justly stated, on all classes. The petitioners said, that Ministers could not have paid serious attention to the subject, or they could not be so unacquainted, as the petitioners feared they were, with the distressed state of the country. They stated, in proof of the kind of distress which existed in the county of Somerset, that in a parish containing 1,900 inhabitants, 1,000 were depending on the poor-rates for support. He would not dwell upon agricultural distress alone, though he was certain that its extent was greatly underrated, for the value of farms and cattle had fallen fifty per cent below what they were at this time last year. Other interests were also suffering to an equal, and all were suffering to a dreadful extent. It was indeed impossible that one class or one interest could suffer without bringing suffering on the other. Burke had correctly remarked, that those who gave employment to the poor were their bankers, and whatever deprived the opulent of the means of employing the poor, must cause intense distress among the latter. For the existing distress there was one remedy; and though it might not go to the full length of the relief desired, yet it was essential, and, whether by Ministers or the House, it must be done; the people must be untaxed to a considerable extent. He hoped, therefore, that many days would not elapse before the House was informed that relief to a considerable extent had been afforded.

Sir *C. Burrell* was glad that his hon. friend had stated his opinion on this subject, for it was absolutely necessary that Ministers should be fully informed as to the actual state of the country, on which they seemed not to possess any accurate knowledge. He was borne out in this assertion by what had gone forth to the public, as having been said by the noble Duke at the head of the Government. That noble Duke was represented to have stated that as a fact, which was no fact at all; namely, that timber, which the noble Duke classed as an agricultural produce, had not fallen in value. Now he (Sir C. Burrell) could state, on the authority of a person perfectly acquainted with the subject, that timber, which a twelvemonth ago produced from 11*l.* to 13*l.* per load, would at present not bring more than from 7*l.* to 7*l.* 10*s.* Bark, also, which was an important article to landowners, had fallen from 42*l.* the thatched load (two tons and a half) to 20*l.* and 21*l.* Ministers ought to get their information on the change which had taken place in the value of the produce of the land from those who were well acquainted with the subject.

Sir *T. Lethbridge* rose to corroborate what had fallen from his hon. colleague as to the state of the country generally, and the severe distress which affected the county of Somerset in particular. There was no class exempt from distress; it pressed alike on all. Within the memory no person living, was such distress felt in of the country. The only thing he regretted was, that the petitioners (for whom he had the highest respect) had not waited till after the 15th, when, no doubt, they would have heard of some measure of relief in the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Except in that point, he fully concurred with them, and he hoped that Ministers would look not merely to the distress which affected agriculture, though that was severe, but also at that which preyed on all other classes, commercial and manufacturing. He agreed in what was said about the fall in the value of landed produce, which, with the exception of wheat, did not afford a remunerating price. He thought that the state of the other articles called for a revision of the laws for the protection of the British grower and unless that were done, he was of opinion that the country would suffer even more severe distress than at present. The landowner was left without any protection in the home-market as to the articles of wool, hemp, tallow, and others, in all of which he was undersold by the foreigner. He was not prepared to propose any remedy for the general distress; that was the business of Ministers, and he looked for that at their hands. He should wish, however, for a revision of the Banking system. A change in that would give the country great relief. He did not mean that we should give up our present metallic currency, for whatever opinions he might formerly have entertained on the point, he was convinced now, that it was too late to retrace our steps; there was at present a great want of confidence in the country. A man who had produce could obtain no credit; he was obliged to sell it on any terms. He did hope, therefore, that Ministers, or some Member, would introduce a plan to place our Banking system on an improved footing and they should have his warmest support. Such a revision of our Banking system was wanted as would produce greater confidence, and give greater accommodation than could now be obtained.

Colonel *Sibthorp* did not know what might be the condition of the county of Somerset as to the price of Wheat; but in other counties, particularly in Lincoln, he could state that it did not afford a remunerating price. The value of all other articles had fallen considerably below that price.

Sir *M. W. Ridley* regretted that the hon. Baronet (Sir T. Lethbridge) had not stated the specific alteration which he would wish to have in the Banking system. If there was any difficulty felt from the operation of that system, the House had to blame itself for it, by the hasty and inconsiderate measure they had passed respecting the small-note circulation. He would not, however, bring back the state of the currency to what it was before that change took place—that would do more harm than good; but he was prepared to show, that the withdrawal of the small notes from circulation had been productive of much distress. Though he admitted that great distress prevailed, and the price of cattle was low, particularly in the northern counties, owing to the depressed state of the manufacturing towns in Yorkshire and the neighbouring counties; he was not prepared to concur with those who drew such a desponding picture of the state of the country. It was his consolation, to believe that the distress was partial, temporary, and passing. In that part of the country where he dwelt, there was not that want of confidence the hon. Baronet had mentioned between the bankers and their customers, but if there were he did not see how the Government could remedy it, and certainly the hon. Baronet had not proposed any plan for the purpose.

Mr. *Portman* bore testimony to the great distress which existed in the county of Somerset. A great deal of that felt by the agriculturists there was the result of two bad seasons: not only the sheep and cattle, but young horses turned upon the moorlands, had been destroyed, and there was not enough cattle left to stock the land.

Mr. *Beaumont* observed, that his experience induced him to believe that the distress was not so extensive in the districts which were exclusively agricultural, as in those where agriculture and manufactures jointly prevailed. The overwhelming taxation was in truth the real cause of the present sufferings of the people, and a considerable reduction of that heavy burthen he had no doubt would be the only effectual means of administering relief.

Mr. *Dickinson* concurred with the last speaker, in thinking that the House must look to reduction of taxation for relief.

On the Question that the Petition be read,

Sir *Thomas Lethbridge* said, he found it necessary to state, that what he meant as of our Banking system was, that it admitted of improvement, which he inferred from the bankers who had traded in one-pound notes having now given up the business of banking altogether. He was one of those, however, who did not wish again to see a paper circulation. As to the distress, some business might yet be carried on to a considerable extent, but he did not believe any business obtained large profits. It was not for him to propose plans to improve our banking system; he would only say, therefore, that joint-stock banking companies would fill up the vacuum now felt; and he thought country banking would not be on a safe footing, till the banks of England were established on principles similar to those of Scotland.

TAXATION.] Mr. *Bright* presented a Petition from certain inhabitants of Bristol, praying for a reduction of Taxation in consequence of the general distress. This petition, the hon. Member stated, had been got up at a public meeting, very numerously and respectably attended. He fully assented to the prayer of the petition, and ascribed the distress complained of, in a great measure, to the alteration in the currency. The country, he contended, felt strong dissatisfaction at the existing state of things, more particularly at the oppressive means resorted to, to collect the taxes, and loudly demanded more extensive retrenchments, and a material reduction in taxation. It was highly desirable, in his opinion, that the House should enter into an earnest investigation of this subject, and thereby ascertain exactly what the people could bear, consistently with the low condition of their resources. The assessed taxes were universally complained of; the surcharges on them were extremely vexatious. The most rigorous methods were employed to fill the coffers of the state, and the hand from which the people expected relief contributed to their distress. Under such a system it was idle to talk of an increase in the revenue being a sign of national prosperity, for the public ability to pay, bore but a small proportion at present to the amount of the taxes which were imposed.

The Petition to be printed.

Lord *Althorp* rose to present a Petition from Kingsport, in Norfolk, praying for a reduction of Taxation. Such a concession to the distresses of the people, he maintained, was unavoidable, and he hoped that Ministers would not be the last to perceive the necessity of so far acceding to public opinion, unequivocally manifested as it had been. In urging the necessity of a reduction of taxes, particularly of those which pressed more immediately on the productive industry of the country, he begged to say that he had no wish to see Ministers removed from their places. He had no such object in view, having no personal wish for office. Indeed, he was sure that he spoke the sentiments of those with whom he usually acted in that House, when he repeated that he had no desire to see the present Administration changed for any other which could be brought together under existing circumstances. Still he felt it to be incumbent on the House to press the Government, that to reduce our taxation was the only remedy for the distress so generally admitted to oppress the country.

The Petition was ordered to be printed.

The noble Lord presented a similar Petition from Lynn, also in Norfolk.—To be printed.

AFFAIR AT PATRAS.] Sir *G. Cockburn* would take advantage of that opportunity to give the explanation required by the noble Lord a few nights since, respecting the conduct of the Admiral (Sir E. Codrington) commanding the British and allied fleets at Patras, a few days before the battle of Navarino. The noble Lord had asked why an account of that affair had not appeared in the Gazette, and he had designated the transaction to which he alluded as a brilliant action; but the noble Lord went too far, inasmuch as no active hostility was engaged in, either on the part of the British admiral or the Turkish commander. The facts were simply, that Sir Edward Codrington being informed that a part of the Turkish armament was proceeding towards Patras, put to sea, and coming up with it, found it was commanded by the Patrona Bey. He informed the Turkish commander that his conduct was a breach of faith, to which the latter replied, he did not understand that he was not to go to Patras. "Either you must not before have said this, "he added, "or the interpreter must have deceived me. If you allow us to go to Patras, well; if you do not allow us it is still well; but if you send us to the bottom, we shall not resist, unless we receive orders to do so." Upon receiving this communication the Admiral rejoined, "then you must not go to Patras," and fired one gun. Upon this the Turks retired, and Admiral Codrington went back to Zante. The Admiral, however, heard, soon after his arrival at Zante that the Patrona Bey was communicating with Ibrahim Pacha, and accordingly bore down alongside of his vessel. The Turkish captain said, all he wanted was a written declaration of the Admiral's purpose, which was accordingly given him, in the name of the commander of the allied fleet, and the matter then ended; the Turkish fleet going off to Navarino, though the wind was fair for Patras. The noble Lord, therefore, was in error about the loss of lives, as no resistance was offered by the Patrona Bey.

Lord *Althorp* said, his statement was derived from what he must consider the very best authority. He understood the gallant Admiral to say, that only one gun was fired, whereas he was given to understand that a considerable firing took place; and that several Turkish sailors were killed. The Turks, he believed, did not fire at our ships. He repeated that he spoke from the very best authority.

Sir *G. Cockburn* contended, that no authority could be equal to the official documents from which he spoke. He had not read the official letters in the House, but he had stated the substance of them.

Lord *J. Russell* was much surprised that the matter had not been gazetted at the time of its occurrence. It was strange that a transaction so essential to the thorough understanding of the Battle of Navarino, should be first made known to the public, not by Ministers, but by a periodical, the Foreign Quarterly Review, in which it is fully explained. The matter here ended.

Supply.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the Order of the Day for the House resolving itself into a Committee of Supply. He was anxious to take advantage of that opportunity to request the hon. Member for Aberdeen to postpone his motion, which stood for Wednesday, for abolishing the office of Receiver-general of Taxes, till he had heard his (the Chancellor of the Exchequer's) promised financial statement.

Mr. *Hume* agreed to defer his motion till the 24th inst. hoping that, in the mean time, the right hon. Gentleman would make the motion unnecessary.

The House resolved itself into a Committe of Supply.

British Museum.] Mr. *Bankes* moved that 16,143*l.* be granted for the expenses of the British Museum during the current year. The estimate was something less than that of last year, but did not require, he thought, any detailed explanation. He was willing to afford every explanation in his power on any point connected with the expenditure of the grant.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know why greater facilities were not afforded to the public for viewing the Museum? Why was it open but three days in the week, and even then but for a few hours? He would not go so far as to assert that the great diminution of visitors last year to the British Museum, as compared with those of the preceding, was altogether owing to the want of greater facility of ingress, for he was aware that the satiating of public curiosity must tend to diminish the annual number of visitors; but he would contend, that there must be more than this circumstance to account for so great a falling-off as from 127,000, the number of visiters in 1829, to 68,000, the number of last year. He saw no reason why the Museum should not be open five days in the week instead of three, for the salaries paid to the officers were sufficiently liberal to command a greater portion of their time and services. Even those days on which the Museum was open were not made sufficiently public. He thought a board should be exposed outside the gate of the building, on which the days and hours on which the Museum might be examined should be painted in distinct characters. The public paid for the Museum, and therefore had a right to insist on every facility of ingress.

Mr. *Jephson* begged leave to suggest the expediency of keeping the reading room of the Museum open to a certain hour in the evening. He would suggest that it ought to be kept open at least till six o'clock. There were many respectable gentlemen, clerks in public offices, to whom such an arrangement would be peculiarly grateful, being engaged all day at business, and thereby prevented from availing themselves of the advantages which the national library afforded. Should no other hon. Member urge the matter to the Trustees of the Museum, he would, on a future occasion, bring the matter before the House.

Mr. *Trant* considered the present regulation, by which children under a certain age were prohibited from visiting the Museum, highly objectionable. It only opened a door for lying; for parents said, their children were of such and such an age when they were not so much, in order to ensure their admission. He had taken his own children, but had the satisfaction of seeing others younger admitted, while they were refused, merely because he had a regard to truth.

Mr. *Bankes* begged leave to say, in reply to the hon. Member for Montrose, that the officers of the Museum were engaged six days of the week, though the Museum was, as he had stated, open but three days to the public. On the other days it was usual for the trustees to admit their friends, and those who sought a private visit, as a favour, to the Museum. With respect to the falling-off in the number of visiters, he was sure the House would be gratified to learn, that though there was a diminution of the number of visiters to the Museum, there was a larger increase in the number of students who frequented the reading-room, and studied in the gallery of art. He was ready to admit, in answer to the observations of the hon. Member for Mallow, (Mr. Jephson) that it was very desirable that the public should enjoy every facility of reference to the library consistent with its safety; and he was sure the trustees would endeavour to prolong the time, during which it was deemed expedient to keep the reading-room open. This, however, must depend on the period of the year, for under no circumstances should the introduction of fire or candles into so large and valuable a library be permitted.

Mr. *Poulett Thomson* conceived, that the necessary caution with respect to the use of candles and fire might be attained by introducing them into a chamber apart from the main building. He should wish to see the liberal system pursued by the governors of the Royal Library and the Mazarine Library at Paris, acted upon by the trustees of the British Museum. In those places any gentleman who gave a fair proof of his respectability might take home any work which might be necessary to his studies, with a view to the promotion of science or literature. The hon. Member might perhaps recollect that a celebrated foreigner (Mr. W. Schlegel) came over here to consult some Sanscrit manuscripts, but was obliged to forego his undertaking, because he was not allowed to take them home with him.

Mr. *Bankes* was sure, that under no circumstances would the House or the trustees of the Museum consent to the abstraction of a single volume from its present locality. He also objected strongly to introduce either fire or lights into the library.

Mr. *Jephson* said, he should like to hear any valid reason against the reading-rooms being open on Saturdays; and in summer till seven or eight in the evening, when no fire or candles would be necessary.

Mr. *Sadler* maintained that it was never intended that the Museum library should be employed as a mere reading-room, but as a place of reference. He did not think the time ought to be extended.

Mr. *Bright* agreed with the hon. Member for Newark. If the suggestion of the hon. Member for keeping the reading-room open on Saturday were acted upon, Sunday would be employed in regulating the books and cleaning the rooms.

Mr. *Hume* contended that the public had a right to every facility which could be afforded by the Museum. If money were the objection—that is, if the expense of additional officers were the reason for not extending those facilities, why let the public pay on the additional days on which the Museum would be open.

Mr. *D. Gilbert* was sure the trustees were anxious to afford every facility to the public in their power, compatible with the safety and integrity of the various treasures intrusted to their care. He agreed with the hon. Member for Bristol, that if the reading-room and Museum were open on Saturdays, the Sabbath would be expended in regulating matters for the ensuing week.—Resolution agreed to.

Army Estimates.] Sir *H. Hardinge* moved that 126,000*l.* be granted for the pay of General Officers, not colonels, for the year 1830.

Mr. *Maberly* wished to direct the attention of the Committee to the annually-increasing amount of the present estimate. The whole amount of pensions, superannuations, and allowances of this description in 1827 was 5,456,000*l.*, being for the army alone, in that year, 3,023,000*l.* In 1810, however, it was only 687,000*l.*; and in 1817, 2,195,000*l.* This shewed the rapid manner in which this charge was increasing. The same increase took place in the naval and in the civil departments. The subject had occupied much attention in the Finance Committee, and an hon. relative of his being a military man, had made a report on the subject to the Commander-in chief; according to which it appeared practicable to save about 300,000*l.* a year. Since then the right hon. and gallant Secretary had turned his attention to the subject, and but for him the amount would have been much greater. He had great pleasure in bearing his testimony to the great ability and indefatigable zeal of the gallant officer in putting a stop to the alarming increase of the dead weight of the Army. The thanks of the country were due to him for his endeavours to check the amount of this estimate,—one, indeed, which it was more difficult to reduce, for many reasons, than perhaps any other in the army department.

The next Resolution was for 36,669*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* for defraying the expenses of Garrisons, at home and abroad, for the year 1830.

Mr. *Hume* thought, that this grant really deserved more consideration than he had ever been able to obtain for it. A great part of this vote went to support military sinecures. No sooner was one governor dead than another was appointed in his place, though no duty was to be done. It was not his wish to object to any grant that was really necessary for the defence of our garrisons. He had no wish, he said, to deprive the Government of the means of providing for old officers; but it was really too much to have governors, for instance, for such places as Carrickfergus. These situations, too, were not always given to meritorious officers, but to persons of a different description. He saw a long list of governors, lieutenant-governors, and majors without any duties to perform, and those persons who were thus pensioned were by no means the most deserving. He had no desire to interfere with existing appointments, but prospectively important savings might be obtained by a revision and alteration of the prevailing system.

Sir *H. Hardinge* replied, that all these offices and appointments stood on a peculiar basis; namely, that of being the only means in the hands of the Crown for the remuneration of old officers. He readily admitted that they were military sinecures; but, when he stated how few they were, they amounting only to seventy, compared to the list of 13,000 officers on full and half-pay, whose services they might be bestowed to reward, he thought it would be ungracious indeed to deprive the Crown of this mode of repaying old, and faithful, and disabled officers. He would add, that the greater number of these offices did not give the holders of them above 200*l.* a year, and therefore they were not such large rewards as the hon. Member seemed to intimate.

Mr. *Sadler* thought, that naval officers should have a similar provision, or at least that they should participate in the like retiring bounty.

Mr. *Maberly* thought that, on the whole, British officers were worse paid than those of any other European army: still upon principle he objected to this mode of remuneration by sinecures.

Resolution agreed to.

Mr. *Hume* complained of the form in which these accounts were made out. Why not put some of these items of expenditure upon the head of effective service, instead of making them up under colonial accounts? These colonies ought to be made to supply this expenditure, instead of palming upon Great Britain the payment of their governors, lieutenant-governors, town-majors, &c.

Sir *H. Hardinge* assured the hon. Member that the Government were taking every means of economizing in this department of the public service, and making the colonies as available as possible in this respect.

The Resolution for 104,000*l.*, the full-pay of retired officers, was agreed to without any conversation.

On that of 720,859*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* for half-pay and military allowances,

Mr. *Hume* objected, and complained that the Government had not reduced this list, by filling up commissions from it as vacancies enabled them, instead of saddling the country with new pensioners. In 1818 this vote was 661,000*l.*; and in 1822, instead of having decreased, it had increased. Had the Government filled up vacancies as they occurred with officers from half-pay, good soldiers would have been employed, the country would have had the services of veterans, not of boys, and the half-pay list might have been reduced one half. That was the policy pursued by the great Duke of Marlborough, who wrote to the Secretary of War in 1715 as follows, and he would quote the letter for the benefit of the Duke of Wellington, hoping that he would follow the example of his illustrious predecessor:—

"Sir;—His Majesty being determined to provide as soon as possible for the broken officers,as well as those who are upon half-pay, with intent to ease the nation in time of the burthen thereof, as to reward the particular merit of those officers who have distinguished themselves during the course of the late war by their services, I am commanded to signify to you his pleasure,that as any commission shall happen hereafter to become vacant in the army, of what degree soever it be, the same shall always be filled up with a half-pay officer; and that for the future no person through favour, interest, or any other practices, may unjustly obtain a commission to which he has no right, in prejudice of another officer older than himself. It is his Majesty's pleasure, that the first regard shall always be had to the seniority of the commission, provided his Majesty shall have good reason to be satisfied of the character and merit of the person, and of his zeal and fidelity for his service: still observing, that a reduced officer of the same rank in the regiment where such vacancy happens, is to be preferred before all others. This his Majesty's pleasure you have to cause to be entered in the books of your office as a standing rule and direction in this behalf.—I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"MARLBOROUGH.

"*June* 30*th*, 1715.
"*To the Secretary-at-war.*"

"It is his Majesty's pleasure, that all colonels, now and late in the army, do certify to me the date of each officer's commission reduced out of their respective regiments, to the intent that all officers so reduced may be provided for according to his Majesty's pleasure, signified to me as above by his grace the Duke of Marlborough; and the said colonels are hereby required to send such certificates as soon as possible.

"(Signed) W. PULTENEY."

An order recommended by such high authority, was, he presumed, still enrolled at the War-office. The Letter was published in the Gazette, in July, 1715. He did not know that it had ever been repealed; and if it were not, he did not know why it was not acted on. There was, moreover, a Resolution of the House of Commons, agreed to *nem. con.* on the motion of Mr. Sandys on Dec. 12, 1740, precisely to the same effect. He would read it, however, to satisfy hon. Members:—"Dec. 12, 1740, resolved, *nem. con.* on the motion of Mr. Sandys, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that for the present and future ease of his Majesty's subjects, he would be graciously pleased to employ in his armies such persons as now remain upon half-pay who are qualified to serve his Majesty." Being unaware that either the War-office order of 1715, or this Resolution of 1740, had been revoked, he was at a loss to know why they were not both acted upon. He was also desirous of knowing what steps had been taken to buy up the half-pay of certain officers, according to the existing regulation. In making these remarks, he begged not to be understood as being unwilling to do full justice to the right hon. Secretary's exertions, which were, he knew, very beneficial and meritorious; the extravagance of which he complained lay at the door of his predecessors in office.

Sir *H. Hardinge*, in reply to Mr. Hume, said, that the hon. Member complained of Government having given away new commissions, instead of filling up vacancies by appointing officers from half-pay, contrary to the recommendation of the Finance Committee; but no such commissions had been given away, neither was it the case that individuals who had received first commissions since the peace had been put upon half-pay. It was not possible by the Act of Parliament to create new half-pay. As to the hon. Member's second question, he believed that about one hundred and twenty commissions had been bought up and cancelled, and that a saving had been effected for the public of about 125 per cent on the whole sum cancelled. As to the observation of the hon. Member regarding the never appointing any persons to the army but officers on half-pay, he must remind him that our army now was in a very different condition from what it was in the time of the Duke of Marlborough. At that time we had only two colonies; now we had a great number, and it would be very hard on officers serving abroad if they were not to receive promotion. Great injury, he believed, would be done to the service by giving all commissions to officers on half-pay, though that principle was acted on as far as possible. In 1815 the number of officers on full and half-pay was 18,405, and now there were only 14,910, making a reduction of 3,595 since the peace. As large reductions had been made as possible, though they were not perceptible on account of many of the casualties on the half-pay list having been absorbed by placing people on it from full-pay. The actual amount of the sum which had fallen in was 38,000*l.* though the estimates showed only 18,000*l.* He must say, also, that a great part of the reduction he had mentioned of 3,595 officers, was due, not to him, but to the noble Lord who preceded him.

Mr. *Hume* said, that he understood the right hon. Gentleman's remark applied to the troops of the line; but had there not been, at the same time, new commissions given in the Guards and Household Troops?

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that there had been a reduction of certain companies in these troops, although, of course, some fresh ensigns must have been appointed since the peace.

Mr. *Monck* said, he could not understand why our army should not be governed on the same principles as the armies of the continental states. In the French army there was no half-pay or pensions, except for wounds or being disabled in the service. Quarter-pay, not half-pay, was the reward for mere service. Though those armies had not the large pay and emoluments of our troops, they were not less efficient.

Mr. *Maberly* reminded his hon. friend, that the British officers purchase their commissions, which the officers of none of the continental armies did.

Sir *H. Hardinge* acknowledged the justice of the remark, and added, that, in future, half-pay was in fact to be given contingent on a certain period of service on full-pay.

Some further conversation ensued between Mr. Monck, Mr. Hume, and Sir H. Hardinge, to ascertain how far the amount for any new commissions sold had been rendered available in reduction of the military expenditure, and Sir Henry promised to furnish any accounts which were necessary to elucidate this subject.

The vote of 720,859*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* was then agreed to, as well as another of 94,900*l.* for foreign half-pay.

On the Resolution that a sum not exceeding 47,686*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* be granted to his Majesty for the purpose of defraying the charge of the In-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals,

Mr. *Hume* observed, that the time was come for doing away with this grant. In this case the pay of the officers alone was no less than 11,300*l.* He found that there was a comptroller, a surgeon, and a secretary, who was also deputy-paymaster, and the services of all these persons, in his opinion, might be dispensed with. He should like to know from the hon. and gallant Secretary how many men these hospitals contained.

Sir *H. Hardinge* replied, he believed Chelsea about 500, and Kilmainham about 400.

Mr. *Hume* thought the whole charge enormous for such a few persons.

Sir *H. Hardinge* explained, that the expense of the establishment was not only for the maintenance of the men within the hospital but for the payment of 8,500 out-pensioners. Kilmainham could not be abolished without increasing the expense, but reductions were in progress.

Mr. *Hume* said, he was glad to hear that, but he hoped the reductions would be principally in the salaries of the superior officers; for the clerks of Chelsea Hospital were worse paid than the officers of any other Government establishment, while the paymaster received 1,200*l.* a-year though several of the clerks did not receive above 90*l.*

Mr. *Calcraft* was of the same opinion, and had wished the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise the salaries of those clerks, but could not get him to advance one shilling.

Lord *Althorp* asked whether there was

any difficulty in procuring clerks for Chelsea Hospital at the present rate of payment. If there did not exist any difficulty, he saw no reason for raising the salaries.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that when applied to by the hon. Member on the subject, he had asked the very same question as the noble Lord had just put.

Mr. *Hume* said, he had no wish to see the salaries of those clerks increased, but he thought that the salaries in other departments ought to be brought down to the scale adopted at Chelsea Hospital.—Resolution carried.

The Question, that a sum not exceeding 1,241,601*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* be granted to defray the charge of the Out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, was put.

Mr. *Hume* noticed the frauds which had been committed by claimants on this fund, and complimented the right hon. the Secretary of War for the inquiry he had instituted, and the money he had been thereby enabled to save the country. He declared his conviction, that if the late Secretary of War, the right hon. Gentleman's predecessor, had continued in office, that inquiry would not have been set on foot.

Sir *John Wrottesley* inquired if any commanding officer had lent himself to the abuses which had been detected?

Sir *H. Hardinge* replied, not one. The parties were interested persons, and the system of fraud was found out by a forgery having been detected. He had good reason to believe that it would not happen again.

Sir *John Wrottesley* inquired whether the regimental books were not under the care of the adjutants?

Sir *H. Hardinge* replied, that the frauds were committed several years ago, and in most of the cases the adjutants had been removed.

Sir *John Wrottesley* admitted that this explanation was satisfactory, but he was bound to observe that these abuses could not have been perpetrated without gross mismanagement. He did not mean to enter into details, but it was a plain common sense view that the country could not possibly support in idleness a vast number of persons whose maintenance cost the country as much as the whole effective army. While the labourer was obliged to work fifteen or sixteen hours a day for a miserable pittance, that scarcely preserved his existence, the pensioned soldier was living in luxury and idleness, often setting an example of drunkenness and debauchery. The labourers, from witnessing such examples, became reckless. They had no motives for good conduct, and therefore the House must not wonder at the number of petty crimes which were continually committed.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that the number of persons on the half-pay list was 81,000.

Mr. *Trant* believed that the discovery of the frauds was accidental, and he affirmed that the hon. member for Montrose was not warranted in casting any reflection on the noble Lord the late Secretary-at-War.

Mr. *Hume* did not mean to cast any reflection on the noble Lord, but he did not think the discovery was altogether accidental. A person was tried by a court-martial, which found the charge vexatious; the circumstances which transpired led to an inquiry, and the accuser was dismissed from the army. From what had then occurred he was satisfied that the abuses could not have taken place, if the attestations required had been preserved at the War-Office. He believed that these frauds were quite unknown to the officers, but he also believed that they could not have occurred had there not been a considerable degree of negligence in not enrolling the attestations.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, it was not possible, under the old system, to check those frauds, and he must say that both the War-Office and the late Secretary at War were entirely blameless.

The Question was agreed to.

The Question being put that a sum not exceeding 20,986*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* be granted to defray the expense of the Royal Military Asylum,

Sir *John Wrottesley* complained that half of the amount voted was expended on the officers, instead of being applied to the benefit of the orphans in the institution. He admitted that the objects of the charity were meritorious, but he must contend, that under the circumstances of the country a reduction in the expense ought to take place.

Mr. *Hume* said, that that institution grew out of a state of war, was at present uncalled for, and would, he hoped, be gradually done away.

Sir *H. Hardinge* did not concur in opinion with the hon. Member for Aberdeen. The country was bound to provide for the orphans of those who had died in its service, and there was no other or better means than the Asylum. Many of them were born abroad, when their fathers were on foreign service, and had no claims on any parish. Since last year the number had been reduced by 300: the expense was only 20*l.* a head, and he thought such an institution, kept up at so small an expense, deserved support.

Mr. *Hume* said, he was of opinion that if there were no establishment, then there would be no children to provide for; the friends and relatives of the orphans would take care of them; but as long as the Government took the charge upon it, the relatives naturally said, why should we be inconvenienced by those whom the Government taxes us to provide for. Children were accordingly sent from all parts. Public establishments put an end to private charity. Once say, that after 1831 or 1832 this establishment should cease, and nothing more would be heard of orphans claiming the support of the country.

Mr. *Monck* thought, if the vote were continued, it ought to be more definitely appropriated. It could not for one moment be affirmed, that all the children of soldiers who chose to marry should be supported at the national expense. In principle he thought the children should not have a claim, as a matter of right, to be placed in the Asylum.

Sir *John Sebright* supported the grant, because it was proper to provide for the children of those who had died in the service of the country.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that great reductions had been made in the establishment since the peace.

Mr. *Hume* was of opinion, that if this principle of providing for the children of those who died in the public service were once admitted, it ought to be extended to all functionaries, and then he did not know why the committee should not grant 40,000*l.* instead of 20,000*l.* In fact, though not an enemy to charity, he was disposed to resist such a principle.

Mr. *Protheroe* was also opposed to the grant, being convinced, by what the hon. Member for Montrose said, that if the public did not undertake to provide for such orphans they would be taken care of by their friends.

Sir *H. Hardinge* assured the Committee that no larger sum would ever be required, and he would also assert that the strictest impartiality was observed in admitting applicants.

Resolution agreed to.

The next Resolution was for a sum not exceeding 145,267*l.* to defray the Pensions to be paid to the Widows of Officers of the Land-forces for the year 1830.

Mr. *Hume* said, that the number of widows who died and the number who were put upon the list during the year ought to be specifically detailed. He inquired whether any regulations had been adopted by Government since last Session, as to the manner of granting these pensions. It was necessary to have more information before voting the sum required.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that these pensions were in future to be granted only to the widows of officers who had served ten years, and who had been on full pay for that period, or to the widows of officers who had been killed in action. It had also been settled, that when the widow married again, the pension should cease.

Mr. *Hume* thought it desirable, that the estimates for Navy and Ordnance pensions should be placed upon the same footing with the Army. There was a reduction of five per cent made upon the pensions of the soldier, while no such reduction was made in the pensions granted to the Artillery or the Navy. The soldier, therefore, considered himself plundered, though, if the Estimates were properly stated, he would see that credit was given him for the reduction of five per cent in his pension. All the military and naval pensions should therefore be stated in the same way.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, the reduction of five per cent was made upon the pensions of the soldiers serving in the line, by an Act passed in the reign of Geo. 2nd, and it was then conceived but fair, that such reduction should not apply to the Ordnance, as the individual serving in the Ordnance was at the expense of his agency, and it was thought also, at that time, that he could not be admitted to Chelsea Hospital. The reduction was, in fact, equal, both in the Line and in the Ordnance.

Mr. *Monck* contended, that we ought to take example by France and America, and endeavour to reduce the present extravagant expenditure connected with our army. He objected to the extravagant amount of this estimate. Why should officers' widows receive pensions, while the widows of private soldiers, who were equally deserving, and more in want of such assistance, received no pensions? They made a provision for the rich widows, while the poor widows were left without any provision at all. It was worth remark also, that the poor were the largest contributors to the fund. In 1745 it appeared, from a report then made to the House, that the pension granted to a Colonel's widow was 50*l.*, and that to an Ensign's, 16*l.* At present the widow of a General officer received 120*l.*, of a Colonel, 90*l.*, of a Lieut.-colonel, 80*l.*, of a Major, 70*l.*, and of an Ensign, 16*l.* This statement shewed what an increase had been made in the pensions of the superior officers' widows since 1745; while no increase had been made in the pensions of the Ensigns' widows. Formerly, too, these pensions were not granted without strict inquiry; that check was now withdrawn, and numerous instances had occurred of pensions being drawn by persons after they had ceased to be widows, having married again. By such neglect, the sum required for these pensions had gone on increasing. In 1806 it amounted to 104,000*l.*, in 1823 to 136,000*l.*, and then the Committee was asked for no less than 145,000*l.* This was an enormous increase during a period when our army had been diminished in numbers. In none of the Continental states were there any such charges connected with the army estimates, and if the expense increased in the same ratio, henceforward, we should soon have to pay more for our small army of 90,000, than was paid for all the armies of the Continent. Economy was strength, and profusion weakness, and if profusion were continued, we should by-and-by be in the most lamentable state of debility. It appeared from the accounts published of the French army, that it consisted of 190,000 men, and was as efficient as any army of Europe. Though that army was well provided with Staff-officers—indeed it was a complaint that it had too many—it cost only 121,640,000 francs, or a sum short of 5,000,000*l.* a year. This army was even maintained at a less expense than that of Prussia, though the government of Prussia be one of the most economical of Europe. The Prussian army at present amounted to 100,000 men, and it cost 78,000,000 francs, or more than 3,000,000*l.* a year. The French army of 190,000 men, was maintained at a less expense than our army of 90,000. The House of Commons, which was bound to watch over the public expenditure, was to blame for this. It had allowed such extravagance that our establishments were conspicuous, not for their efficiency, but for the enormous sums they cost. He believed the reason of all this was to be found in the constitution of that House. The Members sitting there as the proprietors of boroughs, or the nominees of Peers, represented their patrons or themselves, and not the people. They helped themselves, or provided for their masters, out of the public purse. According to his view, therefore, there was no other efficient remedy for all this extravagance but a reform of Parliament. As long as that House only represented a few peers, or a few borough proprietors, economy would not be thought of. He would call on the House to look particularly at the superannuations and pensions. One public servant out of every score was superannuated, or pensioned; and besides all these pensions and superannuations, there were charges for widows and orphans. There was a vast sum so expended, which went, he believed, to persons who were altogether inefficient, and who had never been otherwise. In the present state of the country it could not be tolerated, when labour was obtaining little or no reward, that it should be taxed to support these useless burthens. The system by weakening the resources of the country, went to deprive it of independence, and rob it of honour; and by plundering the industrious people, it destroyed at the same time, both their loyalty and their honesty. Such a system could not possibly be continued, and he, therefore, not saying one word as to the amount of the grant, should object to it on principle.

Mr. *Hume* thought it was monstrous that the country should be called on to vote pensions for upwards of a thousand widows, and that no specific information should be laid before the House of the circumstances which made it proper to grant those pensions. A detailed description of every new case for which a pension was granted, with an account of the number of pensions which ceased every year, ought annually to be submitted to Parliament.

Sir *Henry Hardinge* had no objection to lay such information before Parliament, as to the classes of officers whose widows were receiving pensions; but there was no law requiring such information as that specified by the hon. Member to be laid before Parliament. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member, as to not continuing the pensions to those widows who re-married, Lord Palmerston brought a measure of that kind before the House in 1818, but was compelled to abandon it by the Gentlemen on the opposite side. With respect to the small expense of the French army, he could inform the Committee that a proposition had recently been made to increase the pensions of the French military officers. In America the number of pensioners was nearly double the amount of the effective force.

Lord *Howick* vindicated the Opposition side of the House from the charge of encouraging extravagance. Only the year before last, the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues opposed the reduction of the useless office of Lieut. General of the Ordnance.

Resolution agreed to.

The next Resolution was for a sum not exceeding 185,036*l.* for allowances on the Compassionate List; for allowances as of his Majesty's Royal Bounty; and for pensions to officers for wounds.

Mr. *John Stewart* suggested, that as all pensions were only granted as a means of support to persons supposed to be otherwise destitute, that pensions ought in all cases to be withdrawn when the circumstances of the persons rendered them independent of that means of subsistence.

Mr. *Hume* wished to know whether care was taken in the granting of the last-mentioned pensions, that the officers to whom they were granted were wounded, as he had known individuals without wounds in the receipt of such pensions.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that an officer must, under the existing regulations, undergo the examination of five medical men, and he must prove before the Medical Board, that he had suffered a permanent injury, equal to the loss of a limb, before a pension could be granted for a wound. That examination also must take place five years after the wound had been received, and if it could not then be proved that the injury was permanent, no pension was granted.

Mr. *Monck* inquired what was meant by "The Compassionate List" and "The Royal Bounty."

Sir *H. Hardinge* explained, that the former was to provide for orphans, and that the latter was for widows whose husbands had fallen in battle.

Mr *Monck* further inquired if those widows were not entitled to pensions under the preceding estimate. To him it appeared that these widows was the very class of persons for whom the last estimate was meant to provide.

Sir *H. Hardinge* replied, that the allowances were not, in fact, granted to the widows who might have no claim, or having a claim, might also have large families, and no means to provide for them, but were granted to the children of those who had fallen in battle. The total amount of pensions under this head did not exceed 40,000*l.* and the sums granted varied from 6*l.* to 16*l.* They ceased, he had also to observe, when the boys were eighteen and the girls twenty-one years of age.

Mr. *Hume* said there were no means, if these items were not included in the regular estimates for the army, of checking the amount of them, which might grow up to be enormous.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, if the Compassionate Fund went to provide for the children of those who had died in the service, the Royal Bounty was limited to persons whose husbands or fathers had been killed in the service. Such an employment of funds was one, he was sure, which the Committee would never refuse to sanction by its vote.

Resolution agreed to.

The next Resolution was for the sum of 54,204*l.* for allowances, compensations, and emoluments in the nature of superannuated allowances, to persons formerly belonging to the several public departments in Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. *Maberly* wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether this estimate were made up in conformity with the Act of Parliament? Pensions sanctioned by the Treasury, or by an order of Council, were not legal until sanctioned by that House. There was no better mode of checking these pensions than by having them specifically stated in the army as they now were in the navy. He would recommend to the hon. and gallant Secretary that this should in future be done.

Sir *H. Hardinge* admitted that these pensions were specifically stated in the Ordnance estimates; but said that that was not ordered by the Act of Parliament, but had been adopted in consequence of a suggestion of the hon. Member for Aberdeen. He had no objection against the plan which the hon. Member had suggested being adopted, in future years, in the army.

Lord *Sandon* suggested, that the particulars of every case in which superannuation was granted should be made out.

Sir *H. Hardinge* agreed with his noble friend, that such an account would be very desirable.

Mr. *Hume* expressed himself of the same opinion, and thought that the names of pensioners, and the length of their service should be added. He wished to know how it was that such a number of Lieutenant-governors of the Military School were placed on the pension list.

Sir *H. Hardinge* explained, that the late Lieutenant-governor was upwards of seventy years of age, and at that time of life a man ceased to be very fit to manage young boys. And as it was customary to give the situation to officers of long standing and respectability, a few years additional service at the college brought their public lives to a close.

Mr. *Hume* inquired if the present Lieutenant-governor of the Military College received pay from any other corps or office.

Sir *H. Hardinge* replied, that the Lieutenant-governor was a Lieutenant-colonel of Cavalry, and received his regimental pay as well as his staff pay, consistently with the rule of the service.

Mr. *Hume* said, that was a practice to which he must object, as in fact it kept out of sight a part of the expense of the establishment. When an officer was placed on the staff in India, his regimental pay ceased, and he thought the same rule ought to be followed at home.

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that it had always been customary for the officers in the English service to retain their regimental pay when placed on the staff, and he thought he could prove that this practice was at once the most economical, as well as the fairest. At the close of the war the staff officers returned to their regiments, and continued in active service without any additional expense to the country.

Colonel *Baillie* was of opinion that the hon. Member for Aberdeen made a mistake as to the Indian army, the officers of which, when placed on the staff, continued to receive their regimental pay.

Mr. *Hume* said, that as he had been a Paymaster himself for some years he could venture to say that he was right.

Resolution agreed to.

The next Resolution was for 32,000*l.* for the purpose of defraying the charge of Exchequer fees.

Mr. Hume and Mr. Maberly both objected to the payment of these fees, which they considered disgraceful to the country.

Resolution agreed to.

On the motion that the Chairman should report these Resolutions to the House,

Mr. *Gordon* rose to ask the hon. Secretary when he meant to bring up the Report, as he intended upon that occasion to propose a Resolution to the following effect:—"That it is the opinion of this House, that as long as the regulation is in force by which Officers on the Half-pay of the Army, Navy, Ordnance, and Marine, are prevented from receiving the whole of their half-pay, or any part thereof, whilst they are enjoying the emoluments of civil office, it is expedient and just that the same regulation should extend to officers on full-pay of the Army, Navy, Marine, and Ordnance, who enjoy the emoluments of civil office, or of any other naval and military allowances."

Sir *H. Hardinge* said, that it would be most agreeable to him to have the report on these resolutions brought up to-morrow. He should certainly oppose this resolution; and if the gentlemen who had motions for to-morrow would give him precedence for but half an hour, he thought that he could dispose of it most effectually in that time.

The Chairman left the chair; the report to be received to-morrow.

BOMBAY JUDICATURE.] The Order of the Day having been read for the House to resume the adjourned debate on the Bombay Judicature,

Mr. *Hume* expressed his decided impression that the interference of the Government with the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bombay was uncalled for by any exigency. The facts of the case by no means bore out the allegation of the noble Lord (Ashley) that an excitation bordering on rebellion would have prevailed in that part of India, if the Judges had been allowed to act as they wished. It was plain that the conduct of the

Government tended to place the Supreme Court in a state of subserviency, contrary to the Act of Parliament appointing that Court; and if he were right in saying that the noble Lord had not made out a case of exigency, the interference of the Government was as uncalled for as it was illegal. He had never said, and never would say, that circumstances might not arise to place the Judges of the Supreme Court at Bombay, or in any other part of India, in a situation calculated to endanger the public peace, and which would justify the exercise of the powers of the Government in stopping their proceedings. That he fully admitted; but he denied that such had been the state of things when the Government of Bombay had interfered with the Supreme Court. What was the purpose for which the Courts in question were originally established? To protect the natives of India from oppression. But the conduct which had been pursued by the Bombay Government contravened that purpose; he allowed that both the Judges in question might have said less in open Court, and might have treated the Government with more respect—and, he allowed, therefore, that they were, in some degree blameable—yet nothing in their conduct warranted the steps taken by the Government of Bombay. The noble Lord too, at the head of the Board of Control, had disgraced a Judge, by superseding him, who had no doubt acted conscientiously, without hearing a single word in explanation of his conduct. Six weeks before Sir J. P. Grant's statement arrived, his Majesty decided in council that he should be superseded. Through that Judge was the Supreme Court reprimanded and disgraced. The noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control, who it might be supposed would be above all the little party feelings of provincial governors and judges, had lent himself to the views of the governor. He considered the conduct of the Government of India to be improper; but that of the noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control to be much more so. The noble Lord ought to have viewed the dispute between the Government of Bombay and the Court with more impartiality; and he was apprehensive, that unless the House signified their indignation at the conduct which had been pursued, very injurious consequences might ensue with respect to the letter of that noble Lord, which a noble Duke in another place had not hesitated to avow as containing sentiments approved of by the Government; he would only say, that if those sentiments were acted on, it would be in vain to expect independence in the Judges of India, or that they should ever resist, however oppressive it might be, the authority of the Government. Conceiving that the conduct of the Government of Bombay was reprehensible, and the conduct of the Board of Control was still worse, he should with pleasure support the Motion of his hon. friend.

Mr. *O'Connell* said, he meant to confine himself to the legal part of the question, and he would first state that he conceived the production of the papers necessary for the vindication of Sir John Malcolm. In the accounts already published, two cases were mentioned, that of Bappo Gunnes and that of Moro Ragonath, concerning which disputes had arisen between the Judges and the Governor. Bappo Gunnes, as he understood the matter, being committed to gaol, applied for a copy of his committal, which was refused. He then applied to the Supreme Court for a *Habeas Corpus*, and this writ being granted, was obeyed. A return was made to it in due course, and Bappo Gunnes carried, in answer to the writ, before the Supreme Court at Bombay. The Court thought the return to the writ defective; time was accordingly given to amend the return, and the man sent back to prison. But after the Company's law officer had accepted the time to amend the return, he neglected to avail himself of it, and at the end of the time allowed, the subject being again brought under the consideration of the Court, Bappo Gunnes was discharged. As a lawyer, he meant to contend, that the Supreme Court at Bombay had acted constitutionally and legally in this adjudication. The return made to the writ was inaccurate in many respects. It was necessary to set forth the nature of the inferior jurisdiction, and the particulars of the charge against the accused; neither of which things were done. The return stated that Bappo Gunnes had been found guilty of applying seventy rupees of the Government money to his own use, but it did not state where and when he had received them. The return was therefore defective, and the Judges were bound to hold that the proceedings of the inferior court were untenable. Under such circumstances, if the Judges had not discharged the prisoner, they would have deserved to be discharged themselves. In the other case, that of Moro Ragonath, the party was a youth, fourteen years of age, possessed of a considerable fortune. He was living with his maternal relations, and had married one of them, according to the custom of the country; while under their protection, he was seized, and carried off by his uncle, Pandoorung Ramchunder, who kept him a prisoner in his own house for a whole twelvemonth, without any authority whatever. The young man endeavoured to make his escape to Bombay, but by the instrumentality of Mr. Dunlop, a British magistrate, he was compelled to return against his inclination, and even in spite of his tears and entreaties. His uncle who thus took, and was enabled to keep possession of him, by means of the British power, was his next heir, and had an interest in his death. Under these circumstances, some of the young man's friends made an application to the Supreme Court at Bombay, and these facts being sworn to, the Court issued a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. A return was made; the Judge's decision on which, in his opinion, was wrong; subsequently the Court issued an *alias habeas*, which was not obeyed. If Ramchunder was the natural guardian of Moro Ragonath, it would only have been necessary that he should have stated that in the return, and there would have been an end of the matter. Instead of doing that, however, he set the Court at defiance. It would be said, he was aware, that being a Hindoo, Ramchunder was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Court; but the man who served the writ might possibly have been able to enforce it, had he not been resisted by a detachment of native infantry, exhibiting the edifying spectacle of the East-India Company's troops opposing the execution of the King's writ. The man applied to three magistrates, who, one and all, refused to assist him. All that he could do, therefore, was to place the writ in the hands of one of Ramchunder's servants. As far as the law was concerned he contended that the Judges were decidedly right, whether they had jurisdiction or not must depend on the Act of Parliament constituting the Court, and on the patent appointing them. But the commission, under which they acted, appointed them "further justices and conservators of the peace in and throughout the island and town of Bombay, and in all factories, settlements, and territories, that now are, and hereafter shall be subject to, the Presidency of Bombay, and to have jurisdiction, and rule, and authority in all things the same as the Justices of the Court of King's Bench throughout the Kingdom of England," which, in his opinion, gave the Judge the full authority of the Court of King's Bench in England, one of the privileges of which was, to issue a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, whenever it was required by any one of the King's subjects; the moment, however, the Court at Bombay issued this writ, the civil and military Governor prevented its being obeyed. In this country such a proceeding would be rebellion; but in this country it never could happen that any individual should interpose between the judge and the execution of his authority, for the whole people would regard such interference as the violation of their dearest right. In India, however, the Courts were more necessary to protect the people against the military government than they ever could be here. There, then, they ought to be treated with double respect, and their authority ought to be steadily upheld by the legislature. He knew that the Privy Council had come to a decision different from his opinion; but as a Member of that House, he could not surrender his own unbiassed, independent judgment to the decision of any court or council whatever. Notwithstanding that decision, he had no hesitation in saying, that the Judges were in the right; but even if they were not, they still deserved to be treated with respect by the civil government. He thought, in what had been said about programmes and ceremonies, and in the anxiety manifested at home to place the governor above the judge, he could detect some of those jealousies which sometimes exhibit themselves among men about equal in authority. He could not, however, think that any paltry, mean motives of that kind had operated on the mind of the Governor. At any rate, the Governor ought not to be placed, like a dictator, above the Court, with power to control its proceedings, and decide what was legal for it to perform, and what not. If there were to be any opposition, any conflict between these parties, he should wish, quite contrary to the noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control, to see the authority of the law and the constitution rise superior to the power of the Governor. Not wishing to decide on *ex parte* statements, he should cordially support the Motion; being satisfied that it was only by having the fullest information that the House and the country could come to a correct decision on the subject.

Mr. *George Bankes* said, it surprised him that the hon. and learned Member for Clare should vote for the Motion, when he appeared already so fully informed on the subject. He trusted the House would allow him, from his official situation, to enter into some explanations, and he thought he should be able to shew that Sir John Malcolm did not mean to insult the Judges, and that he interfered for the protection of the natives. The hon. Member for Clare said, there were two cases; but the hon. Member was mistaken in supposing that Bappo Gunnes was a British subject. The *Habeas Corpus* was not directed to him, but to a gaoler of a court not under the authority of the Supreme Court at Bombay, who made a return to which that Court objected. The gaoler, he admitted, was a servant of the Company, and might as such be amenable to the Supreme Court. As a gaoler of a country court, he was not bound to obey the Supreme Court. The return which he made was deemed insufficient, and the Supreme Court required another, or else it declared that Bappo Gunnes should be set at liberty. That man had been convicted of one offence, and stood charged with another. Sir John Malcolm authorized the gaoler not to amend the return, and the consequence was, that the Supreme Court set Bappo Gunnes at liberty. He would say no more on this case, except that it had been brought before the Privy Council upon the appeal of Sir John P. Grant, a person the most competent to state his own case, an able and learned man; and on his appeal the Privy Council had decided against him. It had ruled that the Supreme Court had no authority to issue a *habeas* to the gaoler of a native court, nor to any man not a British subject, and not within its jurisdiction. The Privy Council went further, and declared that the Supreme Court was bound to recognize the authority of the native Courts, requiring from them no other voucher than their declaration that they had decided in any particular manner. The question at issue here was, whether the Supreme Court had authority to send its writ to the gaoler of a native court, commanding it to bring up the body of a prisoner. The Privy Council decided, on this point, against the Supreme Court; but it even went further, and declared that the Supreme Court had no power to set any prisoner at liberty confined under the sentence of a native court. But it also appeared plain, and so the Privy Council had decided, that the Supreme Court could not object to a return, as defective, from a Court over which it had no jurisdiction. Whatever might be the learned Member's opinion of the Privy Council, nobody speaking on behalf of Sir J. P. Grant, could think of questioning its judgment or authority, when it had been appealed to by him. As to the case of Moro Ragonath, it unfortunately happened that there were violent disputes in his family, while he, being an infant, was under the guardianship of his relations. According to the custom of the country, his great-uncle, Ramchunder, was his legal guardian; and after having been taken from his maternal relations, he was residing in his uncle's house, when the disagreeable circumstance occurred which was then the subject of discussion. It was wrong, however, to suppose that Ramchunder could be the heir of Moro Ragonath, that being, according to the Hindoo law, quite impossible. The affidavits on which the Judges acted in this case, and on which the hon. Member for Clare seemed to place considerable reliance, were contradicted by affidavits from the opposite party, and have actually been made the grounds of a prosecution for perjury. The object of the parties, in making these affidavits, was to get the Supreme Court to interfere in the dispute, the family residing eighty miles from the Presidency, and beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, which extended only to the island of Bombay, exclusive of the island of Salsette, and to the British subjects within the provinces dependent on the Bombay Presidency. The boy, however, never was in Bombay, nor was he a British subject, nor was he in any manner, in the ordinary sense of the term, under the control of the East-India Company. There was no ground whatever for making the uncle amenable to the Supreme Court, and the false affidavits were made with a view to get him brought there, where he would have been under its jurisdiction. In one of these affidavits it was sworn, that the boy was imprisoned, and was kept in imprisonment, and it was in consequence of these false affidavits that the Supreme Court issued its writ, or rather a summons, which did not, however, justify or order the capture of either the boy, his uncle, or any other person; the summons was merely calling on him to appear. To serve this summons, a low person, a Portuguese, was employed, who, fancying that he possessed all the authority of the Supreme Court, behaved most insolently at the house of the Mahratta chief. He did not, on that account, impute blame to the judges, for they could never suppose that any insult would be offered to the party summoned. The Portuguese, however, being full of his commission, produced his staff, and boasted that he would take the Governor himself; which, in a country like India, was a proceeding that might have been attended with dangerous consequences. Was it not plain from this one fact, that the power claimed to be exercised by the judges might have very disastrous results. The abuses which might be committed by their inferior officers would soon fill India with discontent. In this case, the family of Moro Ragonath, knowing nothing of the purport of the writ, but as it was described by the Portuguese, were on the point of proceeding to Bombay, when they were stopped by the Governor. The young man was restored to his uncle, and the parties who had applied in the first instance to the Supreme Court, then applied o it for a *Habeas Corpus*. He could but lament exceedingly, that the judges should have thought themselves, under such circumstances, bound to comply with the application; and he still more lamented the consequences which ensued from issuing the writ. When it was done, Sir John Malcolm was applied to by the guardian of the boy, and knowing that he did not fall within the jurisdiction of the court; and knowing too, that by an express treaty, he was exempted from the judicial interference of the East-India Company, for these persons were Bramins, and exempted from all such jurisdiction: Sir John Malcolm, knowing all these circumstances, did, when applied to, interpose. A great excitement was caused among all the people, whose privileges, secured to them by treaty, were invaded by this act of the Supreme Court, which persisting in the exercise of its authority, issued another and another writ. Hon. Members seemed to suppose that the interference of the Governor was against the wishes of the natives; the fact was the very reverse; they dreaded the authority of the Supreme Court, and were anxious not to be subject to its jurisdiction. He would then assure the hon. Member for Clare, that no petty jealousy influenced the conduct of Sir John Malcolm, he was above any such thing; but he was obliged, though unwillingly, to interfere for the protection of those persons against the Supreme Court, whom the East-India Company were bound by treaty not to subject to its authority. He meant, certainly, to contend that, on general principles, Sir J. Malcolm did right by interposing, and he could fortunately confirm this view, by a minute made by the Marquis of Hastings, when on a tour in the provinces. In a letter addressed to the Chairman of the East-India Company in 1818, he says, "It is a curious circumstance, and one which I cannot suppress, that in all the annexations that have lately taken place, the only fear of the natives is, that our judicial system should be introduced. As far as it has been introduced it has been wisely planned, and uprightly and temperately administered, but it is not fit for the natives. The delays and vexations to which they may be subjected are evils, in their eyes, of no small character, while the prejudices of the high-caste people cannot be overcome." These observations were applied to the country courts situated amongst the people, and they, therefore, must be still more disgusted at being compelled to go many miles to the Supreme Court, the forms and the proceedings of which were not less intricate than those of the provincial courts of the Company. He might quote many similar authorities, but he hoped that one would satisfy all impartial persons, that Sir John Malcolm had sufficient ground to interfere and protect the natives, who asked him to do so, against the illegal authority of the Supreme Court. With the most upright intention that gentleman wrote a letter to the Supreme Court, imploring the judges to wait till a reply was obtained to the despatch he had immediately sent off to England. The judges, instead of receiving this Letter in the spirit of conciliation in which it was written, treated it as an additional violation of their privileges. He would appeal to the House if there were any propriety, in a question of doubtful jurisdiction, where nothing would have been sacrificed by waiting for the result of the appeal to the higher authorities at home, if it were consistent with the calm temper of a judge, to treat the letter, making such a proposal, as little less than an insult. It was greatly to the honour of Sir John Malcolm, and he would mention the circumstance to satisfy the hon. Member for Clare that no feelings of jealousy or ill will dictated his conduct, that in the despatch which he sent home on the occasion, he pronounced a justly-deserved eulogium on a judge whom he highly valued when alive, and whose death, notwithstanding the little collision which had taken place between them, he sincerely regretted. Sir Charles Chambers, however, did not live to see the affair brought to a termination. The decision of the highest authorities here, when applied to by Sir John Malcolm was, that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court had no right or authority whatever to extend his jurisdiction, and send his writs of *Habeas Corpus*, beyond the well-understood and long-defined boundaries of the court. In his opinion, those authorities were perfectly correct, and the decision of the Privy Council was fully justified, both by expediency and by Acts of Parliament. It never was intended that the Supreme Court should have power over the native chiefs, and the decision of the Privy Council was accordingly consistent, both with practice and principle. He was surprised to hear an hon. Member contend, that the case was not fully before the Privy Council when it decided. Sir John P. Grant had sent his own statement to this country, and the case was argued by those well acquainted with the law, and well acquainted with the facts, and it was heard by persons perfectly competent to decide, possessing both legal knowledge, and a knowledge of the interests of India. He could not conceive a case more fully argued, or more carefully examined; and he was at a loss to know what exception could be taken to the solemn decision. That being the proper tribunal to hear such a case, he could not conceive for what purpose that House was then called on to review the decision of that court. It would be highly wrong in that House to re-hear and re-try a case that had been already decided by a tribunal far more competent to decide on such a subject than the House of Commons. He did not mean to deny the power of that House to interfere, but he put it to the wisdom of the House, if it would be expedient. Sir John P. Grant, he would also remind the House, had been recalled; his case would undergo another investigation, and was it consistent in that House to step in between him and that investigation. That judge, in the exercise of his authority, had thought fit to shut up the Supreme Court at Bombay for three months; thus, while he sought to extend the powers of the court over those who were not under its jurisdiction, he had excluded all those from redress for whom that court was the only tribunal. From April to June did he stop all the legal business at Bombay, and prevent all persons injured or defrauded from obtaining justice: the consequence was, that men set the law at defiance. These proceedings were so extraordinary, so unauthorized, that Sir P. Grant had been called home to account for his conduct. It would be unfair towards him for that House then to institute another inquiry. He would observe, however, that this judge had not been, as the hon. Member for Clare seemed to suppose, degraded before trial; no intention existed any where to degrade either him or the high office he filled, but it was impossible not to order an investigation into all the circumstances connected with his extraordinary conduct. It had been asserted that a hardship, or even an injury, had been inflicted on Sir John P. Grant, by not raising him to be Chief Justice; but would it have been prudent to place him in that situation? Although the Members on his side of the House admitted that this judge had acted on a conscientious conviction, the Members of the other side did not affirm that this conviction was correct. Not a single person, as far as he could learn, supposed that Sir John P. Grant had taken a correct view of his duty, and of the authority of his office. With such an impression he did not think it possible to contend that he ought to be raised to the situation of Chief Justice. His noble friend, the President of the Board of Control, could harbour no intention of degrading the character of a judge, and of degrading the judgment seat. That noble person could not forget the respect due to the judicial office, without forgetting the rank he held in society; without forgetting the talents, and virtues, and services of his father, the name he bore, and the title he inherited. His hon. and learned friend (Mr. R. Grant) had, the other evening, in reference to something which had fallen from him, quoted the works of Sir Wm. Jones, on the subject of the establishment of the Supreme Court: he wished his hon. friend had proceeded with his quotation, and had read to the House his first charge to the Court at Calcutta, for he would have found there a passage which bore strongly on the present question, and justified Sir John Malcolm. "The object of this court," said Sir Wm. Jones, in a charge that could not, for its many beauties, be too much admired, "which is thus supplied with ample power is to do strict and impartial justice, under a government very peculiarly constituted. In administering justice we must not innovate. The natives of these provinces must be indulged in their prejudices, civil and religious. They have, on very many points, their own peculiar feelings, and those feelings we are bound to respect. Now, this end will be best attained by upholding the supremacy of the executive government." This was a very decisive opinion, and the man who delivered it was a judge, but a judge superior to all the prejudices of his profession or his office, and who was persuaded that it was the duty of the judges in India to support and uphold the supremacy of the government. He knew, equally well, what was due to the feelings of the natives, and to the high functions of the government. Happy would it be for the people of India, should every judge conduct himself in the same prudent, cautious manner, as this great and wise man. Should, unhappily, the reverse be the case,—should collisions ensue between the courts and the presidential governments,—and should the natives be apprehensive, contrary to the faith of our engagements with them, of being subjected to the power of those courts, the consequences must be most deplorable. Dreading the effects of a process which they did not understand, they would conceive themselves at once insulted and oppressed. Having hitherto enjoyed many advantages from our rule in India, should the reverse ever happen to be the case, our empire there would either not be of long duration, or it would have to be maintained by a continual contest. For that House to interfere, would only serve to revive the apprehensions which were fast subsiding. Conceiving that the documents already alluded to, and the decision of the Privy Council, were sufficient to settle the legal part of the question, the remarks he had made would, he hoped, satisfy the House of the inexpediency of interfering with regard to the political part of the question. On these grounds, he saw no reasons for the hon. Member for Beverly pressing his Motion. With respect to any thing which has occurred since the decision of the Privy Council, it would hardly be proper for that House to inquire. Sir John P. Grant was under orders to return home, and his case would come before the best tribunal for calmly investigating it. The Motion, moreover, would gain nothing, as there was no official correspondence between the Judges of India and the Board of Control, except in some few instances. As far as he was aware, the government at Bombay had no correspondence with the Board of Control, but only with the Court of Directors. He should be far from meeting the Motion with mere technical objections if any thing could be got by it; but as it was, conceiving that it could only tend to keep up irritation and apprehension, he should meet it by a direct negative.

Mr. *W. W. Wynne* agreed, he said, with the hon. Member who had just spoken, that the House of Commons was not the proper place to try the dispute between the government of Bombay and the Supreme Court, but the Motion before the House had no such object. The House was not called on to declare which of these two parties were wrong, but to decide if it should not have official cognizance of a letter, written by a great public functionary, which had already appeared in print. He was satisfied that both the public functionaries in India had acted from conscientious motives, and he thought Sir J. P. Grant might reasonably have arrived at the conclusion he had adopted, and have acted as he had done. [The right hon. Gentleman then quoted the passage of the Act, appointing the Judges of the Supreme Court, already quoted by Mr. O'Connell, to shew that the judge might conscientiously have formed the opinions on which he had acted.] The same interpretation was put on the Act in 1827 by the Chief Justice of that day, who declared that "the Supreme Court had a jurisdiction over all native and other subjects." He did not mean to dispute the decision of the Privy Council, which was different, but only to contend that no blame could be cast on the judge for giving an interpretation to the Act different from that adopted by the Privy Council. Sir J. P. Grant, acting on his own interpretation of the Act, thought there had been an unlawful interference with his authority; and he therefore concluded, as that authority was essential to the public welfare, in which he professed himself much interested, that he was bound "to exert the strong arm of power, to effect that which he conceived he had a right to effect, notwithstanding any opposition that might be offered to him." He did this, like a conscientious man, on his own responsibility, and at his own risk. Parliament was not called on to examine the dispute in its legislative capacity. The conduct neither of Sir J. P. Grant, nor of Sir John Malcolm, was perhaps deserving blame, but it would be well for the House to investigate in what degree the Supreme Court was, or ought to be, dependent on the government, and to define the authority of each of these conflicting bodies. He would like to know in what manner any decree of that court, or any other court, could be enforced, if it were left optional with the government to step in at any time, and from any views of expediency, public or private, forbid the execution of that decree, instead of lending its power to carry it into effect. In this country, such collision never happens, and all such matters are reduced into regular order; but in what situation must the courts in India be placed, if they have no peremptory process to enforce their decrees. He conceived that the independence of the judges in India ought to be enforced by that House, and therefore it ought to define precisely the limits of their power, and the extent of their jurisdiction. This was the more necessary, because he knew, from the experience he had had while presiding over the Board of Control, how very difficult it was, to find persons of sufficient experience and ability to fill the office of a judge in India. Every thing in the power of the legislature ought, therefore, to be done to encourage men of integrity, learning, and talents, to undertake the office. A reflection of that nature ought alone to have been sufficient to have prevented the noble Lord from writing the celebrated Letter so often alluded to; and when he remembered that the Government could only look to the courts, and to an ordinary process at law to enforce its own orders, unless it meant to govern only by violence and the sword, generating confusion and anarchy, and becoming a curse instead of a blessing to the people, he thought that the Government was playing a losing game in weakening and opposing the authority of the Supreme Court. If its respectability were not maintained, it would be unable to execute its duties, it would be inefficient to administer justice, and would be only an expensive plague. Differences between two such high authorities, at so great a distance from any higher authority to settle their disputes, must be attended with serious evils. If the governor had any doubts as to the propriety of the proceedings of the court, it was his business to send home for instruction; he had no authority to interfere with its writs. He regretted very much the language which had been used by the noble Lord, in the letter already alluded to, particularly that part of it in which he seemed to intimate that it was necessary to keep down the judges of India, and even by intimidation, if gentler means failed. To that doctrine he could never subscribe, looking, as he did, on the independence of the judges as one of the surest means of enforcing obedience to all the legal orders of the government. He could not help expressing his surprise that no copy of the Letter in question had been kept, for it certainly was a letter of great importance; it pledged the Board of Control for the time being to a certain course, and to certain opinions. As the writer was the responsible Minister of the Crown, and the head of that department; as by his advice all judges in India would of necessity be appointed; any communication coming from that quarter must necessarily be one carrying with it the weight and authority of an official despatch. It was in vain to say that it was a private letter from one private individual to another; it was a communication from one great public functionary to another. Suppose the Duke of Wellington addressed a letter to one of our Ministers abroad, would it be contended that such a Minister would feel himself justified in disregarding that letter, merely because it did not formally come from the Secretary of State, the official organ of communication? and, on the other hand, the letter of the First Lord of the Treasury would pledge the Government as much as any official despatch could. If the House were called on to vote, he should vote for the Motion, though he doubted whether the coming to a vote at all were desirable.

Mr. *Cutlar Fergusson* said, he hoped the House would do him the justice to believe, that no relations subsisting between him and the East-India Company could have the effect of influencing the vote he intended to give on that occasion. He had given the question then under discussion the fullest, and, he trusted, the most dispassionate consideration, and that led him to the conviction that the Court of Bombay had decided in error. He had had the advantage of passing seventeen years of his professional life in India, in the course of which a considerable quantity and variety of business came under his observation, and within the sphere of his practice; he might say, perhaps, that he had more professional business than any man in India; yet in the course of that he never had the slightest reason to imagine that any judge could think of saying that there was no native of India not subject to the jurisdiction of the British courts in India. He was quite sure that no lawyer would differ from him, when he said that no natives were subject to British courts except such as were distinctly specified to be so. If the inferior court were wrong —of which he had not the slightest doubt —the Supreme Court was not less in error. Had such doctrines as were now contended for by the Supreme Court been maintained since our first conquests in India, our hold of our Indian possessions would now be extremely insecure. A pledge has been held out to the inhabitants beyond the pale of the English courts, that they should be allowed to retain their Hindoo laws to which they were attached. Had they supposed that they would have been subjected to laws with which they were unacquainted, they could not have been induced to submit to British authority. The liability to British laws, on the part of Hindoos, was what no judge had ever thought of, and it was a doctrine which he expected would never receive the sanction of any man acquainted either with the law or with the state of India. It was, he conceived, indisputable that English laws had their local boundaries in India. On these grounds, then, he thought there ought to be a declaratory act, and that it would be well worth the attention of his Majesty's Government to consider the expediency of some such measure, stating precisely what the law was, and putting the question beyond further dispute. If the Court at Bombay had the right assumed by it, and could exercise all the privileges of a Court of King's Bench, then it might remove all the circuit cases within its own jurisdiction, and itself try every case with English judges and English juries, and bring up all the witnesses and parties before it. He need scarcely tell the House that these matters had already excited the greatest alarm amongst the natives of India, and that the supposition of its being possible for the Supreme Court to exercise such a power, would throw all India into a ferment. The present was the case of a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and the old man by whom the return was made stated, "I am the relation of Moro Ragonath, and I have never been the servant of the English government; but at the time you took this country you gave me your word that I should live without fear. Depending upon that I remained at Poonah, and my grandson, Moro Ragonath, was placed under my charge. The said boy is now fourteen years old, and for that reason, according to the Shastra of the Hindoos, he is without knowledge, and obliged to live under the charge of the person who has the care of him; and there is nothing more done for him than is usually observed in Hindoo families. After the death of his mother I took charge of him; and without the authority of those from whom I received him, I will never deliver him up." This was, he, thought a sufficient proof that the person to whom the writ was addressed had a higher reverence for the laws of his country than for our institutions; and that it would be doing him and all his caste a great injury to subject them to our tribunals. They would look with horror on any process by which women and children might be taken from their homes, to the disgrace of their families, as committing the grossest possible outrage on their feelings and prejudices. Though he had no doubt that the Chief Justice at Calcutta, and the Court at Bombay, had acted from the most conscientious feelings and convictions, yet he was bound to say, and he said it with pain, having lived on terms of friendship with them both, that he thought them mistaken. He was also obliged to admit, that he thought they had both indulged in language which the survivor must now regret: neither did he conceive, from the course adopted by them, that Sir John Malcolm could have acted otherwise than he had done. He held it to be sound doctrine, that a writ going beyond its bounds was nothing but waste paper. It might be said that a writ of *Habeas Corpus* was a writ of great authority—a prerogative writ; but yet even at their own door it was one of no force. Let a writ of *Habeas* go down to Scotland—let the bearer of it go down and seek to remove one of the prisoners from the gaol of Edinburgh, and if he raised any disturbance, he would probably soon find himself an inmate of that gaol. Any man was, in his opinion, bound to disobey an illegal summons, which was all that Sir John Malcolm had caused to be done. That gentleman would not allow the Supreme Court to assume an omnipotent power and annihilate those superior courts in which justice was administered to the natives by laws congenial to their feelings. Some Members had expressed themselves as if the natives would be deprived of all means of obtaining justice unless the authority of the Supreme Court were upheld; the reverse, however, was the case. The provincial courts administered justice to the natives; they understood the practices and the laws of these courts, and it was their authority which the Supreme Court had weakened. The question was not to be decided exclusively by English laws and practices, but by the practices of Hindostan. In both the cases under discussion the individuals were out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. One was resident at Poonah, and the other was imprisoned by the order of a provincial court. It was part of the law of Hindostan, that beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court the Adawlut Court should have jurisdiction, and consequently the measure of the Supreme Court was undoubtedly illegal. He approved, therefore, of the interference of Sir John Malcolm, who had properly exercised his power to prevent the privileges of one court being infringed on by another court which had no jurisdiction. The governor was bound to support the legal proceedings of the Supreme Court, but he was equally bound to oppose its illegal proceedings. He was the only authority on the spot to which an appeal could be made, until the higher authorities in England decided the question, and prevented future disputes by lessening the authority of the Supreme Court. Without finding fault either with the conduct of Sir John Malcolm or Sir John Grant, he wished for a declaratory act, and for an end to the authority assumed.

Mr. *Robert Grant* explained, that he still was of opinion that the decision of the Privy Council was extra-judicial, because the native suitors were not heard. He wished for a declaratory act.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, he could not allow the present discussion to close without making a few observations. When he considered the great responsibility which devolved upon public functionaries, he had no hesitation in saying, that, when guilty of error, if it were found that they acted at the same time with upright intentions, and were actuated by conscientious feelings, he had not the slightest hesitation in saying that they were entitled to the most indulgent consideration. But if, as in the case of the governor of Bombay, it was found that the parties had acted in a manner the most discreet, prudent, and proper, he thought they had a double claim to be supported by the Government; and that claim would, he thought, be recognized by the House. He wished to have it understood, that he desired, like his right hon. friend Mr. Wynne, with whom he concurred, to leave the legal question entirely out of view—they had nothing to do with the legal question. The hon. and learned Member for Clare, however, had discussed the legal question; a proceeding which had been rendered altogether unnecessary by the decision of the Privy Council—a tribunal much more competent to decide such a question than was that House. The authority of that decision, he believed, would not be lightly questioned, when it was recollected that two Chief Justices, Lord Tenterden and Sir N. Tindal were present, as also Lord Wynford, and his right hon. friend, whose habits, professional and official, so fully qualified him for assisting in such a decision. He had no doubt the House would feel that it was not necessary to place the independence of Indian judges upon a lower footing than that of English judges; this was not a case affecting their independence, but a question relating to the assumption of authority unwarrantable and dangerous. For the exercise of authority beyond proper boundaries, he apprehended an action of trespass might be brought; but for the exercise of unwarrantable authority within acknowledged bounds, there lay no such remedy; and, should no adequate remedy exist, it must be the business of the legislature to devise one—in doing which it would, of course, be influenced by no considerations but the nature of the case and a due regard to its own character. With reference to the injury our authority might sustain in India by the conflict between the Courts and the Executive Authority, the House should recollect that it was impossible to suppose that the natives of India had the same respect for English courts of justice that we had. The question ought not to be argued as if the Indians had a great respect for the jargon of our laws, which we ourselves did not understand. They could have no attachment to laws administered in a foreign language, and couched in forms which even the inhabitants of this country could not comprehend, and which they regarded as contrary to their customs and religion. They did not like a court before which they were dragged from a distance, and the authority of which they did not acknowledge. The claim which the Supreme Court in India made to extend its jurisdiction created great alarm among all the natives, and even in the executive government, as being contrary to the engagements it had entered into with them. The Provincial courts had, on the contrary, merited and obtained the confidence of the natives, particularly under the government of Mr. Elphinstone. The fact was stated in the valuable work of the late Bishop Heber. Those courts are there described as acting on the principles of jurisprudence with a due regard to the prejudices of the natives, and as doing much gradually to accustom them to our laws. The conduct of the Supreme Court had a great tendency to bring these courts into disrepute, and Sir John Malcolm was bound to uphold them as well as the executive authority. Thinking that Sir John Malcolm had only done his duty, he should be ashamed of himself if he had not supported him, and if he had shrunk from the responsibility of sharing his opinions. He thought that Sir John Malcolm had done quite right in addressing the letter which had been mentioned to the judge; he could not adopt a better course, and it seemed to him (Mr. Peel) the only one that was likely to prevent a collision between the judicial and executive authorities. The letter was intended to prevent any necessity for making known to the public the difference of opinion which existed between them. He believed that the two judges, Sir Charles Chambers and Sir J. P. Grant, of whom he was disposed to speak with all that respect which was due to them, acted on as pure and conscientious motives as Sir John Malcolm. They supposed, undoubtedly, that their construction of the law was correct. With respect to the Letter of his noble friend, Lord Ellenborough, a great many erroneous and unjust impressions had got abroad as to its purport and intentions. He conceded to hon. Members that his noble friend could not—and he did not claim it for him—shield himself behind the privilege of a private letter. A public man had no right to give instructions in private letters, and then say they were private; but at the same time he was sure that the public service could not be carried on effectually unless public functionaries were allowed to write private letters, without having the terms in which they were expressed too severely scrutinized. What he claimed for such letters was, that they should not be exposed to have their terms so severely scrutinized, nor be subjected to such fastidious criticism as public despatches, and he would only claim for the words of his noble friend's Letter some indulgence. He denied that anything in that Letter implied an intention to destroy the independence of the judicial authority, or make it subservient to the views of the executive government. He would take the two strongest passages; the first was that in which his noble friend spoke of Mr. Seymour being knighted, and where he said that as it would not be proper to leave Mr. Dewar without that honour, he should consider how it might be done; he believed it might be conferred by patent, but perhaps it might be conferred through the governor, in such a manner as to mark the superiority of the executive government over the judicial authority. It would place the governor above the court, and mark him out as the King's representative. By this Lord Ellenborough had no intention to degrade the judges, but to make the people of India aware that the executive government was the supreme power. He objected to the Motion, therefore, as implying a censure on his noble friend which he did not deserve. Nothing could tempt him to refer to the language used by Sir C. Chambers and Sir J. P. Grant, in consequence of the letter addressed to them by Sir J. Malcolm, more particularly as one of those judges was now no more. Nothing should tempt him to speak with disrespect of the dead; and he would only refer to Sir C. Chambers's charge in as far as was necessary to do justice to the living. The letter of his noble friend must be misunderstood, without a knowledge of the charges to which it in fact referred. Sir C. Chambers, in his address to the court, spoke of the extraordinary letter he had received from Sir J. Malcolm, in which the court was dictated to by persons who had no right to address it, except in the capacity of humble suitors. "A heavy responsibility, the judge said, rested on those who, under the pretext of supporting the Government and the State authority, used their power to extinguish the exercise of the King's authority, and screen their servants from the restraints of the only authority and power which was able to check that tyranny into which irresponsible power had ever a tendency to fall." Here was a distinction drawn between the King's and the East India Company's authority; and the judges assumed that they represented the King's authority, while the civil government only represented that of the Company. Then the natives were told by the judge that this Letter was a pretext to extinguish the King's authority; against such language and such proceedings he should always protest. His noble friend had stated, that the civil government was above the court, not with any view to interfere with the independence of the judges, but to show that the civil government was the depository of the King's power as well as the court; his noble friend wished to give the President the power of conferring knighthood on the judge, in order to notify to the inhabitants that he represented the King. The other passage of his noble friend's letter to which he would refer, was that which concluded with the comparison of the two elephants. He did not mean to vindicate that manner of speaking of the judges; he did not mean to vindicate the expressions of his noble friend; but he claimed for those expressions the candid consideration which was due to them, as contained in a letter not intended to be published. His noble friend by those expressions never intended to degrade the King's judges; his whole official conduct was a proof that he could not mean it; and if he had, he would have been guilty of a great public offence. His noble friend meant nothing whatever derogatory to the character of the judges; but his noble friend was justified in saying that he hoped Sir J. P. Grant would review his decision, and that if he should not come to a different conclusion, then he would be rendered harmless by having with him two other judges who were not likely to join with him in opinion, or be opposed to the civil government. His noble friend had not at first advised the King to recall Sir J. P. Grant, though he believed that he had assumed an authority which he was not justified in assuming; and not wishing to advise his Majesty to recall that judge, he placed two other judges with him, in whom the Government could place confidence. Conceiving that the Motion was intended as a censure on his noble friend, he should, on the grounds he had stated, resist the Motion of the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *C. Fergusson* explained, that he meant to cast no censure on Sir J. P. Grant.

Mr. *Stewart* expressed his regret that Government, after having, at so short a period before, expressed its readiness to supply Parliament with all possible information concerning India, should refuse the first paper it had been asked to produce. The question had not been fairly met by his opponents; for all the arguments they had urged about the jurisdiction of the Court at Bombay, and the decision of the Privy Council, had nothing to do with the question. The Letter of Lord Ellenborough was obviously a public document, because it was an answer to representations sent from the Indies before the noble Lord was in office. He was in hopes that the documents he moved for would have tended to justify the Bombay Government. Thinking that the correspondence would at least elucidate that conduct, and being willing to put the professions of the Government, to which he had just alluded, to the test, he should certainly like to take the sense of the House on his Motion.

The House then divided—For the Motion 15: Against it 106: Majority against the Motion 91.

List of the Minority.

Bentinck, Lord G.
Ebrington, Lord
Grant, R.
Gordon, R.
Hobhouse, J. C.
Jephson, C. D.
Morpeth, Lord
O'Connell, D.
Protheroe, E.
Rice, T. S.
Thomson, C. P.
Townshend, Lord C.
Warburton, H.
Wynn, Rt. Hon. C. W.
Wrottesley, Sir J.

TELLERS.

Hume, J.
Stewart, J.

EAST RETFORD.] On the Motion for bringing up the report of this Bill, Mr. Stewart objected to proceeding with it at so late an hour. Such a measure ought not, in the then state of the House, to be forced forward; and he moreover had an amendment to propose, which he should like to hear discussed.

Mr. *Nicolson Calvert* hoped the hon. Member would allow the Bill to proceed, considering the length of time it had been in the House, and how often it had been discussed, he did not think this an unreasonable request.

Mr. *Stewart* said, he must oppose the further progress of the Bill.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* put it to the candid consideration of the hon. Member, whether such a course would be advisable, after the numberless discussions the Bill had undergone.

Sir *John Sebright* was of opinion, that the Bill had been amply discussed, and ought not to be delayed.

Mr. *Hume* thought it might as well be stopped then as at any subsequent stage, and, in his opinion, the sooner it was strangled the better: he hoped the hon. Member would persist in his opposition.

Mr. *Tennyson* wished to state, that he continued as hostile to the Bill as ever, but he would not then join in opposing it. As the hon. Member, however, wished for delay, with a view to further discussing his clause, his wishes, he thought, ought to be the guide of the hon. Member who had brought in the Bill.

The Question was then put, and the report brought up. On this,

Mr. *Stewart* rose to propose a clause similar to that which was proposed in the case of Penryn. When that was proposed hon. Members objected to it on account of its applying only to one borough, and expressed themselves willing to vote for some general measure; and yet when a noble Lord, a few nights before, proposed a general declaration applying to all boroughs, the right hon. Secretary of State objected to it as too sweeping. He told the noble Lord, he might apply it to his own constituents, but he would not concur in applying it to his (Mr. Peel's) constituents, the honest electors of Westbury. It was not fair, to object to a measure, that it was at once both special and general. He would certainly have a general declaration, but he would begin by making it with regard to East Retford. It had been proved in evidence that a peer of the realm had endeavoured to influence the return of a Member to that House. Jonathan Fox, who was examined in March 23, 1828, stated that a large sum of money was paid into Mr. Foljambe's bank by Earl Fitzwilliam, to be applied, he believed, to election purposes. Richard Hannam had stated, that the Duke of Newcastle resided near East Retford, and had considerable property in the hundred of Bassetlaw. The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Manvers had also property in that district. He would not positively assert that either of these Members had endeavoured to influence the return of Members to that House, but it was notorious that peers did use such influence, and they did this now as they had done it when the Duke of Newcastle was a minor. The House, knowing these circumstances might with propriety, he thought, require of any Member returned for East Retford or the hundred of Bassetlaw, that he should declare, before taking his seat, that he had not obtained it by any bribery or corruption. It was said, that by extending the franchise to the hundred, any tendency to corruption would be neutralised; but if it were extended only to those who might be under the influence of peers, instead of being neutralised, the poison might be rendered more virulent. The House would, in fact, open the door wider than ever to that influence, of which they ought to be most jealous. It was on this ground, as corruption had been proved to exist in this borough, that he would apply to it the proposed clause. He would not limit it, indeed, to this one borough, but extend it to every borough or place that might hereafter be proved guilty of corruption. The clause he would propose should run thus, "And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, any Member who shall be returned to serve in Parliament for the said borough of East Retford, shall, on coming to the

Table of this House to be sworn—make a declaration to this effect, ‘ I, A. B. do solemnly declare, that I have neither given, nor promised to give, nor intend to give, or promise hereafter, any pecuniary fee, or reward of any kind, in consideration of my election as Member for the Borough of East Retford ; and I solemnly declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that my Return has not been procured, or promoted, by the influence or interference of any Peer of Parliament.’” To such a declaration no person returned for that borough could, he thought, object, and therefore he moved that the clause be brought up.

Mr. *Nicolson Calvert* said, the hon. Member appeared as if he had passed the whole of his life in India, and were totally unacquainted with the nature and forms of our Constitution. With the professed object of preventing bribery and corruption generally, the hon. Member proposed a clause that was applicable only to one borough. He would not object to a declaration of that kind, if it were to be made by every Member; perhaps even if the number of the electors in the borough under consideration were less than 200 he might be disposed to adopt it, because the smallness of their number might warrant the presumption of bribery; but it was ridiculous to imagine that bribery could be extended over a body of electors amounting to more than 2,000. The assumption that the electors of the hundred of Basset law would be under the influence of the peers who lived there had no foundation but the hon. Member's own imagination. On the whole he considered the clause so preposterous, that he was persuaded, were the House as full as the hon. Member had wished it to be, that he would find very few supporters.

Mr. *Hume* said, the hon. Member, in admitting that he saw no objection to a general clause of this description, had proved that the one proposed had in it nothing preposterous. The hon. Member could not call that absurd for one borough which he would not object to apply to all boroughs. He should like to see the clause, in the first instance, applied to one borough as an experiment. The hon. Member seemed to think that the influence of peers would not be exerted on the electors of the hundred, but the House was acquainted with too many instances of that interference to adopt the hon. Member's conclusion. Money had been paid to a peer for a seat in that House, and there was, therefore, no impropriety in assuming that it might be paid again. He meant to support the clause, and he hoped the House would do the same.

Mr. Secretary *Peel* said, if the same electors as before were to retain the franchise, he should be disposed to agree to the clause, but to them was now to be added 2,000 others, and it would be unfair towards these infant electors to stigmatize their birth by branding them with a suspicion of bribery. Moreover he thought it would be wrong to make any distinction between the Members of that House. They ought all to be placed on the same footing, though he did not mean to say that they ought all to make a declaration of that kind. Seeing no reason for selecting the two Members for the Borough of East Retford from among the 658 who composed that House, and seeing no public advantage likely to result from the introduction of the clause, he should certainly oppose the Motion.

The clause was negatived without a division. On the Motion that the Bill be read a third time that day week,

Mr. *Hume* said, as the constitutional amendments to the Bill had been all lost, it would be better to reject it altogether, and he hoped that all those who had, on any occasion, objected to it, would oppose it on the third reading.

Mr. *Robert Gordon* said, he had voted for transferring the franchise to Birmingham, but not being able to obtain that, he had been willing to accept the hundred of Bassetlaw, as preferable to uniting the franchise to the old corrupt borough. The borough of Cricklade, which he represented, had had the franchise so extended, and he was persuaded that it was as independent as any borough in the kingdom. With that experience he thought it would be unwise to oppose the Bill.

Mr. *Stewart* said, he differed from the hon. Member, and he should, in the next stage, oppose the Bill.—Motion agreed to.

Law Report.] The Second Report of the Commissioners, sitting to inquire into the State of the Law, was brought up by Mr. Secretary Peel, and ordered to be printed.

Clarence Market.] Lord *Lowther*, having obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the removal of the Hay Market, in the Haymarket, St. James's Parish, to York, Clarence, and Cumberland Squares, it was brought up, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.

The noble Lord, in answer to a question from Mr. Hume, said he did not anticipate any expense to the Office of Woods and Forests from the removal of the market.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 117.—The observations on the present state of Manufactures ascribed to *Lord Tullamore* (page 118) were made by *Mr. Ewart*, one of the Members for Bletchinley:—in the same Speech, another error has crept in, where the word *yards* is repeatedly put for *pounds*.

Page 687.—In the Marquis of Blandford's Speech on Parliamentary Reform, a quotation is given incorrectly; it should be " Sum ex iis, qui mirer antiquos."

As in adverting to any Proceedings in Parliament, the Reader must have frequent occasion to refer to "HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY," *and to the Two Series of* "HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES;" *the subjoined* TABLES, *which exhibit at one view the period comprised in each volume of those Works, will be found very useful.*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Shewing the A. D. and the A. R. in which the Thirty-six Volumes of HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND respectively commence and conclude.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Shewing the A. D. and the A. R. in which the Volumes of the First and Second Series of HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES respectively commence and conclude.

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